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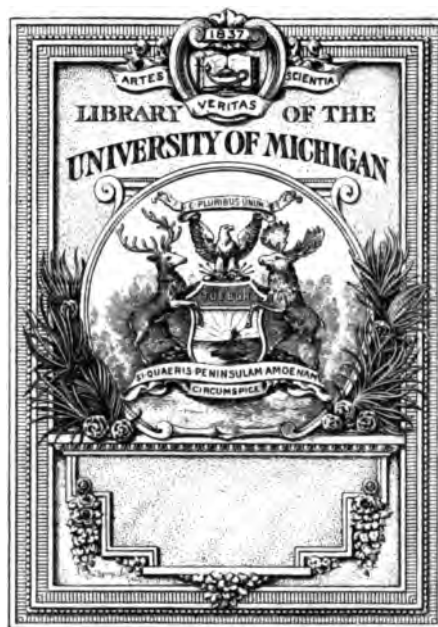
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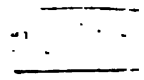




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Charles Cravieu
Conseiller d'Etat Ordinaire,
et Chef du Conseil



Comte de Vergennes
Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat
Royal des Finances

Gravé par M. Goussier, d'après le portrait de M. de Vergennes, par M. de La Tour.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIII

JANUARY, 1885

No. 1

THE MANOR OF GARDINER'S ISLAND*

THE first English settlement within the present limits of the State of New York was founded under circumstances of peculiar and romantic interest. Its site was an island, four miles from the eastern extremity of Long Island—a little woodland gem in a wilderness of waters. It was nine miles long by one and a half miles wide, containing some three thousand five hundred acres. This entire island was purchased by Lion Gardiner from the Indians, with all the usual ceremonials of such transactions, and the purchase duly confirmed by the agent of Lord Stirling on the 10th of March, 1639. The new land-holder proceeded at once to erect a comfortable dwelling-house, of which he took possession, with his wife and two children, the younger an infant daughter, in the early summer of the same year. This well-considered and deliberate choice of a permanent private residence, full thirty miles from the nearest European neighbor, reads upon the truthful records, as we are well aware, like the fanciful castle-building of the writers of fiction.

Before tracing the growth and development of the picturesque island into a productive manorial property, the fact is worthy of notice that it has been longer in possession of one family than any other individual estate on this continent, having had twelve proprietors in the direct line, even to the present hour. Its early history is rich in Indian legend and old-time tales of love and sacrifice. No portion of our country was so persistently frequented by pirates and ocean rovers. No point so completely exposed to foreign enemies in times of war. The manor-house now standing upon the island was built in 1774 by David Gardiner, the sixth proprietor, one hundred and thirty-five years after the original settlement. The estate had then become a garden of beauty. From eighty to one hundred dependents kept it trimmed and blooming. Great fields of oats, wheat, and other grains, made graceful obeisance to the sickle. Some two thousand loads of hay were stored in its barns every autumn. Three hundred or more cattle grazed in its sunny pastures; and five times as many sheep—with

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an annual yield of a dozen thousand pounds of wool. The dairy produced butter in large quantities, and the cheese averaged as many as one hundred and twenty pounds per day for the season. The lord of the island rarely stabled less than sixty horses, the finest in the country. He raised annually one hundred or more hogs. Wild turkeys hovered about in great numbers, coming to the yards daily to be fed with the tame fowls; and a large herd of deer roamed at will among the fine old trees which would have done credit to any English park.

The founder of the manor of Gardiner's Island was one of the heroic few who, leaving a land of plenty and luxury, faced perils known and unknown with steady nerve, and finally in an unbroken forest projected the industries of a continent. It would almost seem as if our first settlers were gifted with prophetic vision as they entered upon the duties of American citizenship. We are compelled to admire their self-poise, and we need, particularly if we would avoid an incomplete education, an intelligent understanding of their leading characteristics. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of each original settlement upon the present character of our people. Nor are we in any danger of cultivating too high a respect for the simple beginnings of our vast, rich, and progressive country. The career of Lion Gardiner is less conspicuous than that of some of his contemporaries; yet no man of the obscure period in which he lived was imbued with more personal independence, or radiated an influence more healthful and enduring. He was a professional engineer, the first who ever stood upon the soil of New England. He was by birth and breeding an Englishman, but he had breathed the republican atmosphere of Holland at a time when rights of conscience were not recognized elsewhere in Europe, and had imbibed principles of constitutional law and liberty which his energy and genius could adapt to the exigencies of life in the new country. He landed in Boston on a cold, bleak, blustering, November morning in 1635. He was thirty-six years of age, of fine military presence, well proportioned although slightly under the average height, with quiet face, eyes keen, intelligent and deep-set, and the manners and bearing of a gentleman. He was expected, and received a warm welcome from Governor Thomas Dudley, and from the ex-governors, and deputy governors, and future governors of much governed Boston, of whom were present John Winthrop, John Endicott, Simon Bradstreet, Sir Henry Vane, John Haynes, Roger Ludlow, Richard Bellingham, and the younger John Winthrop—an exceptional group of gubernatorial lights for one little town not quite five years old. The younger Winthrop had just returned from Europe with his commission to govern a new commonwealth—embracing the greater portion of the

present State of Connecticut and extending westward to the Pacific Ocean—which he had received from a company of English noblemen who had become dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs under the graceful but erring monarch, Charles I., and had obtained a patent for this broad extent of territory, intending permanent removal to America.

The leaders of the enterprise included such notables as Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Sir Arthur Heslerigge, Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, afterward Earl of



WOOD SCENE.

Warwick (the ancestor of the present Earl who occupies Warwick castle, so familiar to all traveling Americans) and Colonel George Fenwick. They had not only made choice of a governor but had employed Lion Gardiner as a competent engineer to precede them to America, for "the drawing, ordering, and making of a city, towns, and forts of defense." The site of a city of castles and palaces, "to be rendered suitable for the reception of men of quality" had already been selected at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Lion Gardiner was to be its "engineer, architect, and builder," and was to have "three hundred able-bodied men" under his control—two hundred as a garrison, fifty to till the ground, and fifty to build houses. He was employed to command the post four years, subject to the direction of Governor Winthrop. Supplies needful for his purposes were to be for-

warded from England as the work advanced. As this was an important trust in connection with the beginning of empire in a new world, the inference is that Gardiner was known to possess the requisite qualifications. His family have been traced by Sir Thomas Christopher Banks to the Gardiner who married one of the co-heiresses of the ancient Barony of Fitzwalter. His education was exceptional for the period; and his taste for mathematics had resulted in the study of civil and military engineering. He had been in the English army as an officer under Sir Thomas Fairfax, seeing much active service; and his skill as an engineer had attracted the notice of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, who made him "Master of Works of Fortifications" at his camp in the Netherlands. It will be remembered that in the course of the famous conflict between the Protestants and Catholics, which engrossed the attention of the whole civilized world in the early part of that remarkable century, the treaty of alliance between England and the United Netherlands, concluded through much astute diplomacy to worry Spain, brought the armies of the two nations into military association; and also that loosely as the little Dutch States were tied



SILVER BUTTON.*

together in their struggle for freedom they had already been raised to the rank of a great power, and their army had become one of the standard schools of military art to which warlike students flocked for instruction from every Protestant country in the Old World. Thus it must have been a deserved honor, when an Englishman was placed at the helm of defense manufacture in Holland, by a great general bred to the science of war and commanding in a

contest the like of which no people in human history every waged against a foreign tyranny.

While Lion Gardiner was serving under the Dutch flag he was in constant and familiar intercourse with the celebrated Hugh Peters, and the eminent London divine, Rev. John Davenport, who with numerous English Dissenters had found an asylum, and founded a Protestant Church in Rotterdam. They were both enlisted in the famous project of exodus to the banks of the Connecticut River, and urged Gardiner to accept the offer of the patentees. Davenport soon after sailed for America, and was one of the founders of New Haven, preaching on the 18th of April, 1638—the first Sunday after his arrival—under an oak tree; and he was one of the "Seven Pillars" chosen to support the civil government of the

* The silver button of the above sketch was worn by Lion Gardiner while "Master of Works of Fortifications," under the Prince of Orange. The translation of the motto is "Long life to the Prince of Orange." Copied for the Magazine from the original button.

New Haven Colony. In the meantime, while stationed in the vicinity of the city of Woerden, Gardiner made the acquaintance of Mary Wilemsen, a Holland lady of gentle birth and varied excellencies, whom he married and brought with him to this country. Their nuptials were celebrated at Woerden on the 10th of July, 1635. They proceeded at once to London, whence they sailed for Boston in the Norsey bark *Batchelor*, Thos. Webb, master, a vessel provided by the Company, of only twenty-five tons burden, in which they were tossed on the rough waves from the 11th of August until the 28th of November—three months and seventeen days. Mrs. Gardiner was attended by a French maid-servant, Elizabeth Colet, and there was one other passenger on the voyage. The officers and crew numbered eight.



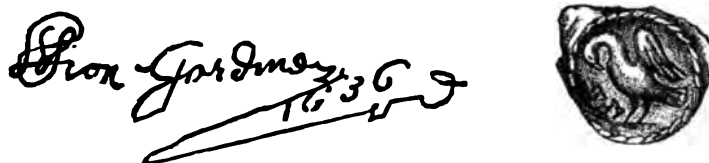
GARDINER'S ISLAND MANOR-HOUSE. BUILT IN 1774.

And these twelve souls were consigned to a miniature craft, much less in size than the ordinary yacht of to-day, and about as fit to cope with the perils of the Gulf Stream and the net-work of unseen currents caused by the wind and the tides as a Dutch cradle. No wonder Winthrop wrote of it in his journal: "Her passengers and goods are here all safe through the Lord's great Providence."

The presence of an able engineer in Boston roused the people to secure his experienced services in completing a fortress for their protection against savage foes. Up to that hour Boston was without any fort, save the mere suggestion of one commenced with a few rusty cannon. It was agreed that every citizen should contribute fourteen days' labor—or money to the same effect; and a committee consisting of the two Winthrops, Sir

Henry Vane, and several ex- and deputy governors more or less, was chosen to carry out the design. Gardiner donated his services, and all Boston worked on the structure, which speedily took form and shape. It was admirably adapted to its purposes, and continued in use until after the Revolutionary war.

Meanwhile the younger Governor Winthrop had sent a force of twenty men under Lieutenant Gibbons, afterward Major-General of Massachusetts, to break ground at the mouth of the Connecticut River and erect suitable buildings for the reception of Gardiner, who repaired thither accompanied by his wife. The winter that followed was one of the coldest

The image shows a handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lion Gardiner, 1636". To the right of the signature is a circular seal or stamp, which appears to contain a profile portrait of a man.

LION GARDINER'S SIGNATURE AND SEAL, ON A LETTER TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

on record; and the winds, the wolves, and the savages howled in dismal concert through the woods on every side of the lonely fort save where the moaning waters of Long Island Sound contributed a cheerless accompaniment. The party had brought with them in their journey to the post necessities only for the commonest comforts, and worried away the winter as best they could, waiting for the spring which was to bring the army of reinforcements, according to promise. Spring came, and so did the long summer days, and autumn with its changing foliage and ripe nuts, but no ships from over the sea crowded with soldiers and laborers. No imposing procession of notables and nobles! We can almost at this late day feel the dull pain of the disappointment. Gardiner said: "Our great expectations came only to two men (Col. George Fenwick and a man-servant) and they did not come to stay." Col. Fenwick came by the way of Boston, and Governor Winthrop and Hugh Peters accompanied him to Saybrook. They were well pleased with the location of the fort, and with the rich rolling land in its vicinity—where subsequently two great, handsome squares were perfected, to be surrounded with palatial residences. But grim war was brewing with the Indians, and Gardiner was pained to learn through his guests of the hostile course contemplated by the authorities of Massachusetts. He took no care to conceal his disapproval, and exclaimed with much energy: "It is all very well for you to make war who are safe in Massachusetts Bay, but for myself and these few with me who have scarce holes to put our heads in, you will leave at the stake to be roasted,

or for hunger to be starved. Ask the magistrates (of Boston) if they have forgot what I said when they entreated me to view the country there to see how fit it was for fortifications? I told them that nature had done more than half the work already, and I thought no foreign potent enemy would do them any harm, but one that was near! They asked me who that was, and I said 'it was Captain Hunger that threatened them most, for, said I, war is like a three-footed stool, want one foot and down comes all; and these three feet are men, victuals, and munition. Therefore, seeing in peace you are like to be famished, what might or can be done if war? I think it will be best only to fight against Captain Hunger, and let fortifications alone for awhile; and if need hereafter require it, I can come to do you any service.' They all liked my saying well. Entreat them to rest awhile, till we get more strength here: I have but twenty-four in all, men, women and children, and not food for them for two months, unless we save our corn-field (of three acres) which is two miles from home, and cannot possibly be reached if we are in war."

Such arguments were convincing; and the gentlemen, who were deeply interested in the prosperity of Saybrook, promised to do their utmost to persuade the higher New England powers to defer hostilities a year or two. They departed from the little isolated fort on the Connecticut; but long ere they reached Boston, events had precipitated the calamity which Gardiner would have averted. Sir Henry Vane, who, at the age of twenty-four, had been chosen to the governorship of Massachusetts, thought to counteract the murderous proclivities of the Pequots by retaliation. He sent ex-Governor Endicott out into the woods with an armed force of ninety men to awe and overwhelm a powerful and war-loving nation, whose precincts extended over an unlimited area of thousands of miles of unexplored territory. When this expedition reached Saybrook, Gardiner was amazed at Puritan shortsightedness, and said, with much asperity:

"You come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wings and flee away."

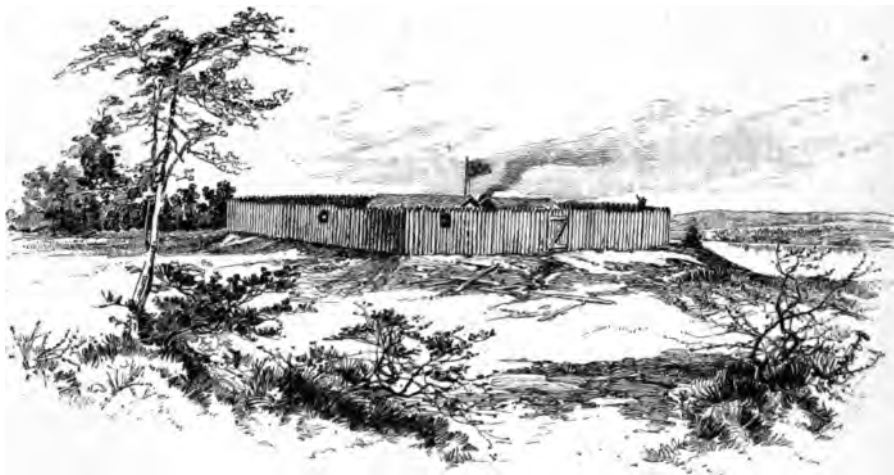
His feeble post had been made the seat of war without notice or time for preparation, but as it was too late to mend matters he, like a true soldier, made the best of the situation. Henceforward the Saybrook fort was perpetually beset by the savage foe. In that little fortress on a desolate coast, but partially completed, were two dozen persons including Mrs. Gardiner and her infant son, David (the first white child born within the limits of the State of Connecticut) with relentless famine, and tortures such as humanity shudders to record staring them in the face. Gardiner, with consummate generalship successfully defended the post, however, until

peace was restored. During those two long bloody years the savages lurked in the hollows and swamps like a malaria; they crawled through the long grass of the salt meadows like snakes; they attacked squads from the garrison when they tried to garner their corn or their hay, or shoot birds for food; they destroyed all the outside store-houses, burned the haystacks, killed the cows, and prowled in sly places by night for human victims. They frequently came to the walls of the fort and taunted the soldiers—calling them “women,” and daring them to come out and “fight like men.” They would dress themselves in the garments of those whom they had tormented with every species of cruelty known to savage science, and in front of the fort enact over again in mockery their horrible death scenes—imitating the cries, the attitude of prayer, and the agonized gestures of the sufferers, ending the theatrical exhibition with peals of laughter like that of demons, after which they would take to their heels and run to the woods with the swiftness of deer.

Gardiner on one occasion had a hand to hand fight with the savages, but defended himself successfully with his sword; he was afterward wounded with an arrow while directing a party who were endeavoring to secure some trees they had chopped down for fuel. Several arrows struck him, and the Indians supposed he was killed, but a buff military coat which Sir Richard Saltonstall had just sent to him prevented serious results. Soon afterward, Thomas Stanton stopped at the fort, waiting for a fair wind to sail westward. He could speak the Indian language, and as three warriors were hanging about under pretense of parley, Gardiner proposed to go out and meet them; but he admonished Stanton “not to answer them directly to anything,” as he was not advised of the policy of Boston. The Indians called out: “Have you fought enough?” Gardiner said he did not know yet. Then they asked: “Do you kill women and children?” “That you shall see hereafter,” replied Gardiner. There was silence for a few minutes, when the Indians said: “We are the Pequots; and we have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes; and we will go to Hartford and kill men, women and children, and carry away the horses, cows and hogs.” Gardiner with good-natured irony responded: “No, no; if you kill all the English it will do you no good. English women are lazy and can’t do your work. The horses and cows will spoil your corn-fields. The hogs will root up your clam-banks. You will be completely undone. But look at our great house here”—and he stretched out his hand significantly toward the fort—“here are twenty pieces of trucking-cloth, and hoes, and hatchets; you had better kill us and get these things, before you trouble yourselves to go up the Connecticut to Hartford.” This derision was too

much for the savages, who ran toward a thicket where their companions were in hiding. Gardiner waved his hat, which was a preconcerted signal for the firing of the two cannon, aimed into their ambush.

One morning a large number of canoes filled with Indians were seen coming down the Connecticut and passing Saybrook Fort. In one of these Gardiner thought he discovered two white persons, so he loaded the great guns on the redoubt with round shot and fired, knocking off the "nose" of the canoe which contained the prisoners. The savages fled leaving their captives, who proved to be two Dutch girls; they were fed and clothed and returned to their parents at considerable expense for those times, viz.,



SAYBROOK FORT IN 1636.

£10 But Gardiner complained that he was not even thanked for his trouble.

Sir Henry Vane wrote to Gardiner asking his opinion as to the best means of quelling the Pequots, who were growing every hour more daring and reckless. With his reply, in which he gave sound advice, Gardiner sent a human rib-bone half shot through with an arrow, to prove to the incredulous of Boston what execution was possible with this primitive implement of warfare.

With all the hardships and the tragedy, there was a touch of the ludicrous every now and then, and occasional bursts of hearty laughter within the little stronghold. Once while at supper in the main hall, with very little to eat, the Indians contrived to create an alarm which drew every man from the table three times in the course of a short meal—which the men

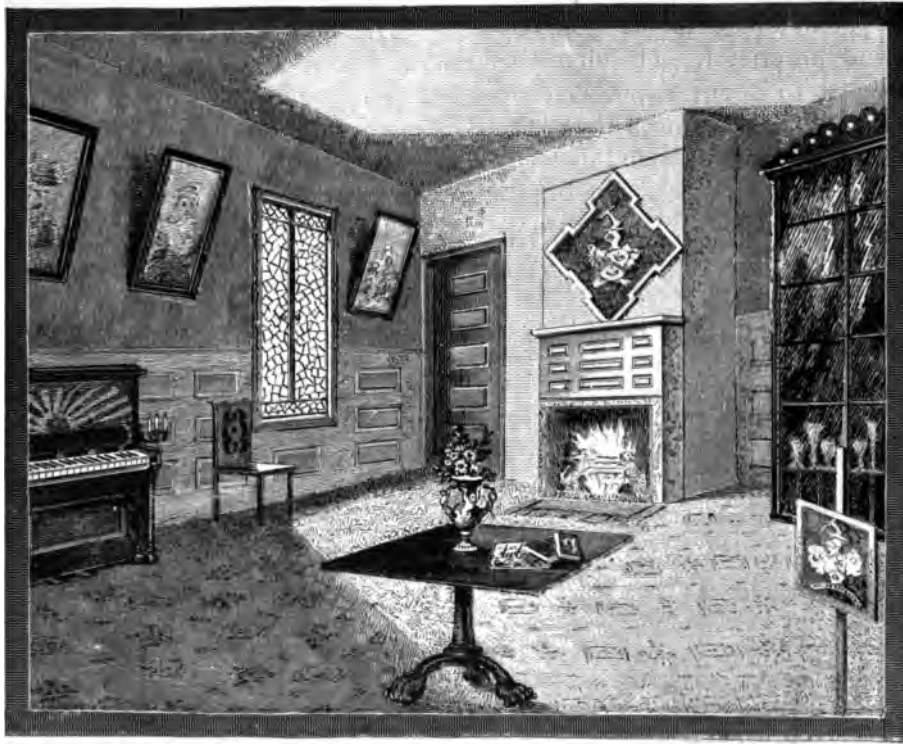
took as a grim joke. At another time, Robert Chapman, ancestor of the present family of that name residing in Saybrook, was pounding corn into samp near the garden pales, when a sentinel shouted to him to run, for Indians were creeping through the grass to catch him. Gardiner at once ordered the two cannon leveled at the trees in the middle of the boughs, and directing the gunner to aim in the direction from which Indian voices might be heard, he started out with six men and three dogs, keeping all abreast and close together, and after running a short distance suddenly halted and yelled to the top of their voices; the Indians returned the shout, and the next instant a volley from the guns of the fort tore the trees above the savage heads into fragments, frightening them into a celerity of retreat which greatly amused the garrison. Still another of what Gardiner styled their "pretty pranks," was driving some great doors full of sharpened nails, and adroitly placing them on the ground outside the fort for the Indians to step upon when they stole round in the night to set fire to the redoubt; "thus," he said, "when they skipped from one they trod upon another."

Major Mason says in his account of the Pequot war, that after the annihilation of that powerful tribe, he was nobly entertained by Lieut. Gardiner and complimented with many great guns at the Saybrook Fort. Some years afterward Gardiner was requested to write a description of the Pequot war, and thus humorously alludes to the crudity of his literary efforts:

"You know when I came to you I was an engineer or architect, whereof carpentry is a little part, but you know I could never use all the tools, for although for my needs I was forced sometimes to use my shifting chisel and my holdfast, yet you know I could never endure nor abide the smoothing plane; I have sent you a piece of timber (referring to his manuscript) scored and forehewed unfit to join to any handsome piece of work, but seeing I have done the hardest work, you must get somebody to chip it and to smooth it, lest the splinters should prick some men's fingers—for the truth must not be spoken at all times."

His written narrative did prick some men's fingers, and was not given to the world for nearly two centuries; but its simplicity and candor are so indelibly imprinted upon the face of it that it has become an accepted authority. It is generally conceded that no one controlling mind did more to preserve the Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut from total destruction during this terrible war than Lion Gardiner. After peace was finally restored, he projected improvements at Saybrook as fast as means were furnished by the patentees, who found many obstacles

in their way. When his term of service expired he was succeeded in command by Col. George Fenwick himself, who arrived in 1639 accompanied by his beautiful wife, Lady Alice, who now sleeps in a shaded nook in the old Saybrook cemetery. It is said that Cromwell, Hampden, and others actually embarked on the Thames for Saybrook, but were stopped by an order from the King. It was at this juncture that Gardiner, thoroughly disgusted with the management of affairs on both sides of the



DRAWING-ROOM OF THE MANOR-HOUSE AT GARDINER'S ISLAND.

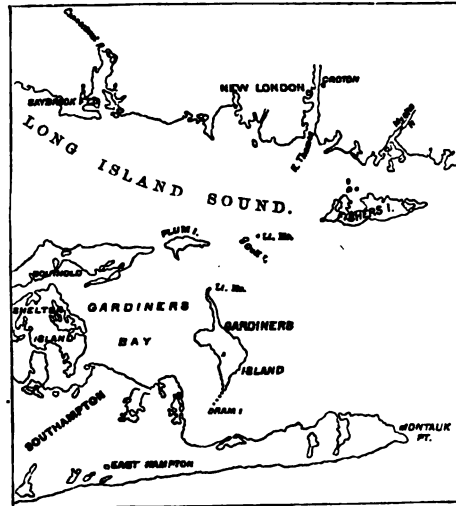
Atlantic, coveted an empire of his own. He sought for an island, so far from the social world that none but barbarians would be likely to visit him without an invitation, and found it, as we have seen. He also provided himself with a number of dependents, chiefly from those who had served in the garrison at Saybrook, and called his retreat the "Isle of Wight."

By the terms of the grant to Lion Gardiner this island was constituted from the first "an entirely separate and distinct plantation," in no wise depending upon either New England or New York, and he was empowered

to make all laws necessary for Church and State, observing the forms—so said the instrument—"agreeable to God, the King, and the practice of the country;" and he was also directed to execute such laws. He is mentioned in the records as the "worshipful Lion Gardiner, Lord of the Isle of Wight." The wrangling between the Dutch and English powers concerning the jurisdiction of Long Island produced no ripple in the atmosphere of this remote miniature principality. At a later period, when the Duke of York took possession of his American territory, a confirmation of the patent was obtained from Governor Nicolls by David Gardiner, the second proprietor. The first General Assembly of New York, in 1683, joined it to Long Island, which roused its owner into a spirited remonstrance. He denounced the arbitrary invasion of rights sacred to himself; he claimed that the island had a distinct existence, to prove which he cited documents from four agents of princes, three of whom had been governors under the reigning monarch; and he further stated that the island had been seated by his father before there was an Englishman settled on Long Island and been held in peaceable possession forty-four years; that it had contributed upward of two hundred and eighty pounds sterling to the support of the Government, never having had any connection with Long Island, nor any assistance from it whatever, not even amid the perils of Indian warfare. The result of this petition was a manorial grant from Governor Dongan of New York, erecting the beautiful island into a "Lordship and manor," to be called Gardiner's Island—with full powers to hold Court-Leet and Court-Baron, distrain for rents, exercise the rights of advowson or nomination to an ecclesiastical living in the churches, and all other privileges accorded to such institutions in England—even capital punishment in extreme cases.

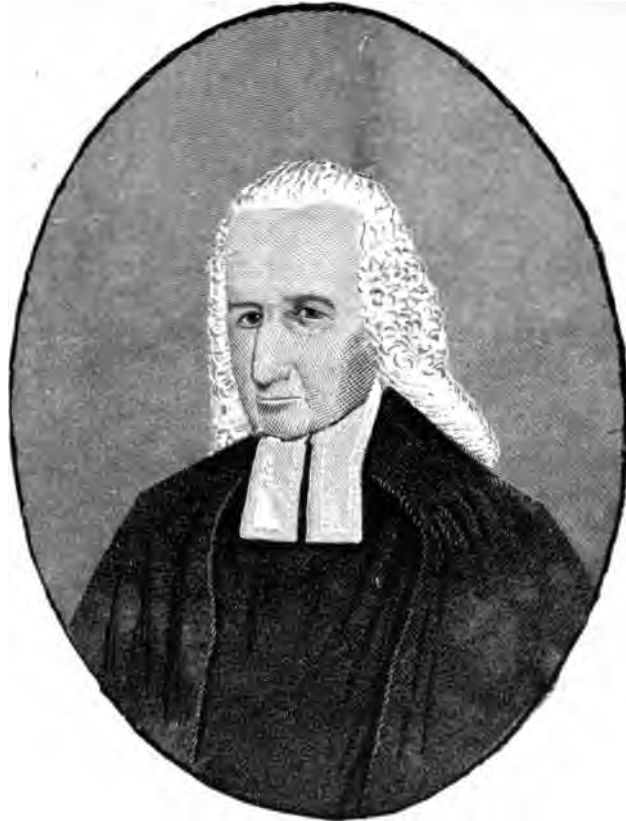
Lion Gardiner was one of those men who seem to have a special genius for public usefulness. While his thrifty farmers were bringing the rich soil of his island under cultivation, he was in constant correspondence with the governors of New Haven and Hartford in relation to Indian affairs. He had personal acquaintance with nearly all the great Sachems of the period, and his quick insight into the Indian temper rendered him a valuable counselor. His knack in managing the forest kings, the result of a certain wise, strong sense of diplomacy, revealed a capacity for statesmanship which might have made him famous in an older civilization. He inspired the utmost respect in the Indian mind, through his fearlessness and decision in emergencies; the influences that went out from him were of a mellowing and subduing quality, and his wit, vivacity and good nature attracted the red men like a magnet. Wyandanch, the "potentate of all

Long Island," who lived in royal state at Montauk, reposed unlimited confidence in him, and confided to him everything which concerned the safety of the neighboring white settlements. Thus Gardiner was able to frustrate numerous savage conspiracies which might have proved disastrous to New England. In one instance the hostile and uneasy Narragansetts, under the lead of their crafty chief Miantonomoh, had perfected a plan to exterminate the white population of Connecticut and Massachusetts, the signal for a general uprising to be great camp-fires along the coast. Miantonomoh appeared at Montauk and made an eloquent speech to the tribe over which Wyandanch ruled, in which he said: "I have come secretly to you because you can persuade the Indians and Sachems of Long Island what you will. All the Sachems both east and west have joined with us, and we are resolved to fall upon the English at an appointed time. Brothers, I will send over fifty Indians to Block Island, and thirty to you from thence; and take a hundred of Southampton Indians, with a hundred of your own here—and when you see the three fires burning in a clear night; then do as we shall do, and follow, and kill men, women, and children—but not the cows—they will serve for provisions till the deer be increased."



This information was communicated to Gardiner immediately, who sent swift messengers across the Sound to warn the endangered colonies, and speedy preparations for defense thwarted the design. Ninicraft, the successor of Miantonomoh, attempted to carry into effect a similar massacre. He sent one of his chiefs to Wyandanch to propose an alliance in the performance of the bloody work; but the brave old Sachem chose rather to provoke the deadly hatred of the Narragansetts; therefore seized the messenger and sent him bound hand and foot to Gardiner, who shipped him in charge of nine men to the Governor of New Haven. A storm detained them at Shelter Island for some days, and in the mean time the fierce prisoner managed to escape and reported himself to his tribe. Ninicraft at once resolved to destroy Wyandanch.

The conduct of the Long Island Indians is without a parallel in the history of this country. No conspiracy, even of a single tribe, on eastern Long Island was ever formed against intruding civilization. While New England and Northern New York were in one chronic alarm for many decades there was peace in these remote plantations. Even during that dark period, just prior to the arrival of Governor Stuyvesant, when the



REV. SAMUEL BUELL, D.D.

whole region about Manhattan was desolated, there was no hostile element on this soil, save when imported from other shores. Domestic animals roamed at will on Gardiner's Island; Indians were free to come and go; and the hum of industry kept time with the music of the billows. There is no indication that the native temper of these tribes was less fierce and cruel than that of those upon the main; but there is evidence that the reasonings and generous sentiments of a superior intellect worked their

way into the common channels of the lower strata of mind, filling the office of a directory; that these simple people of the woods were humanized by the miraculous magic of a master-spirit, and, following the law of nature, imitated his methods. Acts of individual aggression were few; but in such cases the Indians were always willing to submit to Gardiner's investigations and abide by his impartial judgments. Indeed, they often applied to him to settle their differences with each other.

A panic was created in 1649 by the murder of an Englishwoman in Southampton; the authorities of the town sent, in hot haste, for the Sachem Wyandanch, fearing there was to be a general massacre. His braves advised him not to obey the summons, lest he be killed or imprisoned in the excitement of the moment. It chanced that Gardiner was on a visit of ceremony at the Sachem's castle, at Montauk, and the case was submitted to him: "Go by all means, at once, and I will stay as hostage to the tribe for your safety," was Gardiner's prompt reply. Wyandanch hastened to Southampton, actually apprehending the murderers on his way, who proved to be Pequots from the main, instead of his own subjects as he had at first supposed. They were sent to Hartford and there tried by the authorities, and executed.

Shortly afterward, the Narragansetts retaliated by falling upon the peaceable tribe at Montauk, in the midst of the revelry of the bridal night of the only daughter of Wyandanch, and, killing the bridegroom, carried the hapless princess into captivity. Gardiner never rested until he had redeemed and restored her to her father. Wyandanch in the fullness of his gratitude presented Gardiner with a deed of all that region of territory now known as Smithtown.

The last graceful token of the great chieftain's confidence and affection was to leave—at his death—his son of nineteen, the heir of the sovereignty, under the guardianship of Gardiner during his minority. The Government was administered by the "Queen-dowager," who was a woman of great ability; but all acts and transactions of both the royal mother and son were submitted for approval to the autocrat of the Island.

Easthampton, the nearest town on the Long Island shore, was first settled when Gardiner's Island was about fourteen years old. Lion Gardiner was one of its founders, and built for himself a substantial house alongside the parsonage of the Rev. Thomas James. These two were the principal men of the place, and it is recorded that one half of all the whales cast upon the shore were to be divided between them. Gardiner was one of the magistrates of the new town, to whom all deferred; and his ideas and opinions were engrafted upon the forming community. Without in any

sense abandoning his island, he continued to reside in Easthampton until his death in 1663. He left three children, the youngest, Elizabeth, born at Gardiner's Island, September 14, 1641, the first child of English parentage born within the precincts of the State of New York.

David, the only son, was sent to England for an education, and married an English lady in London. The ceremony took place in St. Margaret's Church, which is attached to Westminster Abbey. Through David the Island was entailed by his mother, Lion Gardiner, who died in 1663, at the age of sixty-four, having willed all his property to his wife and left its further disposition solely to her judgment.* A handsome monument in Hartford, Connecticut, where Lord David died while on



IMPRESSION FROM SIGNET RING OF LORD JOHN GARDINER, 1682.

public business to that town, bears the inscription, "Well, sick, and dead in one hour's space;" and also records the date of his birth at Saybrook Fort, and the fact of his having been the first white child born in Connecticut. After David the next lord of the manor was John. It is interesting to note that the proprietors of the Island alternated from John to David, and from David to John through eight successive generations. Lord John (the third) born 19th of April, 1661, died in 1738 at Groton, Connecticut, his death having been caused by a fall from a horse while on a visit to New London. He was consigned to the old burying-ground in that town, and a monument marks his resting-place, inscribed to "His Excellency, John Gardiner, Lord of the Isle of Wight"—surmounted by the arms of the family. It was during his life—in 1699—that Captain Kidd landed upon the Island and buried a large chest of treasures in a sequestered swamp. Fearing the act had been discovered, Kidd, with characteristic boldness, went to the proprietor and told him what he had done. He knew that his very presence was a covert threat in that isolated abode, and when he demanded refreshments for himself and his vicious-looking crew he anticipated no refusal. One of the delicacies which he suggested was a roast pig, hence there seemed no alternative but to roast a pig for the self-invited guest. When the repast was finished, Kidd took courteous leave of his host and hostess, and in so doing bestowed upon Mrs. Gardiner a

* In her will, Mary Gardiner, widow of Lion Gardiner, says: "I give my island called the 'Isle of Wight,' to my son David, wholly to be his during his life and after his decease to his next heire maile begotten by him." . . . "& to be entayled to the first heires maile proceeding from the body of my deceased husband, Lion Gardiner and me his wife Mary from time to time forever. Never to be sold from them and to be a continuous inheritance to the heires of me and my husband forever." This lady died in 1665.

"cloth of gold"—or blanket—of exquisite beauty which he had taken from the *Quedah Merchant*, and which was part of the dowry of the Grand Mogul's daughter. This has been carefully preserved and handed along from generation to generation, and is still in possession of the descendants. Not quite satisfied, apparently, with having placed himself in the position of a beggar before a gentleman's family Kidd is said to have left a costly diamond in the well-bucket, where he pretended to drink just before quitting the island. The diamond was found—whether in the well-bucket or elsewhere—and has ever since been treasured by members of the Gardiner family. No sooner had the pirate captain departed than a trusty messenger hastened from the island with information to the governor, Lord Bellomont, who sent commissioners to exhume and take possession of the buried treasures. A careful inventory was made and a receipt for the articles found given to Gardiner. This paper, although yellow with age, is in existence, showing that the chest contained bags of gold-dust, bags of gold bars, bags of coined gold, bags of silver, bags of jewels and precious stones, and a large quantity of diamonds, with other articles of great value.

During the early years of the century that followed the island manor was frequently visited by privateersmen, smugglers, buccaneers and freebooters, and suffered much loss from their depredations. In 1728, it was completely invested by a band of piratical desperadoes, eighty in number, including Spaniards, Frenchmen and mulattoes. They assaulted the manor-house in the night, destroyed the furniture and beds, and plundered it of household articles, clothing, and valuables of every description; they succeeded in carrying off all the family plate except one solitary silver tankard, which Mrs. Gardiner seized as she fled through a rear passage. Gardiner was severely wounded, and many of his laborers were cut with the weapons of the assailants. The place where the family usually crossed the bay was strictly guarded by the pirates, lest some message of alarm might reach the mainland; but the ladies and servants made their escape through the shrubbery and swamps, guided by a faithful Indian, who placed them in a canoe and paddled them safely to Accabonack harbor. An express was quickly sent to the New York governor for help, but the tidings reached New London first, and an armed expedition was quickly skimming the Sound, which the pirates discovered in time to escape, taking with them every available article of value the island afforded. The tankard is cherished as a priceless relic of this event.

It would be interesting to place ourselves in palpable connection with the line of lords who presided over this manor, and let them pass before



COAT OF ARMS.

retired into the oak tree. John, the third son of the third John, married the daughter of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut, and niece of Sir John Davie, of Creedy, England. Hannah, daughter of the third John, married John Chandler of Worcester, and was the great-grandmother of the distinguished historian, George Bancroft. Another daughter of the third John became the wife of Thomas Green of Boston, and her son, Gardiner Green, married a sister of the late Lord Lyndhurst of England. David, the fourth lord, was born in 1691; and his death is entered in the church records as follows: "Died, Lord Gardiner, 1751, July 4th." Upon his tombstone in the Gardiner graveyard is the coat of arms of which the sketch is a fac-simile.* In his will occurs the



PRESENT ARMS.

MOURNING RING.
1764.

* During the time of the fifth lord, the family coat of arms was changed, reasons for which are at present unknown, since when the new arms have been engraved upon the tombstones of the several proprietors, on the silver plate of the family, etc. Mourning rings were used by the Gardiners in all the generations. One of these bears the design of a coffin with a skeleton in the center, the inscription upon it being "J. Gardiner, Ob. 19 May 1764. Æ 51."

us in lifelike and august procession. Hardly less interesting would be the application of historical analysis to the threads of descent. A few brief glimpses along the highway of the rolling years must, however, suffice. The family became early connected by marriage with many of the influential families of New England. The wife of John, the third lord—who fled from the pirates with the tankard in her hand—was the daughter of "Worshipful" John Allyn of Hartford, so famous in the councils of Connecticut at the time the charter

following passage: "I leave to my eldest son John, my island called Gardiner's Island, and after his decease to his eldest son, and after his decease to the eldest son of the said eldest son, and in that manner to descend to the male line of my family to the end of time." His sons were



MARY GARDINER JOHNSON.

educated at Yale College. John, the fifth lord, presided over the estate for the next thirteen years. His daughter Mary was educated in Boston, and excelled in music, dancing, painting, embroidery, and all the varied accomplishments of a fashionable lady of the period.* She made her début in society in gay Boston, and her seeming infatuation for balls and parties was only equaled by her extravagance in dress. Some of her imported

* The exquisitely embroidered coat-of-arms of the Gardiners hanging over the mantel in the drawing-room of the manor house (see sketch of the drawing-room, page 11), was the work of this accomplished Miss Mary Gardiner.

costumes, still preserved—a hundred and thirty-five or more years old—are of the rarest elegance and richness. To the surprise of the family, she after all fell in love with the chaplain on the island, Rev. Mr. Blake, and persisted in marrying him, although her parents opposed the match. He died soon after, and she the second time married a minister—the Rev. Stephen Johnson, of Lyme, whose first wife had been Elizabeth Diodati. After the death of the fifth proprietor, his widow married Gen. Israel Putnam, of the Revolution, and died at headquarters in the Highlands.

David, the sixth lord, in 1766 married Jerusha, daughter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Buell, the witty and eccentric divine of Easthampton. After the wedding ceremony the minister was congratulated on the very honorable marriage of his daughter. "Yes," he replied, "I have always wished to give my daughter to the Lord."

Thus far the old feudal estate had flourished in its independence of colonial government, in no way disturbed by the political agitations of the times. But with the dawn of the Revolution it bowed to the divinity of a new liberty, and a fresh leaf was turned in its history. Easthampton, strongly supported by the Gardiners, voted unanimously for resistance to Ministerial oppression, and appealed to Congress for aid in withholding support from the British army. In the same document attention was called to the perilous position of Gardiner's Island, and its attractions for the enemy. Before effective action was taken in the matter, a fleet of thirteen sail anchored in Gardiner's Bay, and a party of British officers landed upon the Island to negotiate for the purchase of supplies for the half-famished troops at that moment imprisoned in Boston. David, the sixth proprietor, had recently died, and the property was in charge of the guardians of his children, Col. Abraham Gardiner, David Mulford, and Thomas Wickham. Col. Gardiner resolutely declined all overtures, sending private messengers in hot haste for soldiers to help him maintain his position. Wickham was absent, being a member of the Provincial Congress in session at New York City. There were then no electric wires to flash the news of impending disaster over the land, and no railroads to bring succor from afar in a night. While the heralds of distress were tramping on foot along the tiresome roads, or perhaps making a little quicker time on horseback, the British helped themselves to twelve hundred sheep, and a cargo of hogs, fowls, cheese, and hay, worth several thousand dollars, without payment, and departed. Henceforward, Gardiner's Island was a foraging field for the British, and in a certain sense desolated. Easthampton was presently occupied by a division of the British army. During a summer and a winter, Vice-admiral Arbuthnot,

with eleven ships of the line, remained in Gardiner's Bay. The drafts upon the resources of the Island were constant. The horses were taken for the use of the officers on shore, and the timber was greatly damaged. The best dwelling-house in Easthampton was that of Col. Abraham Gardiner, and the British officers were billeted upon him, much to his discomfort. Sir William Erskine, Lord Percy, afterward second Duke of Northumberland, Lord Cathcart, Governor Tryon, Major André, and occasionally Sir Henry Clinton, were among these guests. They made frequent trips to Gardiner's Island, which was for them a most enticing hunting-ground, and in stormy weather took possession of the manor-house, and diverted themselves with playing quoits in the dining-room. The oaken floors still bear the marks of this game, and it is thought the disks used were Spanish dollars—rough-edged pieces of silver of irregular shapes. Rev. Dr. Buell, the father of the "Lady of the Manor," often accompanied these haughty Britons on their deer-hunts, and his pleasantry, politeness and humorous anecdotes, together with his fondness for the chase, rendered him a general favorite. He made no concealment of his Whig principles, and was called "an old rebel" by the younger officers, while at the same time the admiration and respect which he inspired enabled him by prompt intercession to mitigate the severity of many of the orders which bore heavily upon the people, and to prevent much wanton mischief.

Meeting Sir William Erskine, who commanded the post, one Saturday, that officer remarked to the clergyman that he had ordered the men of the parish to appear on the morrow, with their teams at Southampton. "Ah, yes," said Dr. Buell, "I am aware of it, but I am commander-in-chief on Sunday, and have annulled your order." The precedence was pleasantly conceded and the order revoked. While Major André was quartered with Col. Gardiner, the son of the Col., Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner, a surgeon in the first New Hampshire Continental Infantry, came home on leave of absence. The family carefully suppressed the fact, but after his departure André quietly informed them that he had been aware of his presence in the house, and would have been much pleased to have made his acquaintance, only that his duty as a British officer would have compelled him to arrest the young surgeon as a spy. It was a curious coincidence that this same



THE ANDRÉ WINE-GLASS.

young Dr. Gardiner should have been ordered to attend André on the last night of his life. When Major André left Easthampton he exchanged wine-glasses with Col. Gardiner, leaving two from his camp-chest, and these mementos are now guarded with jealous care by the descendants.

The old Gardiner mansion at Easthampton had a garret entered by a trap-door, which was used as a place of confinement for prisoners during



JOHN GRISWOLD.

this memorable period. It also contained a secret panel where the valuables of the family were secreted during the war to prevent their being seized by the soldiery. Col. Gardiner was at one time under arrest for refusing to call out the militia of Easthampton to sustain Governor Tryon in his attempt to resuscitate the royal government of New York. Finding Col. Gardiner determined in his course, there was little effort made to subdue his spirit, but it became so hazardous for him to remain in Easthampton

that he quietly retired with his family to Stonington, Connecticut, until peace was proclaimed. Wickham was also at Stonington, where he commanded a sloop of eight guns, annoying the enemy in various ways. As trustees of Gardiner's Island they both did all in their power to obtain reparation for damages to the estate of the children and heirs of the late proprietor. It took a full quarter of a century to restore the property to the prosperity it enjoyed before the seven years war. But cultivation finally removed all traces of its Revolutionary chapter.

John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh proprietor, was educated at Princeton, and in 1803 was a bachelor of thirty-four, refined, scholarly, and dwelling in princely solitude on his water-bound manorial estate. Notwithstanding that the distinction of rank had perished under the democratic hammer, he was as much a live lord in the estimation of the people around him as had been his venerated ancestors. The even tenor of his bachelor career was changed by a freak of the elements. A party of gay young ladies and gentlemen from Lyme, on the Connecticut shore, while out on a sailing frolic, were suddenly becalmed on the Sound within sight of Gardiner's Island. As night approached a breeze sprung up, and so did a violent storm. They steered for the island landing, moored their craft, and hastened to the manor-house for shelter. An old housekeeper graciously received them, and presently the handsome proprietor appeared, and finding his visitors were his Connecticut neighbors, extended cordial hospitalities. An elaborate supper was served, and music and dancing followed to the mutual delight of all concerned. The next morning the storm-bound guests, escorted to the landing with marked civility by their host, re-embarked for Lyme. But the island sovereign was never exactly the same man afterward. One of the fair belles thus blown to his castle had stolen his heart. Presently the mind of the little town at the mouth of the Connecticut was nearly unhinged by the grandeur of an arrival. A stylish barge manned by a princely force entered its harbor, and the elegant lord of the manor stepped forth and proceeded to "Blackhall," the seat of the Griswolds. John Griswold was the brother of Governor Roger Griswold, and their two houses stood side by side overlooking Long Island Sound. These brothers were sons of Governor Matthew and Ursula Wolcott Griswold, and grandsons of Governor Roger Wolcott. It was the family of John Griswold who entertained the courtly visitor that day, and on numerous subsequent occasions. Indeed, for a whole season the stately coming and going of the island personage, with his vast retinue, was the chief sensation of the town. Then came the wedding of the beautiful Sarah, daughter of John Griswold—on the 4th of March, 1803. Her mother was Sarah Diodati,

daughter of Rev. Stephen and Elizabeth Diodati Johnson, descended through a long line of the Italian nobility from Cornelio Diodati of Lucca in 1300. Whether the bride inherited governing and exemplary qualities from her distinguished ancestry or otherwise, she was a lady of superior excellence and force of character, and through a long and eventful life commanded the confidence and affection of all who knew her. She bore a striking resem-



LADY SCARLETT.

[From the original painting in possession of Mrs. Sarah Diodati Thompson.]

blance in her bridal days to Lady Scarlett, sister of the William Diodati who emigrated to America, and whose husband, Anthony Scarlett, was one of the notable family of that name, the head of which has since been made Lord Abinger. Many pieces of massive silverware and other articles of special value, together with her portrait and family Bible, Lady Scarlett bequeathed to her brother William, and these treasures were subsequently

inherited by Mrs. John Griswold (the mother of Mrs. Gardiner), through whose children they have been handed along and are still in possession of the American Diodati descendants.

But with all the sunshine and love-romance of intervening years, the island was to taste still further the fruits of war. In 1812, a formidable British fleet came to anchor in Gardiner's Bay. Shortly afterward, some American vessels were chased into New London harbor, where they were blockaded during the next three years. The fleet, numbering as many as seven ships of the line with several frigates and smaller vessels, obtained supplies chiefly from Gardiner's Island. Foraging parties often killed oxen at the plow, and carried them to the vessels. Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy was in command, and endeavored to restrain his men from showing disrespect to the proprietor and his family. But the sailors were perpetually coming ashore, and the subordinate officers were not the best of teachers by example. The steward of the island, Lewis Edwards, was generally paid the market price for whatever was taken with his knowledge in the way of provisions. A letter from Commodore Hardy to John Lyon Gardiner explains the situation. He wrote :

"As it is probable the Government of the United States may call you to account for permitting refreshments to be taken by the British Squadron from your place, it may be necessary for your satisfaction, and to prevent your experiencing the censure of your Government, for me to assure you, that had you not complied with my wishes as you have done, I should have made use of force, and the consequences would have been the destruction of your property, yourself a prisoner of war, and whatever was in the possession of your dependents taken without payment. But I beg to say to you that it is not my wish to distress individuals on the coast of the United States who may be in the power of the squadron."

Not long after a boat's crew of Commodore Decatur's men slipped out of New London, passed the British guns without discovery, and landed on Gardiner's Island, hiding in the woods. Presently a party of British officers were seen going up to the manor-house. The Americans sprang upon them as they were comfortably seated in one of the spacious apartments, and much to their chagrin carried them off at once as prisoners. When Hardy heard of it he ordered the arrest of Gardiner, supposing he had been instrumental in betraying his men into the hands of the enemy. The presence of Americans upon the island had been as much of a surprise to Gardiner as to the officers who fell into their hands. And not coveting indefinite incarceration, he resorted to a little strategy in his own behalf. He retired to an apartment known as the "green room," and being a delicate looking man the reflection of the green curtains gave him a sickly aspect. A small table alongside the bed was provided with medicines,

glasses, spoons, etc. When the officers arrived to take him hence, Mrs. Gardiner met them with whispers, begging them to make as little noise as possible. Gardiner's appearance brought them to a stand, and not wishing the encumbrance of a sick man on board ship, they demanded his eldest son, David Johnson, as hostage. The boy was away at school, and they finally left. The next morning came the following letter from Captain Charles Paget of the squadron, addressed to Gardiner :

"I have discovered a degree of doubt and suspicion in the minds of the officers of the squadron concerning your disposition towards us. In order, therefore, that there shall be

in future no mistrust on the one hand, and no plea of ignorance on the other, this is to give notice, that Gardiner's Island has been permitted the indulgence of remaining in its present peaceable situation throughout the war, and is still enjoying it by sufferance only, and therefore, if the most trivial instance of hostility is ever practiced upon any boat or individual whatever belonging to the squadron, or if it should ever be discovered that any men under arms on any pretense whatever are landed upon said island, the most serious consequences will be visited upon you and your property, and that there may be no possible grounds for our mistaking each other, I hereby in writing set down the terms upon which alone Gardiner's Island will be permitted to remain unmolested. Supplies will be required from time to time, upon the same footing as hitherto."



MRS. GARDINER.

Some weeks later, Captain Sir Hugh Pigott came on shore with a

number of his men, and parading before the manor-house, made unreasonable demands, threatening to fire upon the building. Gardiner sent his family and servants into the cellar for safety, intending to defend his property at all hazards. The British finally left without executing their threats. When near the shore one of the officers ran back as if for something forgotten, and told Gardiner he had been treated in a most unjustifiable manner, and that Pigott's conduct would be promptly reported to Hardy. Before the roll of another sun a letter of regret and apology reached the island from the Commander-in-chief of the squadron.

During this war Gardiner's boats were always manned by negroes (of

whom there had from the beginning been large numbers on the island, as slaves or employees) that the British guards might know instantly to whom they belonged, and allow them to pass and repass without question.* Many of the British officers and soldiers were buried upon the island during the conflict.

Another notable excitement to which the island was subjected was when it was overrun by foreigners in 1869. The great camp of the Cuban Liberators was established within a mile of the mansion. It was a motley collection of men from all walks in life, ex-officers from all armies and fanatics of all nationalities. They were comparatively unarmed and about two hundred in number. Government in course of events checked the ardor of these ambitious spirits. The animated chase when fifty marines were landed from the revenue cutter *Mohoning* upon the island in pursuit of prisoners will not soon be forgotten by eye-witnesses. Colonel Ryan escaped unhurt, although several times fired upon. He had a place of concealment where it was said he could not be dislodged except by artillery. As the island contains a curious cave, and three or four strange little islands within bogs within islands, there is little reason for doubting the statement.



JOHN LYON GARDINER.

The Gardiners in the different generations have become connected by marriage with the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Van Wycks, Sands, Livingstons and Beekmans of New York, and the Smiths of St. George's Manor and of Smithtown, the Floyds, Joneses, Nicolls, Derings, Sylvesters and Thompsons of Long Island, as well as with the leading families of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Colonel Abraham Gardiner's daughter Mary married Judge Isaac Thompson, of Sagtikos Patent. Colonel Abra-

* Near Easthampton is now a small village of negroes, called Freetown; its inhabitants are descendants of the slaves and free servants of the lords of the manor of Gardiner's Island in early times.

ham Gardiner's grandson, David Gardiner, born in 1784, and educated at Yale, was several years in public life, a man of ability and many accomplishments. He was one of the distinguished party invited by the President on the pleasure trip of the frigate *Princeton* down the Potomac in 1844, and was killed by the explosion of Captain Stockton's great gun when the frigate was about to pass Mount Vernon, an accident which plunged our national capital into deepest mourning, for two of the Cabinet ministers and three other well-known gentlemen were also instantly killed. The six were all buried from the great historical East Room of the Presidential mansion.

About three months after this sad event the daughter of David Gardiner was married to President John Tyler. The engagement had been kept a profound secret, and no one but the immediate relatives and friends were present at the marriage ceremony, which was performed by Bishop Onderdonck in the Church of the Ascension, New York City. A wedding breakfast was served at the Gardiner family residence in Lafayette Place, and then the bride and groom drove down Broadway in an open barouche drawn by four white horses, and embarked on board a ship of war in the harbor, sailing down the bay to Amboy on their way to Washington. The first intimation the public had of so unusual an event as that of the marriage of a President of the nation during his term of office, was from the guns of the forts and shipping as the President passed. The smoke from one of the saluting guns formed a perfect ring and attracted the attention of all present, who regarded it as a happy omen. David Lion Gardiner, son of the lamented David Gardiner (now a resident of New Haven), married his cousin Sarah, the daughter of David Thompson the grandson of Judge Isaac Thompson, and herself the granddaughter through her mother of John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh proprietor of the manor.

John Lyon Gardiner died in 1816, and his eldest son, David Johnson Gardiner, the eighth proprietor of the island, was the last of the family to receive the property by entail. He was born in 1804, graduated from Yale in 1824, and died unmarried in 1829. His brother, John Griswold Gardiner, followed him as ninth proprietor, and died unmarried in 1861. The third brother, the late Samuel Buele Gardiner, succeeded to the proprietorship as the tenth in the line. He married Mary Gardiner, daughter of Jonathan Thompson, Collector of the Port of New York, and granddaughter of Judge Isaac and Mary Gardiner Thompson; and her brother, the late David Thompson, who for many years held important monetary trusts in Wall Street, married Sarah Diodati Gardiner, sister of the eighth, ninth, and tenth proprietors—the only surviving daughter of John Lyon and Sarah Griswold Gardiner, who still resides in Lafayette Place, New York

City. Samuel Buell Gardiner was a man who enjoyed life rationally, spending most of his time in taking care of his property and was never anxious for public service, although he was twice a member of the New York State Legislature and was one of the Board of Supervisors. He was of slight, graceful figure, over six feet in height, with high forehead, handsome features, a pleasing smile, and a white, full beard—an



SAMUEL BUELL GARDINER.

agreeable, well-bred, unostentatious gentleman of the old school, holding a high place in the esteem and confidence of the community. At his death, in 1882, the island was left by will to his eldest son, David Johnson Gardiner; but the eleventh proprietor being a bachelor and not caring to assume the care and responsibilities of the position, has since transferred the property, with all its rights and privileges, to his brother,

John Lyon Gardiner, who married Coralie Livingston Jones, the great-granddaughter of the celebrated New York City mayor, James Duane (whose portrait was published in this Magazine in May, 1883), and who is now the twelfth proprietor of the island. He has two young daughters, and an infant son appropriately named Lion Gardiner, who is expected to inherit the ancient estate.

In spanning the two hundred and fifty years since the founder of the manor of Gardiner's Island, moved by the conflict of European thought and the higher forces of manhood and culture, stepped from an old world into a new, a perfect chain may be wrought from the grains of gold in the miscellaneous mass of record and story—like a garment woven without seam—a combination of unity and grace. Neither remoteness of time nor colonial obscurity should cast a haze over our perceptions. A ripening mind, from an age of exhilarating intellectual activity, familiar with the policy of courts and the conclusions of philosophers, imparted lessons to his generation which went toward the preparation of succeeding generations

"For the day of greater power,
When the bell of Revolution might safely toll the hour."

The sword may carve the pathway to a throne, and imperial edicts may reconstruct kingdoms, but neither can engrave the enduring character of a people. We must look behind the scenery of battles for the subtle moral agencies which have not only advanced us to our present plane of intellectual freedom, but have given a tinge and a flavor to the whole anatomy of our sovereign organization. We are becoming better acquainted, year by year, with the men who shaped our social and political systems; but there is significance in the remark that "no biography will go into a life without a remainder." There is always more to learn.

Martha J Lamb

COUNT DE VERGENNES

THE FRENCH STATESMAN'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICA

Charles Gravier, Count de Vergennes, born at Dijon, the 28th Dec., 1717, was the son of a member of parliament of that city. He was trained for a diplomatic career by M. de Chavigny, who was allied to his family, and had been employed as envoy of France in Switzerland, Spain, England, and Vienna. He accompanied Chavigny to Lisbon, and in 1750 he was named minister of the king to the Elector of Treves. Three years later he was advanced to Constantinople, where amid the intrigues of England, Prussia, Austria, Russia and Poland, he baffled the policy of England and Russia, and kept the Porte in a state of neutrality during the seven years' war. After two years of retirement on his estate in Burgundy, he was made ambassador to Sweden on the fall of Choiseul in 1771. Here he assisted Gustavus III to become an absolute monarch.

On the accession to the throne of Louis XVI, May, 1774, the young king, then in his twentieth year, on the recommendation of Maurepas appointed Vergennes, who was in his 55th year, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Among his associates in the cabinet were Sartine, Malesherbes, St. Germain, Turgot, and his successors in the department of finance, Neckar and Calonne. An elaborate sketch of Vergennes may be found in the *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne* (vol. 48 of the first edition). Another, less complete is given in a "Mémoire historique et politique sur la Louisiane," attributed to Vergennes, and published at Paris in 1802. He is described as modest in his desires and habits, of indefatigable zeal and extraordinary industry, never postponing till the morrow what could be done to-day, and working from daylight till ten at night, imitating in this the Cardinal de Bernis, who at an advanced age gave an audience at six in the morning. "His manners were grave and at times almost pedantic, and he enveloped himself in diplomatic forms even with the ambassadors of the family," the House of Bourbon. The Count d'Aranda, the able ambassador of Spain at Paris said, "I chat with M. de Maurepas, I negotiate with the Count de Vergennes," indicating the levity of the first and the gravity of the second. "He was never known," said M. Mayer, "for his luxury or his tastes, but for his talents and his virtues. His fortune was the result of forty years of work and economy, and he died in the arms of his wife and his two sons, 13 Feb. 1787." Among the great European treaties with

which his name is associated are the Pacification of Teschen, the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Joseph II., and commercial treaties with Russia and England.

The view given in the *Biographie Universelle* of the policy of Vergennes in assisting the American colonies is to this effect: "The cabinet of Versailles saw only an occasion to humiliate a rival empire, and a young noblesse imbued with the principles of the modern philosophy was the first to respond to the cries of liberty from the other side of the Atlantic, and to solicit as a favor permission to join the ranks of the insurgents. This same opinion led to the Alliance with the United States, of February 6, 1778. Without doubt the definitive Treaty of 1783, establishing the independence of America effaced the stain of that of 1763. Without doubt the French diplomacy in establishing the Maritime League of the North under the name of armed neutrality, and in arming Spain and Holland against England, placed England in a difficult position. But the deficit caused by that war and the principles of liberty and equality brought over from America, and little by little inoculating the French people, created the abyss in which the monarchy and the monarch were soon to be engulfed."

The early assistance given by Vergennes to the American colonists was in direct violation of the faith pledged to England by the treaty of 1763, and on this point Vergennes is condemned by French writers, who in other respects are disposed to eulogize him. Mr. Bancroft remarks that Vergennes never dissembled to himself on this subject, nor professed any justification except that England was an inveterate enemy, whose enfeeblement was required for the future tranquillity of France. Mr. Charles Francis Adams in discussing the policy of Vergennes refers to the fact that on the 2d May, 1776, Vergennes asked the king for a loan of a million of livres for the Americans, to which his majesty assented. This was two months before the Declaration of Independence, and yet five years later, in 1782, when Mr. Thomas Grenville had come to Paris to negotiate a peace, the Count de Vergennes gave to Grenville in Franklin's presence, the assurance that he had never given the least encouragement to America until long after the breach was made and independence declared; and then he added, "there sits Mr. Franklin, who knows the facts and can contradict me if I don't speak the truth." Mr. Adams in a note severely condemns the audacity of the falsehood.

Vergennes, when he heard the conditions of the Treaty of France with England in 1763, made a notable prediction, which he afterward recalled to the British Ministry, that the cession of Canada would lead to the inde-

pendence of the American colonies. In 1775, when the news of the battle of Bunker Hill reached Europe, he said, "two more such victories and England will have no army left in America."

He overcame the objections of the young King, of Maurepas, of Malesherbes and of Turgot to a war with England, and the "Considerations" which he submitted to the King were marked by an acute analysis of what he called "this important problem," looking to the interests of France and the necessity of her acting in self-defense.

In December, 1776, Vergennes received the American Commissioners, when he assured them of protection and received their project of a treaty with France.

December, 1777, came the news of Burgoyne's surrender, and on the 6th of February, 1778, the treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce, the object of which, as Vergennes showed in a memoir in March, 1784, had been to curb the ambition and pride of England, and to prevent the American revolution from turning to the disadvantage of France. The idea of an alliance with America was most unpalatable to Spain, which was extremely hostile to American independence, and the success of Vergennes in inducing Spain to join in the war was regarded as a triumph of diplomacy. Mr. Bancroft has shown in his last volume that the price demanded by Spain and agreed to by France as the *quid pro quo* for her entering into the war, was the sacrifice to Spain of the interests of the republic in two particulars. First, the division of the Newfoundland fisheries between France and Spain to the exclusion of the United States; secondly, Spain was to be left free to exact from the United States "a renunciation of every part of the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, of the navigation of the Mississippi, and all the land between that river and the Alleghanies." *

Mr. Bancroft's text and notes on this point offer a perfect explanation of the policy of Vergennes in reference to the American claims, of which Mr. Charles Francis Adams had remarked that nothing is more remarkable throughout this struggle than the patient deference manifested by the Count to all the caprices, the narrow ideas, and the vacillations of the Spanish court." John Adams was told that it was often said among the French people that M. de Vergennes was too complaisant to the Spanish Court, and that he wished to be made a grandee of Spain to cover his want of birth. †

A collection of letters and parts of letters bearing on the American war gathered by Mr. Bancroft from European archives was given by him to

* Bancroft, X., 191.

† III. Adams, 326.

Count Adolphe de Circourt, who printed them in the third volume of his work translated from Bancroft's history and entitled "*Histoire de l'action commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'indépendance des États Unis.*" *

Among these, as bearing upon the policy and methods of Vergennes in his elaborate and ingenious efforts to accomplish the wishes of Spain, may be cited—First, correspondence with the French envoy at Madrid, the Count de Montmorin, from 18th December, 1777, to the 8th June, 1782; second, instructions and correspondence with his skillful envoys in America, M. Gerard and M. de la Luzerne, from 29th March, 1778, to the 30th December, 1782; third, correspondence with M. de Rayneval, his confidential agent in England, from 15th September, 1782, to the beginning of 1783; fourth, fragments extending to ten pages (III. De Circourt, pp. 29–38) of a "Mémoire sur les principaux objets dont on doit s'occuper dans la négociation pour la paix," without date, but between 30th May, 1782, and 15th June, 1782. This curious paper shows the interest taken by France in the wishes of Spain; it relates specially to the need of restraining the United States in their boundaries, of forestalling an increase of their power by "leaving them not too much land," and by taking precautionary measures against emigration, so as to avoid the effect of their bad example on the Peruvians, the Mexicans, and other colonists, and proposing that England, Spain, France and Holland should combine to check the Americans by force at the first infraction of the narrow limits to be assigned to them. The confidential letters disclose the actual view of the American claims taken by the French Ministers, by whose opinions our commissioners were to be governed, and they show us what would have been the result had those instructions been obeyed. They teach us the motives and the methods of the French court. They enable us to judge of the discernment and skill of the several players in that game of nations in which American interests were so largely involved, and they are more interesting now for the reason that for half a century at least the policy of France has been in dispute. The correspondence of Vergennes has been misrepresented, and the true history of the negotiations falsified and caricatured. Whatever may be thought of the morality or the faith of the efforts of France to secure for Spain the territories, privileges and power which the American people demanded and expected to secure, there will be but small difference of opinion as regards the ingenuity, pertinacity and seeming success up to the actual beginning of the negotiations as regards Oswald's commission, with which the scheme was pushed by Vergennes

* Paris: F. Vieweg, Rue Richelieu 67. 1876.

and his astute agents in America, who used in turn menaces, promises, and even bribes, or, as they termed it, "donatifs * * * donnés ou promis a différents auteurs Américains." M. de Circourt explains in a note that these "donatifs" were "secours temporaires en argent," and adds that this delicate subject has been even in our own day the subject of criticisms and controversies into which he declines to enter.

The diligent efforts of Vergennes to assist Florida Blanca in the enfeeblement of the Republic by securing for Spain the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, the Mississippi and the fisheries, did not interfere with his assuring Congress that "the King would most readily employ his good offices in support of the United States in all points relating to their prosperity." A committee of Congress, with an amiable credulity which they could hardly have indulged had his Excellency's correspondence been laid before them, reported that "Congress placed the utmost confidence in his Majesty's assurances." It was assumed by members that they could hope for no concession from England unless it was demanded and secured for them by France, and a majority of Congress, at the dictation of M. de la Luzerne, amended the instructions to their peace commissioners, and ordered them "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally the King of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion."

This was the instruction which M. Gerard, in the intercepted letter about the fisheries, exultingly described as making "the King the master of the terms of peace," and under this instruction Messrs. Franklin and Jay consulted Vergennes, when Mr. Oswald appeared with a commission, authorizing him to treat with persons representing the "thirteen Colonies or plantations."

The advice given by Vergennes that they should accept this commission, the singular reasoning by which he supported this view, and his advisement of Mr. Fitzherbert, the British commissioner, that he had given such counsel, were the first great mistakes which led to the overthrow of the policy agreed upon with Spain, and which had been so steadily pursued by the accomplished chief of the French diplomacy. They did not seem to affect Franklin, who was not only a Commissioner for the Peace, but was weighted with the responsibilities of Minister to France, and who still retained his confidence in the good faith of the court, and felt bound to obey the instructions of Congress.

But Jay could conceive of no event which could render it proper and

therefore possible for America to treat in any other character than an independent nation. He could not believe that Congress intended them to follow any advice which might be repugnant to their dignity and interest. And in defense of their dignity he broke the instructions as he would have done a pipe, and wrote to America : " I told the minister that we neither could nor would treat with any nation in the world on any other than an equal footing."

The next move on the part of Vergennes was also in furtherance of the Spanish scheme, and proved the last and fatal act that worked its overthrow. The agreement of Vergennes with Florida Blanca, the Premier of Spain, for securing to that power the Mississippi and the great Western territory, and for confining the United States to a narrow strip along the Atlantic, could only be effected by the concurrence of England ; and to submit his wishes on this and other questions to that power, Vergennes selected his ablest and most trusted secretary, M. de Rayneval, the brother of M. Gerard, who had been the French Minister at Philadelphia. Rayneval left for England secretly and under an assumed name, on the 7th September, 1782. On the 9th of September Jay heard of his departure, and correctly assuming that this secret mission imported danger to the American claims, he deemed it prudent to meet it by a counter move, and engaged Benjamin Vaughan, an Englishman, who had been employed confidentially by Lord Shelburne at Paris, and retained there at the earnest desire of Franklin, to convey to Lord Shelburne in conversation their sentiments and resolution ; and Vaughan at once wrote to Shelburne and asked him to delay taking any measures with Rayneval.

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, of the Foreign Office, in the recent life of his grandfather, Lord Shelburne, gives some account of these two missions, representing the opposing claims of France and Spain on the one hand, and of the United States on the other. Rayneval, as had been anticipated, " played into the hands of the English ministers," opposing the American claims to the fisheries, and the western and northern boundaries : his opinions being carefully noted by Shelburne and Grantham. Then came Vaughan, arriving almost simultaneously, charged with the views carefully prepared for that contingency. The English cabinet thought it clear that a profound feud had sprung up between the French and their American allies, and that they should take advantage of it. A new commission, to treat with " the United States of America," was at once ordered and dispatched by Vaughan himself ; and it indicated that England preferred the friendship and prosperity of America to the overtures of Vergennes for her enfeeblement and humiliation. With the new commis-

sion the United States entered upon the negotiation neither as revolted colonies of England, nor submissive dependencies of France, but as an independent and sovereign power.

At this juncture Adams arrived from Holland, and heartily approved the course pursued by Jay. Franklin agreed to act with them without consulting the French Court, and in the negotiation which ensued, the American commissioners, acting with unbroken harmony, secured the great territories and the fisheries of which France and Spain had combined to deprive them.*

When a copy of the Provisional Articles, signed and sealed, was given to Vergennes, he wrote to Rayneval that the concessions by England were

* In addition to the flood of light thrown upon the unfriendly policy of M. de Vergennes toward America in the peace negotiation by the "*Documents inédits*" contained in the third volume of De Circourt, and the invaluable contribution to American history furnished by Sir Edmond Fitzmaurice in the Life of Shelburne, reference may also be made with great advantage to the fourth volume of Mr. Lecky's History of Europe, where the American reader will find an admirable sketch of the peace negotiations with an intelligent comprehension of the facts, and a just appreciation of the difficulties and dangers by which the American negotiators were beset, and of the great triumph which they achieved.

"It is impossible," writes Mr. Lecky, "not to be struck with the skill, hardihood and good fortune that marked the American negotiation. Everything the United States could, with any shadow of plausibility, demand from England they obtained, and much of what they obtained was granted them in opposition of the two great powers by whose assistance they had triumphed. * * * America, though she had been reduced by the war to almost the lowest stage of impoverishment and impotence, gained at the peace almost everything that she desired, and started with every promise of future greatness upon the mighty career that was before her."

As this brief notice of the Count de Vergennes, hastily prepared at the request of the editor of this Magazine to accompany the portrait of that eminent diplomatist, has alluded to the mission of Benjamin Vaughan as the move which arrested the scheme of American spoliation, so long pursued by the courts of France and Spain, and for which Rayneval attempted to enlist the aid of England, it may be proper to allude to the career of that gentleman, and his relations with Lord Shelburne, as showing his peculiar fitness for the delicate mission to which he was appointed, and the duties of which he performed so discreetly and successfully that Jay wrote to Secretary Livingston, "Mr. Vaughan greatly merits our acknowledgments."

Benjamin Vaughan, LL.D. was born in Jamaica, April 19, 1751. He was educated at Cambridge, England; studied law at the Temple, and medicine at Edinburgh. Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice says that Lord Shelburne in July, 1782, dispatched to Paris "Benjamin Vaughan, the Political Economist, an intimate friend of Franklin, to give private assurances to the latter that the change of administration brought with it no change of policy." His stay in Paris not being understood by Mr. Oswald, Shelburne wrote to Oswald, Oct. 21, 1782, that "it had been at the desire of Dr. Franklin." When Lord Shelburne lost his second wife, it is mentioned in his life, that "during her last illness Benjamin Vaughan and Bentham were the only persons permitted to see her." In 1792 Mr. Vaughan was elected to Parliament, succeeding Barré in the representation of Calne. In 1796 he removed to America, settling at Hallowell, Maine, and a part of his valuable library he gave to Bowdoin College.

greater than he had believed possible, and Rayneval, equally astounded, replied that it seemed to him like a dream.

Vergennes was too accomplished a diplomat to quarrel with the Americans for their success. The signing of the Provisional Articles quieted the feud which to the English had seemed inevitable. It had given the United States a position of dignity and strength, which made it the more essential both for the prestige and the interest of France to maintain the most friendly relations with the new power to which Great Britain was so complaisant. Vergennes made us almost immediately a new loan, and soon after wrote to Luzerne, of the French commerce to America, that he felt more than ever the necessity of granting it encouragement and favor.

Jefferson, who admired and liked Vergennes, thus wrote of him to Madison, January 30, 1782, and the note seems to have the more interest from the fact that Vergennes died February 13, two weeks after it was written: "The Count de Vergennes is ill. The possibility of his recovery renders it dangerous for me to express a doubt of it; but he is in danger. He is a great minister in European affairs, but has very imperfect ideas of our institutions and no confidence in them. His devotion to the principles of pure despotism renders him unaffectionate to our governments. But his fear of England makes him value us as a make-weight. He is cool and reserved in political conversation, but free and familiar on other subjects, and a very attentive, agreeable person to do business with. It is impossible to have a clearer, better organized head, but age has chilled his heart."

Whatever the adherence of Vergennes to absolute monarchy and his dislike for republican institutions, whatever his devotion to the House of Bourbon and his indifference to the interests and honor of America, however unfriendly to us his compact with Spain touching the fisheries and the boundaries, the Count de Vergennes will stand in history as one whose policy, if unfortunate for France and disappointing for Spain, materially assisted in the war for American independence, especially in its crowning victory at Yorktown, and perhaps advanced at the peace, however unintentionally, the boundaries, the resources and the greatness of the Republic.


John Jay

PURITANISM IN NEW YORK

ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE XVIII CENTURY

Puritanism is the great religious force which wrought a second Reformation in Great Britain. The Reformation of the 16th century was restrained by the vast power of the monarch and his prelates. It assumed a form differing from the two great branches of the Reformation which flowed from Wittenberg and Zurich. The British Reformation was directed by civil power, so as to carry the nation as a mass in the Reform movement. It was a conservative reformation compromising with the past and designed to be an Anglo-Catholicism rather than a Protestantism. But the Protestant party was not satisfied, still less was the Papal party willing to submit. Hence the religious conflicts which have been the chief forces in the history of Great Britain and her colonies. The Protestant and the Papal parties were restrained but not conquered. They were constrained by persecution to become more earnest, devout and zealous. The Protestant party urged a thorough Reformation. It advanced beyond the Protestantism of the Continent to higher and grander principles of Reform. It gave British Protestantism the characteristic name of Puritanism.

It is common to think of Puritanism in connection with the Congregationalism of New England, or the Nonconformity of England. Puritanism is rather the reforming party in the churches of Great Britain which eliminated itself from the Papal party on the right and the Anglo-Catholic party in the center, and pressed for the complete reformation of the national churches. The struggle of parties continued with varying fortune in the successive reigns from Henry VIII. to Charles I., when the folly and madness of Archbishop Laud brought on the life-and-death struggle which gave the Puritans the control of Great Britain for twenty years. The Puritans strove to reform the national churches of England, Scotland and Ireland, and unite them in one church government with the same forms of worship and doctrine. This was the great aim of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of divines. They failed owing to the development of three antagonistic parties among the Puritans themselves, namely, Episcopal Puritans, Presbyterian Puritans and Congregational Puritans. The majority of these Puritans in the 17th century were Presbyterians, and they produced their platform in the Westminster symbols.



But they were prevented by Cromwell and the Congregationalists from putting their church government in operation. And there was no inconsiderable number of Puritans who preferred the Episcopal form of government and a liturgical worship. These conformed to the established Church of England at the Restoration. In New England, Puritanism tended to Congregationalism, although there was no inconsiderable amount of Presbyterianism mingled with it.

Puritanism is easily recognized by its principles. It insists upon the Protestant doctrine of Justification by faith *alone*. It maintains the Calvinistic doctrine of salvation by grace *alone*. It recognizes the principle of Wicklif and Tyndall; the authority of the word of God *alone*, in matters of religion. The Puritans urged reformation in doctrine, worship, church government and life, in accordance with the word of God *alone*. The Puritans also maintained the principle of a National Church. The Separatists were of a different stock, carrying on the Anabaptist movement of the period of the Reformation. It was not until the Restoration that Presbyterian Puritanism and Congregational Puritanism were excluded from the Church of England and forced to separation.

The Restoration and the conflicts terminating in the Revolution of 1688 established the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and in a certain sense the Congregational Church of New England. It was the irony of the situation which led the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Congregationalists of New England to speak of the Episcopal separation, as they themselves were named Non-conformists in England and Ireland.

New York had been settled by Hollanders. The Reformed Church of Holland was the national church of the colony. Holland in the 17th century distinguished herself above all other lands for religious toleration. Here the exiled Puritans of the several sorts found a home, and from thence they migrated singly and in bands to America. Presbyterian Puritanism was nearest of kin to the Reformed Church of Holland. The Puritans gave to the Hollanders their Pietism and Covenant Theology, and made a poor exchange in accepting so much of Dutch Scholasticism. From Holland the Congregational type of Puritans migrated to New England; Presbyterian Puritans sought refuge with the Dutch in New Amsterdam.

Queens and Suffolk Counties, Long Island, and Westchester County on the borders of Connecticut, were settled by Puritans from New England and from Old England. These seem to have been chiefly Presbyterian in their tendencies, although they employed their township organizations for the

calling and support of their ministers, in accordance with their views as to the union of Church and State.

The earliest Puritan minister in the State of New York seems to have been John Young. He settled at Southold, L. I., and organized a township church, October 21, 1640. He had been ordained in the Church of England. He remained at Southold until his death, February 24, 1672.*

The second Puritan minister was Abraham Pierson, a Yorkshire clergyman, who settled at Lynn, Mass., and from thence removed to Southampton, L. I., with his flock in 1641. In 1644 he removed with a portion of them to Branford, Conn., and again, in 1667, to Newark, N. J., where the first Puritan church in New Jersey was established.†

The third Puritan minister was Francis Doughty. He had probably been vicar of Sodbury, Gloucester, England, where he was silenced for nonconformity. He emigrated to Taunton, Mass., in 1637. When the church was gathered in that place, Doughty maintained the Presbyterian doctrine of infant baptism, over against the Congregational, and "opposed the gathering of the church there, alleging that according to the covenant of Abraham all men's children that were of baptized parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptized, and spoke so in public, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the minister spoke to the magistrate to order him. The magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to go away from thence with his wife and children."‡ He and Richard Smith, an elder, and their adherents, were forced to exile by the Congregational majority. They found refuge among the Dutch. Doughty secured the conveyance of Mespat (near Newtown), L. I., with the view of establishing a Presbyterian colony there. The settlement was begun in 1642, but the Indian war broke up the colony in 1643, and the minister and his flock went to Manhattan Island for shelter during the war. He became the first Puritan, and, indeed, Presbyterian minister, in our metropolis. He ministered here from 1643-48, and was supported by voluntary contributions from the Puritans and the Dutch of the city.§ He also preached at Flushing for awhile. The Dutch ministers, Megapolensis and Drusius, report August 6, 1657, to the Classis of Amsterdam: "At Flushing they heretofore had a Presbyterian Preacher who conformed to our church, but many of them became endowed with divers opinions, and it was with them *quot homines tot sen-*

* E. Whitaker, History of Southold, 1881, p. 113.

† It still lives, vigorous and strong, as the First Presbyterian Church of Newark.

‡ Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing, 1642, p. 40.

§ Doc. Hist. N. Y., I. pp. 305-6, 311, 331, 334-5, 341, 426, 553; II. 93.

tentia. They absented themselves from preaching, nor would they pay the preacher his promised stipend. The said preacher was obliged to leave the place and to repair to the English Virginias." * His daughter married Adrien Van der Donck, a prominent lawyer of the city. Owing to the failure of the colony, Govs. Kieft and Stuyvesant sought to recover the claim upon Mespát, but Doughty declined to restore it. He was at last glad to escape from the wrath of Stuyvesant, and fled to Maryland, where he preached to the Puritans for many years.

The fourth Puritan minister was Richard Denton, minister at Halifax, England, settled at Wethersfield, Conn., in 1630. He removed to Stamford, Conn., in 1641, and in 1644, with a portion of his flock, to Hempstead, L. I., where he remained until 1658, when he returned to England. Denton was a Presbyterian. He is so recognized by the Dutch pastors of New Amsterdam, who wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam in 1657: "At Heemstede, about seven Dutch miles from here, there are some Independants; also many of our persuasion and Presbyterians. They have also a Presbyterian preacher named Richard Denton, an honest, pious, and learned man. He hath in all things conformed to our church. The Independants of the place listen attentively to his preaching, but when he began to baptize the children of such parents as are not members of the church, they sometimes broke out of the church." † He also ministered to the Puritans in our metropolis in an English Puritan church. This was not a separate church building, but the band of Puritans to whom Doughty ministered. They worshipped alongside of the Dutch and the French, in the same church building within the fort, and at different hours of service. The evidence for this service of Denton in our city is derived from an ancient book of records handed down in the author's family:

"Sarah Woolsey was born in New York, August ye 3d, in ye year 1650. Aug 7, she was baptized in ye English church by Mr. Denton, Capt. Newtown godfather. George Woolsey was born in New York, October 10. 1652; October 12 he was baptized in the Dutch church, Mrs. Newtown godmother. Thomas Woolsey was born at Hemsted, April 10th 1655, and there baptized by Mr Denton. Rebeckar Woolsey was born at New York Feb 13. 1659. Feb 16 she was baptized in the Dutch church, Mr. Bridges, godfather, and her grandmother, godmother." The distinction is clearly drawn between *English* church and *Dutch* church. The connection between New York and Hempstead is manifest. The minister, Mr. Denton, baptized one child at Hempstead, another in the English church in New York. Mr. Denton did not baptize Rebecka in 1659, because he

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 106.

† Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 107.

had just left Hempstead for England in 1658. Denton was therefore the second Presbyterian minister in New York city.

From this time forward Puritan ministers settle in New York State with greater rapidity and in greater numbers. Joseph Fordham settled at Southampton, L. I., in 1646, Thomas James at Easthampton, L. I., in 1648, and John Moore at Middleburgh, L. I., in 1652.

There is an interesting description of a Puritan service at Westchester conducted by two laymen, Robert Bassett and a Mr. Bayley, probably ruling elders, in 1656,* the one reading a sermon, the other leading in prayer.

William Leverich settled at Huntington, L. I., in 1658; Jonah Fordham at Hempstead in 1660; Zechariah Walker at Jamaica, in 1662. We do not know whether Fordham and Walker ministered to the Puritans in New York City. It is more than likely, in view of the previous connection through Doughty and Denton, and the subsequent connection through Vesey, McNish and Makemie. Thus when the colony of New Amsterdam was surrendered to the Duke of York, September, 1664, there were within the present bounds of our State 6 Puritan ministers settled with their flocks. There were Puritan bands in New York City and at Rye and Westchester without pastors.

The colony was recaptured by Holland July, 1673, and finally surrendered to the English October, 1674. Edmund Andros became governor under James II., and at once entered upon a struggle with the Dutch and Puritan population in civil affairs, but, so far as New York is concerned, seems not to have troubled the Puritan churches. John Bishop, Puritan pastor at Stamford, writes to Increase Mather, July 10, 1677, that there had been "two churches lately gathered in the island, viz., at Jamaica and Huntington, with the Gov.; good and free allowance, as soon as asked, and that in the way of New England Congregational churches, which liberty I doubt not but he will readily grant to any people, and able ministers if desired."† Gov. Andros reports in 1678, "There are religions of all sorts, one Church of England, several Presbyterians and Independents, Quakers, and Anabaptists of several sects, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial."‡ During these times, the Puritan churches lost many of their veteran pastors, but continued to increase in numbers:

Nathaniel Brewster settled at Brookhaven and supplied Eastchester in 1665; *John Prudden*, supplied Jamaica, 1670; *Eliphalet Jones*, Rye, *Ezekiel*

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 557.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VIII. 4th Series, p. 302.

‡ G. H. Moore, Hist. Mag. 1867, p. 325.

Fogg, Eastchester, and *Joshua Hobart*, Southold, in 1674; *John Harri-man*, Southampton, and *William Woodruff*, Jamaica, and *Peter Prudden*, Rye, in 1675; *Thomas Denham* settled at Rye, 1677, and *Morgan Jones* at Jamaica in 1678. Thus, at the time when Gov. Andros made this report 8 Puritan ministers were at work in the province of New York. During the reign of James II. Puritans flourished in the province. The only difficulty was to secure a sufficient number of ministers. The great charter of 1683-4 granted liberty of conscience and protected the religious rights of the Puritans as well as the Dutch.

The Revolution of 1688 brought toleration to the Puritans of Great Britain, but brought the Puritanism of America into graver perils. After the disorders of the Revolution, Gov. Sloughter, "a profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer," took charge of the Province, and the troubles of the Puritans began. In the meanwhile, *Joseph Taylor* settled at Southampton in 1680; *Jeremiah Hobart*, at Hempstead, 1683; *Warham Mather*, at Westchester, *John Woodbridge*, at Rye, 1684; *Dugald Simson*, a Scotch Presbyterian, at Brookhaven, 1685; *Joseph Whiting*, at Southampton, 1687. Thus in 1691 there were 9 Puritan ministers at work in the Province. In 1691 the Puritans of the metropolis desired to have *Edward Slade* as their minister, but it is probable that Gov. Sloughter would not consent.* Gov. Fletcher, a "covetous and passionate man,"† took charge August, 1692, and exerted himself to overthrow the Puritanism of the Province and establish the Church of England.

In 1693 an Act of Assembly was passed to enable townships to settle ministers and provide for their support. The Puritan towns availed themselves of the Act, and chose vestrymen and church-wardens to carry it into effect. February 12, 1694, the Vestrymen of New York City assembled, all members being present.

"Upon reading an Act of Gen^l. Assembly entituled an Act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York, & itt was proposed to this board what Persuasion the person should be of by them to be called to have the Care of Souls and officiate in the office of minister of this Citty, by Majority of Votes itt is the opinion of y^e board that a Dissenting Minister be called to officiate and have the care of souls for this Citty as aforesaid." ‡

But the Governor would not give his consent to a Dissenting minister.

As Dr. Moore says: "There can be no doubt that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting clergy.

* G. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.* 1867, p. 326. † Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, II. p. 38.

‡ G. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.* 1867, p. 330.

Such had been the manifest tendency of the previous legislation on the subject. All the Assembly but one were Dissenters, and the Church of England was hardly known in the Province. . . . In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing, and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people who were affected by the operation of the law."*

The Governor desired to secure the place for *John Miller*, chaplain of the British forces, but in vain. This same John Miller reports in 1695 that there were at least forty families of English Dissenters in the city.

January 26, 1695(6) the Puritan Vestrymen elected by the people, chose *William Vesey* to be their minister. *William Vesey* was born in Braintree, Mass., 1674, graduated Harvard 1693. He was trained by Increase Mather, and sent by him to strengthen the hands of the Puritans in New York. Vesey began preaching at Hempstead, and, as so many of the pastors of Jamaica and Hempstead before him and after him, also ministered to the Puritans of our metropolis in the year 1694-5. He was thus the fourth Puritan minister known to have been connected with our city.

The Church of England men were now determined to take matters in their own hands without regard to the Vestrymen. Accordingly ten principal men, led by Cols. Heathcote and Morris, March 19, 1695-6, petitioned Gov. Fletcher for leave to purchase ground and erect a church. This was granted, and they were permitted to collect funds for the purpose, and received aid in every way from the authorities.

Col. Heathcote also made a bold and successful stroke of policy. He prevailed upon the Puritan minister to conform to the Church of England and to sail to England for orders.

August 2, 1697, Vesey was ordained by the Lord Bishop of London, and returned to become the first rector of the Episcopal Church in this city, and its most zealous advocate against his former friends and associates. The conformity of Vesey to the Church of England was the most unfortunate event that could have happened to Presbyterian Puritanism in New York State. It gave the Episcopal Church the primacy in the city, which by right belonged to the Presbyterian Puritans. We have a Presbyterian view of it from a letter of *James Anderson*, the first Presbyterian pastor, December 3, 1717. He says: "After the English had it, endeavors were used by the chief of the people who understood English, toward the settlement of an English Dissenting minister in it, and, accordingly, one was called from New England, who, after he had preached some time here, hav-

* Hist. Mag. 1867, p. 328.

ing a prospect and promise of more money than what he had among the Dissenters, went to Old England, took orders from the Bishop of London, and came back here as a member of the Established Church of England. Here he yet is, and has done, and still is doing what he can to ruin the Dissenting interest in the place."

The Rev. Alex. Campbell, a missionary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who was severely, but, as we believe, justly dealt with by Vesey, says in bitterness: "He was a bigot for the N. E. Independency before he came over to the church, and now a bigot for the church against the Dissenters." "In the height of his zeal for non-conformity the Hon. good-natured Col. Heathcote, admiring the greatness of his memory and the volubility of his speech, by the prospect of a much better settlement at New York than what he had at Hempstead, prevailed with him to go to England and receive orders."* In our judgment these were not the motives which influenced Vesey to conform to the Church of England. At this time there was a strong tendency on the part of the Presbyterian type of Puritans to conform in England, on account of the liberality of the leading bishops and their antagonism to the Jacobite High-Churchmen. There was the feeling among Presbyterian Puritans that the Episcopal form of government was preferable to the Congregational. The Low-Church Episcopalian and Low-Church Presbyterian of England were scarcely different. The leading Presbyterians of England were willing to accept Archbishop Usher's model, and a little reasonableness on the part of the returning bishops would have swept the entire Presbyterian party of England into the Established Church. One can readily understand that a man like Vesey, with such tendencies, could easily have been prevailed upon to see the advantages of combining the Presbyterian and Episcopal parties of our metropolis in one church organization.

We have still another view of this from an address of the friends of Gov. Hunter to the Lord Bishop of London (circa 1714). "In the year 1697, Col. Fletcher, the Governor, by his example and countenance, promoted the building of Trinity Church in New York by voluntary contribution, and placed in it the present incumbent, Mr. Vesey, who was at that time a dissenting preacher on Long Island. He had received his education in Harvard College under that rigid Independent, Increase Mather, and was sent from thence by *him* to confirm the minds of those who had removed for their convenience from New England to this province, for Mr. Mather having advice that there was a minister of the Established Church of England come over in quality of chaplain of the forces, and fearing that the

* Protestation, N. Y., 1733.

Common Prayer and the hated ceremonies of our church might gain ground, he spared no pains and care to spread the warmest of his emissaries through this province, but Col. Fletcher who saw into this design took off Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this Living, a promise to advance his stipend considerably, and to recommend him for holy orders to your Lordships predecessor, all which was performed accordingly, and Mr. Vesey returned from England in Priests orders." * Whatever the motive of Vesey may have been, there can be no doubt that the mass of the English speaking people of the metropolis were Presbyterian Puritans, and that he was called to be their pastor. The Church of England party consisted of a few new comers in the army and civil government. Vesey betrayed the Presbyterians who had chosen him as their leader. We are not surprised that his treachery was in part successful. The Presbyterian vestrymen were not allowed to call another minister. Instead of the legal vestrymen of the act of 1693, an extraordinary vestry, composed of members of the Church of England, and chosen by members of the Church of England, was constituted by authority of the Governor. † The Presbyterians had nowhere else to worship in their own tongue, so that for several years many of them worshiped in Trinity. As the friends of Gov. Hunter say (circa 1714), "We have yet no dissenting congregation in English in the town, which we fear makes ours larger than it would be if there was one." ‡

The Puritans enjoyed a brief rest under the administration of the "kindlier" Earl of Bellamont, who arrived in 1696, but unfortunately he soon died, and was succeeded by the infamous Lord Cornbury, who "joined the worst form of arrogance to intellectual imbecility." §

The able, genial, but crafty Col. Heathcote settled at Scarsdale Manor in Westchester county in 1692. He became colonel of militia of the county, and the most efficient advocate of the Church of England. He did more for its establishment in the province of New York than any one else, or indeed than all others combined. Heathcote tells us something of his own methods in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, April 10, 1704:

"The people of Westchester, Eastchester, and a place called Lower Yonkers, agreed with one Warren Mather, and the people of Rye, with one Mr. Woodbridge, both of New England, there being at that time scarce 6 in the whole county, who so much as inclined to the church. After Mather had been with them for some time, Westchester parish made

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 438.

† Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 407 seq.

‡ Doc. Hist., III. p. 444; C. W. Baird, *Mag. Am. Hist.* 1879, p. 605.

§ Bancroft's Hist. U. S., II. p. 41.

choice of me for one of their church wardens, in hopes of using my interest with Col. Fletcher to have Mather inducted to the living. I told them it was altogether impossible for me to comply with their desires, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister who was not of the national church, and that it lay not in any Gov^s power to help them, but since they were so zealous for having religion and good order settled amongst 'em, I would propose a medium in that matter, which was, that there being at Boston, a French Protestant minister, Mr. Bondett, a very good man, who was in orders from my Lord of London and could preach in English and French, and the people of New Rochelle being destitute of a minister, we would call Mr. Bondett to the living, and the parish being large enough to maintain two, we would likewise continue Mr. Mather, and support him by subscription. The vestry seemed to be extremely well pleased with this proposal, and desired me to send for Mr. Bondett, which I immediately did, hoping by that means to bring them over to the church, but Mather, apprehending what I aimed at, persuaded the vestry to alter their resolutions, and when he came they refused to call him, so that projection failing me, and finding that it was impossible to make any progress toward settling the church so long as Mather continued amongst us, I made it my business in the next place to devise ways to gett him out of the country, which I was not long in contriving, which being effected and having gained some few proselytes in every town, and those who were of the best esteem amongst 'em, who having none to oppose them, and being assisted by Mr. Vesey and Mr. Bondett, who very often preached in several parts of the country, baptizing the children, by easy methods the people were soon wrought into a good opinion of the church, and indeed much beyond my expectations."

Thus the artful Col. Heathcote knew how to get rid of the faithful Puritan minister, and to gain over the unfaithful Vesey and Bondett, so as to accomplish his design of transferring the Puritan population into the bosom of the Church of England. This was the condition of affairs when Gov. Cornbury arrived and added his brutal tyranny to the artful schemes of Col. Heathcote.

In the meanwhile the churches of Great Britain were arming themselves for more aggressive work. In 1690 the Presbyterian and Congregational Puritans combined in a union in London, and similar unions were constructed all over England. July 1, 1690, a General Fund was established by the two denominations to aid in educating ministers to supply feeble churches and the extending of the Puritan faith. But unfortunately the

Congregationalists and Presbyterians could not agree, and accordingly they divided their strength and organized a Presbyterian fund and a Congregational fund. The Church of England roused herself to greater activity in behalf of the colonies. Dr. Bray was the prime mover in this. In 1696 he went over to Maryland as commissary of the Bishop of London. In 1698 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was founded for the purpose of promoting Christian knowledge in the plantations by furnishing Bibles, prayer books, and religious treatises and erecting parochial libraries. Dr. Bray returned to England in 1701 and presented a noble memorial, in which he says: "My design is not to intermeddle where Christianity under any form has obtained possession, but to represent rather the deplorable state of the English colonies, where they have been in a manner abandoned to Atheism; for want of a clergy settled among them." * Through his influence the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was organized in 1701. This Society at once began an aggressive work in the colonies. The first missionary of the Society in New York was John Bartow, who was put in possession of the Puritan churches of Eastchester, Westchester and Jamaica, by the arbitrary power of Gov. Cornbury. The Puritan ministers Joseph Morgan of Westchester and John Hubbard of Jamaica were forced to retire from their church buildings and parsonages.

A letter of Mr. Bartow to the Secretary from W. Chester, N. Y., Dec. 1st, 1707, gives a graphic representation of the struggle from his own partisan point of view. He says that "after winter was over I lived at Col. Graham's, 6 miles from the church; and all the summer preached twice every Sunday, sometimes at Westchester and sometimes at Jamaica on Long Island about 2 miles distant from Mr. Graham . . . and once I met with great disturbance at Jamaica. Mr. Hobbart their Presbyterian minister, having bin for some time at Boston returned to Jamaica the Saturday night as I came to it; and sent to me at my lodgings (being then in company with our chief justice Mr. Mumpesson and Mr. Carter her Maj^{ty} comptroller) to know if I intended to preach on the morrow? I sent him answer I did intend it. The next morning the bell rung as usual but before the last time of ringing Mr. Hobbart was got into the church and had begun his service, of which notice was given me, whereupon I went into the church and walked straightway to the pew, expecting Mr. Hobbart would desist, being he knew I had orders from the Governor to officiate there; but he persisted and I forbore to make any interruption. In the afternoon I prevented him; beginning the service of the church of En-

* Memorial, London, 1700.

gland before he came; who was so surprised when after he came to the church desk and saw me performing divine service, that he suddenly started back and went aside to an orchard hard by; and sent in some to give the word that Mr. Hobbart would preach under a tree; when I perceived a whispering thro the church and an uneasiness of many people, some going out, some seemed amazed not yet determined to go or stay. In the meantime some that were gone out returned again for their seats, and then we had a shameful disturbance, hawling and juggling of seats; shoving one the other off, carrying them out and returning again for more so that I was fain to leave off till the disturbance was over and a separation made by which I lost about half of the congregation, the rest remaining devout and attentive the whole time of service, after which we lockt the church door and committed the key unto the hands of the sheriff. We were no sooner got into an adjoyning house but some persons came to demand the key of their meeting house, which being denied they went and broke the glass window and put a boy in, to open the door, and put in their seats and took away the pew cushion, saying they would keep that honour for their own minister; the scolding and wrangling that ensued are by me ineffable. The next time, I saw my Lord Cornbury he thanked me, and said he would do the church and me justice, accordingly he summoned Mr. Hobbart and the head of the faction before him, and forbade Mr. Hobbart ever more to preach in that church for in regard it was built by a publick tax it did appertain to the established church, which it has quietly remained ever since and now in possession of our reverend brother Mr. Urquhart. My Lord Cornbury threatned them all with the penalty of the statute for disturbing divine service but upon their submission and promise of future quietness and peace he pardoned the offense. Not long after this, my Lord requested me to go and preach at East Chester, accordingly I went (tho some there had given out threatning words should I dare to come) but tho I was there very early and the people had notice of my coming, their Presbyterian minister, Mr. Morgan had begun service in the meeting house, to which I went straitway and continued the whole time of service, without interruption, and in the afternoon I was permitted to perform the church of England service, Mr. Morgan being present and neither he nor the people seemed to be dissatisfied, and after some time of preaching there afterwards, they desired me to come oftener, and I concluded to minister there once a month, which now I have done for about three years, and Mr. Morgan is retired into New England."*

* It was not until the year 1727, after many years of strife and litigation, that the Presbyterians of Jamaica gained possession of their church building and other property which had been illegally and violently taken from them, and was at last restored by court of law.

Col. Heathcote represents that Joseph Morgan was ready to conform. But in this case he was hasty in judgment. Morgan was of tougher fiber than Vesey. He resisted all the influence brought to bear upon him and remained faithful. He labored for many years as a Presbyterian minister, and died in New Jersey in connection with the Synod of Philadelphia. Mr. Hubbard continued the struggle at Jamaica for several years, preaching in barns and private houses. Rye was taken possession of by Thomas Pritchard, and afterwards by Mr. Muirson, and John Jones, pastor of Bedford, was forced to retire to Connecticut after arrest and reprimand before the Council.*

But all this was preliminary to the conflict which was carried on in New York City in the spring and summer of 1707.

Francis Makemie, a Scotch-Irish minister, came to America in 1683, and settled on the Elizabeth River, Virginia. He preached here and there as an itinerant in Virginia for several years. He went to Barbadoes, and was there licensed under the Toleration Act; remained pastor several years, until, in 1698, he removed to Accomac county, Virginia, and established several preaching places which were licensed according to the law of the colony. In 1704 he went to London and appealed to the London Boards for funds and men. The London Puritan ministers supplied support for two missionaries for two years, and he returned with John Hampton, an Irishman, and George McNish, a Scotchman, in 1705. In the spring of 1706 these three united with four Puritan ministers of Pennsylvania and Delaware in the erection of the first American classical Presbytery in Philadelphia. Makemie, in a letter to Benj. Colman, March 28, 1707, states "our design is to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion and propagating Christianity in our various stations." The organization of the Presbytery was to consolidate the Puritan forces of the Middle colonies. The Massachusetts ministers combined in 1705 in Associations and Standing Councils. The Connecticut churches in 1708 organized on the Saybrook platform and in consociations. The Puritans of the American colonies realized that they were now to struggle with the organized energies of the Church of England with all the power and influence of the Tory Governors at its back.

After the adjournment of the Presbytery, Oct. 27, 1706, Francis Makemie took with him John Hampton and set out on a journey to Boston, probably to consult with the Boston ministers. They stopped at New York on their way. They were invited by the Puritans of the city to

* C. W. Baird, *Hist. of Bedford Church*, 1882 p. 36 seq.

preach for them. The consistory of the Dutch Church, in accordance with their generous custom, offered their church edifice for the purpose. But their kindness was frustrated by the refusal of Gov. Cornbury to permit it. Makemie therefore preached Jan. 20, 1706-7 in the private house of William Jackson on Pearl Street.* William Jackson had been chosen vestryman for several years. He had taken part in calling Slade and Vesey as Puritans. He and the other Puritans of the metropolis were only waiting for an opportunity to secure a Puritan minister. On the same day Hampton preached at Newtown on Long Island. On the following Tuesday Makemie, with Hampton, went to Newtown to preach on the next day according to appointment, but they were there arrested on a warrant from Gov. Cornbury, on the ground that they had preached without his permission. They were detained until March 1st, when they were brought before the Supreme Court on the writ of *habeas corpus*.

The charge against Hampton was not pressed, but Makemie was released on bail to appear for trial June 3d. He immediately returned to Philadelphia with Hampton to the meeting of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, March 22, 1707. From thence he writes to Benj. Colman, of Boston: "Since our imprisonment we have commenced a correspondence with our Rev. Breth. of the ministry at Boston, which we hope according to our intention has been communicated to you all, whose sympathizing concurrence I cannot doubt of, in an expensive struggle, for asserting our liberty against the powerful invasion of Lord Cornbury, which is not yet over. I need not tell you of a pick^d Jury, and the Penal laws, are invading our American sanctuary, without the least regard to the toleration, which should justly alarm us all."

The New England ministers immediately wrote to Sir Henry Ashurst, Sir Edmund Harrison, and other London agents, April 1, 1707: "Except speedy relief be obtained, the issue will be, not only a vast oppression on a very worthy servant of God, but also a confusion upon the whole body of Dissenters in these colonies, where they are languishing under my Lord Cornbury's arbitrary and unaccountable government. We do therefore earnestly solicit you, that you would humbly petition the Queens majesty on this occasion, and represent the sufferings of the Dissenters in those parts of America which are carried on in so direct violation of her majesty's commands, of the laws of the nation, and the common rights of Englishmen."

* This sermon was printed under the title: A Good Conversation. A Sermon preached at the city of New York January 19th 1706, 7. By Francis Makemie, Minister of the Gospel of Christ. Boston 1707, and was reprinted in Collections of the New York Historical Society, III., 1870, p. 411.

Makemie returned to New York, and sustained his trial. He was defended by three of the ablest lawyers in the Province—James Reigniere, David Jamison, and William Nicholl, and acquitted on the ground that he had complied with the Toleration Act, and had acted within his rights as a Puritan minister. He produced his license to preach under the Toleration Act in Barbadoes, and this was recognized as valid throughout the Queen's dominions. The claim of Cornbury, that it was necessary that he should have a special license from the Governor of New York, was simply ridiculous. But notwithstanding his acquittal, Makemie was obliged to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as the defense, amounting to the large sum of £83 7s. 6d. This trial, followed by the bitter pursuit of the acquitted man on the part of the wrathful Governor, was the culmination of a series of tyrannical acts which aroused the entire Puritan body of the colonies and of Great Britain to action. The arbitrary acts of Gov. Cornbury were indefensible. He had exceeded his prerogative, transgressed the provisions of the Toleration Act, and violated the liberties of the Dissenters, and indeed twisted and perverted the royal instructions to himself. He even intermeddled with the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and gained the hostility of all the better elements in the Church of England. The New York Assembly, in April, 1707, remonstrated against his actions, charged him with bribery, with encroachment on the liberties of the people, and finally expressed their determination to redress the miseries of their country.* He was recalled, and in 1709 Lord Lovelace took his place, to be followed, in 1710, by Robert Hunter, "the ablest in the series of the royal governors of New York, a man of good temper and discernment."† Under his administration the tyranny ceased, and the struggle of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy in New York was left to its natural development. In 1710 Makemie's friend, Geo. McNish, the Scotsman, came to Jamaica, and at once assumed the leadership of the Puritans in the Province of New York. He was called in a regular way, in accordance with the Act of 1693, by the church-wardens and vestry of Jamaica. He was a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and the Jamaica church now became a part of the Presbytery. Mr. Poyer (missionary of the S. P. G.) was given possession of the church property by the authority of Gov. Hunter. But McNish carried on the battle with great ability. Gov. Hunter declined to put Poyer in possession of the parsonage. He and the chief justice Mompesson, held "that it would be a high crime and a misdemeanor," to do this save by due course of law. His moderation displeased Poyer, Vesey, Bartow, and

* Bancroft, Hist. United States, II. p. 42.

† Bancroft, Hist. U. S., II. p. 44.

Thomas, who had become accustomed to the arbitrary measures of Cornbury, and they complained to the Bishop of London; but the laymen, Col. Heathcote and Col. Morris, and the good chaplain, Sharp, sustained the Governor, and placed themselves on the side of justice and right. Col. Morris, in his letter of February 20, 1711, comparing the strength of Puritans and Churchmen, says: "There is no comparison in our numbers; and they can, on the death of the Incumbent, call persons of their own persuasion in every place but the city of New York. . . . I believe at this day the church had been in much better condition, had there been no act in her favour; for in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, where there is no act in her favour, there are four times the number of churchmen that there are in the Province of New York, and they are so most of them upon principle. Whereas nine parts in ten of ours will add no credit to whatever church they are of." Col. Heathcote says, in his letter Feb. 11, 1711: "Many of the instruments made use of to settle the church at Jamaica, in its infancy, were of such warm tempers, and, if report is true, so indifferent in their morals, that, from the first beginning, I never expected it would be settled with much peace or reputation."

McNish became a tower of strength, about whom the Puritans of the Province of New York rallied. With the accession of the House of Hanover in 1714, persecution of Puritans in America ceased. In 1715 Samuel Pomeroy, of Newtown, united with the Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1716 these two were authorized to join with others in establishing the Presbytery of Long Island. Geo. Phillips, of Setauket, united with them, and these three ordained Samuel Gelston, pastor of Southampton in 1717. In the summer of the year 1717, James Anderson, a Scotsman, preached for a month to a small handful of people in New York City. These sent him a call to Newcastle, Delaware, where he was settled. The Synod transported him to New York, and he began his work in the late autumn of 1717. December 3, 1717, he wrote to Principal Sterling, of Glasgow, for aid. The congregation went to work to erect a church building. In the spring of 1718 they were permitted to worship in the City Hall while their church was in course of erection. They raised £600 by private contributions in the city, and applied for aid to the colony of Connecticut and the Church of Scotland. The Legislature of Connecticut ordered a collection throughout the colony, and it was speedily forwarded. There was some delay in the help from Scotland. The cost of ground and expense of building were unexpectedly great. The church became involved in debt and disputes, and were greatly discouraged.

Nov. 22, 1718, William Tennent settled at Eastchester and began to

rebuild Puritanism in Westchester Co. He removed to Bedford May 1, 1720, and remained till Aug., 1726, preaching with wondrous zeal in the several townships of the country.* The troubles in the Presbyterian Church of our city grew worse and worse. Two parties developed, dividing the trustees and people. Dr. Nicoll and Patrick McKnight were with the pastor on one side, Messrs. Livingston and Smith were on the other. Sept. 19, 1720, Anderson and his supporters applied to Gov. Burnett for an Act of Incorporation, and they were opposed by a remonstrance of Gilbert Livingston and Thomas Smith, and failed to secure it.

Sept. 26, 1720, Messrs. Livingston and Smith complained to the Synod and questioned the regularity of the proceedings of the Presbytery of Long Island in settling Mr. Anderson; and complained of his sermons. The Synod sustained the Presbytery in settling him, but expressed the wish that the sermons "had been delivered in softer and milder terms in some passages." Dr. Nicoll represented to the Church of Scotland "that some who had hitherto appeared forward to promote the work not only withdrew their assistance, but vigorously opposed the same. . . . A stop was put to this good work for the space of twelve months, during which time the walls, half raised, stood as a monument of ridicule to the enemies of our profession, who were not wanting to make us their daily derision on this account." The real trouble was with the narrowness of the pastor. He pressed his Scotch peculiarities and offended the English in his congregation, and they could not endure him. They withdrew in 1722, and organized a separate congregation, and called Jonathan Edwards as their minister. Dr. Nicoll was obliged to pay these two trustees who withdrew half of the amount of the bond, £175. These trustees were on the church bond for that amount. Anderson writes to Principal Sterling, Sept. 9, 1723:

"We in this congregation are now, by burden of debt and other unnatural oppression, brought to the utmost pinch of necessity, so that if we meet not with speedy relief, we shall in all human probability, be obliged to quit striving and give up our interest in this place."

Patrick McKnight went to Scotland and appealed to the Synod of Glasgow for aid for the Scotch and English Presbyterian Church in New York (as he calls it), April 5, 1722. Dr. John Nicoll went over to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for aid in the next year. May 16, 1724, it was resolved by the General Assembly to make a collection for the purpose. £401 2s. 6d. were raised and sent over to Dr. Nicoll.

September 20, 1723, a committee of conference with the ministers of Connecticut was appointed by the Synod of Philadelphia, and as a result the

* C. W. Baird, Hist. Bedford Church, p. 45 seq.

two congregations were consolidated, but the wounds were only partially healed. The difficulties assumed another phase. Dr. Nicoll nobly stood in the breach and assumed the debts of the church, in reliance upon the aid promised by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This help was tardy. After the principal sum had been paid the balance continued to be a burden for a long time. But Dr. Nicoll now had to defend the gifts from Scotland from the pastor and his adherents, who claimed that a portion of them should be set aside to pay the deficiency in the pastor's salary. But Dr. Nicoll rightly contended that these funds were collected in Scotland for a specific object, namely, the church building, and could not be alienated to another object. In this he was sustained by the Church of Scotland in the prolonged discussion which followed. Dr. Nicoll managed the finances too much by himself, and was not sufficiently considerate of his associates in the trusteeship, so that in 1725 the three united with the pastor in demanding an explanation. They complained of charges of interest, non-cancellation of bonds and other irregularities, and brought these charges before the Presbytery of Long Island and transmitted them to Scotland. But Dr. Nicoll was sustained by the people of the church and by the Church of Scotland, so that at last James Anderson was forced to retire and Ebenezer Pemberton was called from New England. Under his pastorate the church prospered greatly. The good Dr. Nicoll departed in peace October, 1743. As his pastor said in a funeral discourse in the First Presbyterian Church in Wall Street: "These walls will be a lasting monument of his zeal for the house and public worship of God, in the erecting of which he spent a considerable part of his estate. While the Presbyterian Church subsists in the city of New York, the name of Dr. Nicoll will ever be remembered with honour, as one of its principal founders and *greatest benefactor*." *

The Presbyterian Church of New York City now became the center of Puritanism in the province. In 1738 the Presbytery of Long Island was enlarged by several churches in New Jersey, and received the name of the Presbytery of New York.

In the middle of the 18th century Puritanism gave birth to Methodism. This subsequently divided into several varieties, the chief of which were—Wesleyan Methodism and the Methodism of Whitefield's connection. But Methodism influenced more or less all the churches of Great Britain and her colonies. It was a great religious movement like Puritanism before it, of which indeed it was a revival. The Methodism of America in the

* Sermon of Eben. Pemberton on the occasion of the death of John Nicoll, M.D. N. Y. 1743. p. 24.

18th century was almost entirely Calvinistic, and it did not result in the organization of new sects. But it unfortunately divided all the churches of the colonies into antagonistic forces. The leaders of American Methodism in New England were Edwards, Bellamy, and Colman ; in the Middle States Freylinghausen and Tennent. The Presbyterian, and indeed all the Puritan churches of the Province of New York, were in sympathy with the movement of Methodism, and sustained Whitefield when he came over to be its chief captain in 1739. The churches were greatly enlarged. This is enthusiastically described on the Book of Records of the Trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City thus: "About the year 1739, the showers of heaven began to descend upon the congregation, a large increase of gifts were bestowed upon the minister, and the divine presence manifestly appeared among the people, so that upon our doors it might be truly inscribed *Jehovah Shammah*, the Lord is there. The numbers of the congregation greatly increased and the floor of the building became quite full, which some of us had for a long time scarce hoped to live to see." The revival in New York City was discreetly guided by Pemberton, and in Westchester county by Thomas Smith at Rye, and Samuel Sackett at Bedford, and on Long Island by the ministers generally, except James Davenport of Southold, who with more zeal than discretion was guilty of great excesses, and brought the movement into some disrepute.

This new force of Methodism brought the differences already existing with reference to discipline, subscription, education of ministers, and national traditions, to a head. The Tennents and their adherents were excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741, in the absence of the entire Presbytery of New York. The excluded Methodists all rallied about the Presbytery of New Brunswick. After several years of ineffectual peacemaking, the Presbytery of New York, 1745, combined with the Presbytery of New Brunswick in erecting the Synod of New York. All the churches of the Synod were in sympathy with Methodism. The Puritan churches of Suffolk county now organized the Suffolk Presbytery, in 1746, and were admitted to the Synod of New York in 1749. In 1752 the Rye church united with the Synod, and thus all the original Puritan churches of New York, organized in the 17th century, were combined in one compact synodical organization.

In 1758 the Synods of Philadelphia and New York combined, after the removal of differences and cooling of animosities and prejudices. Nov. 3, 1759, Elihu Spencer, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Jamaica, writes to Dr. Stiles an account of the Dissenting interest in the Middle States. He represents the Presbyterian strength to be greater than that of all other churches combined. In New York and New Jersey (not separated in his

estimate) there were 46 Presbyterian, 20 Dutch Reformed, 12 Episcopal, 8 Baptist, 3 Independent, 2 Lutheran, and 2 French Protestant.* Thus Puritanism in our State had battled its way for little more than a century. It was planted in little bands in the wilderness. It was nurtured amid perils and persecution. It was toughened by internal strife. It was finally revived by the new impulses of Methodism, and grew with marvelous rapidity. It combined its forces in one compact Presbyterian organization. It was relatively more powerful in the middle of the 18th century than it has ever been since. It has long needed a fresh revival of religious energy. As Protestantism advanced into Puritanism and Puritanism marched forward into Methodism, Methodism will ere long develop into something higher and better than they all. May we not hope that this will be in some more comprehensive phase of Christianity which shall combine in a truly Catholic Church of the Future all those churches which have been separated by the conflicts of the olden time.

Charles A. Briggs

* Mass. Hist. Collection, II. Series I., p. 156.

BUILDING OF THE MONITOR

The story of the *Monitor* has never been told. Certainly not so told that justice has been done to all connected therewith.

The world knows of her brilliant action in Hampton Roads by which our imperiled navy was saved and the fortunes of our civil war changed, but the world does not know the men who made this action possible, and a fact in American history.

The invention belongs to Captain John Ericsson, a man of marvelous ability and most fertile brain, but the creation of the *Monitor* belongs to two distinguished iron-masters of the State of New York, viz., the Hon. John F. Winslow, and his partner in business, the Hon. John A. Griswold. These gentlemen, if they did not go to the front, certainly furnished the sinews of war from brain and purse. In the dark days of the Republic, with earnest, heroic and patriotic purpose, under difficulties that would have appalled most men, they undertook the construction of an iron vessel, the record of which commands the admiration of the world.

It was a step which required large faith, energy and capital on their part.

They were not ship-builders, had no special facilities for constructing vessels, and knew nothing by experience of the business, and there had never been any iron war-ships built in this country; hence, for them to attempt to put afloat any kind of a war vessel was a hazardous experiment.

When we consider that the fighting-machine to which they put hands was entirely unlike anything else in the world, and had met with nothing but disapproval from all the naval authorities to whom the matter was submitted, it will be seen that the risk they took was one such as probably no other firm ever assumed under like circumstances.

Nevertheless, they had the means needful for the experiment, and after full consideration decided, patriotically, to risk all in the attempt, and if they failed, bear the loss and the blame themselves.

The story is in this wise: Messrs. Griswold and Winslow were in Washington in the autumn of 1861, in the adjustment of some claims against the government for iron plating, furnished by them for the war-ship *Galena*. There, through Mr. C. S. Bushnell, the agent of Captain Ericsson, they learned that the plans and specifications for a naval war machine, or floating iron battery, presented by Captain Ericsson, found no favor with the special board appointed by Congress in 1861, to examine



and report upon the subject of iron-clad ships. That board consisted of Commodores Joseph Smith, Hiram Paulding and Charles H. Davis. Ericsson and his agent, Mr. Bushnell, were thoroughly disheartened and demoralized at this failure to interest the government in their plans.

The papers were placed in the hands of Messrs. Winslow and Griswold, with the earnest request that they would examine them, and, if they thought well of them, use their influence with the government for their favorable consideration.

Mr. Winslow carefully read the papers and became satisfied that Ericsson's plan was both feasible and desirable. Commodore Smith was seen, but his interest could not be awakened nor his objections overcome. After conference with his friend and partner, Mr. Griswold, it was determined to take the whole matter to President Lincoln. Accordingly, an interview was arranged with Mr. Lincoln, to whom the plans of Captain Ericsson were presented, with all the unction and enthusiasm of an honest and mastering conviction, by Mr. Winslow and Mr. Griswold, who had now become thoroughly interested in the undertaking. The President listened with attention and growing interest. When they were done, Mr. Lincoln said, "Gentlemen, why do you bring this matter to me? why not take it to the Department having these things in charge?" "It has been taken already to the Department and there met with a repulse, and we come now to you with it, Mr. President, to secure your influence. We are here not simply as business men, but as lovers of our country, and we believe most thoroughly that here is something upon which we can enter that will be of vast benefit to the Republic," was the answer. Mr. Lincoln was roused by the terrible earnestness of Mr. Winslow and his friend Griswold, and said, in his inimitable manner, "Well, I don't know much about ships, though I once contrived a canal-boat, the model of which is down in the Patent Office, the great excellence of which was that it could run where there was no water. But I think there is something in this plan of Ericsson's. I tell you what I will do. I will meet you to-morrow at ten o'clock, at the office of Commodore Smith, and we will talk it all over." The night following this interview was an anxious one with Mr. Winslow, upon whom the onus of presentation and advocacy was thrown.

He scarcely slept, but went through the drawings and specifications of Ericsson, line by line, and item by item, that he might familiarize himself with the whole subject.

The next morning the meeting took place according to the appointment. Mr. Lincoln was present. The Secretary of the Navy, with many of the influential men of the Navy Department, were also there.

The office where they met was rude in all its belongings. Mr. Lincoln sat upon a rough box.

Mr. Winslow, without any knowledge of naval affairs other than that which general reading would give, entered upon his task with considerable trepidation, but his whole heart was in it, and his showing was so earnest, practical and patriotic, that a profound impression was made. "Well," said Mr. Lincoln, after Mr. Winslow had finished, "well, Commodore Smith, what do you think of it?" The Commodore made some general and non-committal reply, whereupon the President, rising from the box, added: "Well, I think there is something in it, as the girl said when she put her leg in the stocking. Good morning, gentlemen," and went out. From this interview grew a government contract with Messrs. Winslow and Griswold for the construction of the *Monitor*, the vessel to be placed in the hands of the government within one hundred days, at a cost of \$275 000. The contract, however, was so burdened with conditions and restrictions that it seemed very hazardous and impossible, almost useless, to undertake the work. Government officials, evidently, had no confidence in the ability of such a vessel as was proposed; hence the conditions imposed amounted almost to an injunction upon the enterprise. After thoroughly weighing the whole subject, and with some verbal protests against its exactions, Messrs. Winslow and Griswold signed the contract on the fourth day of October, 1861, having the courage and patriotism to hazard their reputation and money in building this experimental war craft. They at once entered upon the undertaking. They wrought as by inspiration, all their other work and orders giving preference to this. The hull of the vessel was built by Thomas F. Rowland, agent of the Continental Iron Works, at Greenpoint, L. I., the plates, bars and rivets being largely furnished him from the Albany Iron Works of Troy, N. Y. The Delamater Iron Works, New York, had the manufacture of the steam machinery, boilers, propellers and internal apparatus of the turrets. The port-stoppers were assigned to Charles D. DeLancy, of Buffalo. The work was pushed with all diligence, till the 30th of January, 1862, when the ship was launched at Greenpoint, one hundred and one days from the execution of the contract by all the parties thereto, thus making the work, probably, the most expeditious of any recorded in the annals of mechanical engineering.

The first trial trip of the *Monitor* was on February 19, 1862, and on that day she was delivered to the Navy Yard for her armament and stores. She had two trial trips afterward. Her first and second trips were not satisfactory; the first, because the cut-off valves had been improperly set,

and would not admit the steam properly to the cylinders; the second, from some slight defect in the steering apparatus,—speedily corrected. On the 13th of January, 1862, Lieutenant Worden, now Rear Admiral, was ordered to the command of the *Monitor*, then on the stocks. Thus far there were grave doubts as to her success. Officers of the navy and of the mercantile marine prophesied failure, but the faith of her builders grew from her beginning. On the 20th of February, 1862, her commander received sailing orders from the Secretary of the Navy to proceed to Hampton Roads, Va., and there report to the Naval Department. On the afternoon of the 6th of March, 1862, the *Monitor*, with a picked crew from the war-ships *North Carolina* and *Sabine*—fifty-eight officers and men all told—left the lower bay of New York, with a moderate wind and smooth sea, in tow of a small tug, the *Seth Low*, and accompanied by the United States steamers *Currituck* and *Sachem*. Those who volunteered for the crew of the *Monitor* were brave men. Here was a hitherto unknown and untried vessel, not floating upon the water as other vessels but nearly submerged; her deck being only eighteen inches above the water; her crew to live, if they could, below the surface; the ocean beating with its wild and restless waves right over their heads. The manning of such a coffin-like ship, face to face with such uncertainties, was an example of sublime heroism. On the 7th the wind had freshened to a strong breeze, causing a rough sea, which broke constantly and violently over her decks, forcing the water in considerable quantities through the hawser-pipes, under the turret and in various other places. At last the blowers were stopped by the violent action of wind and wave, and, there being no draught for the furnaces, the engine and fire rooms were filled with gas, by which the engineers were prostrated, and only rescued by being carried to the top of the turret, with the water rapidly increasing, and the motive power useless for propulsion or pumping. The tug-boat was commanded to head directly in shore, but being light and of moderate power, she could move the *Monitor* but slowly against wind and sea. It seemed that the ship which had cost so much, and in which so many hopes had centered, would indeed prove an utter failure.

The question arose, whether it were not best to seek a harbor along the coast. One young officer, however, Lieutenant Stimers, who had great faith in the capabilities of the ship, urged that they go on; his counsels prevailed. Herein was a manifest providence.

Had the *Monitor* stayed in her course, the glory of her work would never have been achieved. Here is another bit of history worthy of special mention, viz.: Two hours after the *Monitor* had sailed from New York,

orders came to her commander from Washington, directing him to proceed to the Potomac, where it was thought she was more needed ; leaving the large fleet of war vessels at Hampton Roads to protect that place, the authorities little suspecting the aggressive powers of the *Merrimac*, and how poorly the whole fleet was prepared to cope with that formidable antagonist. Providentially, Lieut. Worden and his ship were beyond the reach of these commands.

The storm, to which reference has been made, did not materially injure the *Monitor*, so that she proceeded safely toward her destination.

As she passed Cape Henry Light, at four o'clock, on March 8, the heavy firing in the direction of Fortress Monroe indicated an engagement, and very soon, from a pilot, Lieut. Worden learned of the advent of the *Merrimac*, and the disaster to the ships *Cumberland* and *Congress*. The *Cumberland*, having lost 117 men out of 300, sank with her colors flying. The *Congress*, set on fire, blew up, the fire having reached her magazines, Lieut. Joseph Smith, temporarily captain, having been previously killed.

This lieutenant was the son of Commodore Smith, the President of the Naval Board at Washington, before which Mr. Winslow and Mr. Griswold had so steadily pressed the building of the *Monitor*. On the information of the pilot, Lieut. Worden ordered the *Monitor* to be prepared for action, and at nine o'clock P.M. anchored at Hampton Roads near the frigate *Roanoke*, Captain Marston, the officer in command, to whom he reported. The voyage was made,—now for battle.

The next morning, March 9, 1862, the *Merrimac* was observed under way, steaming slowly from Sewell's Point, where she had anchored during the night, to accomplish more perfectly her work of the day before.

The *Monitor* immediately stood for her, with crew at quarters ; and the fierce and remarkable conflict began, continuing from eight o'clock A.M. to one and a-half o'clock P.M. ; resulting in the discomfiture of the *Merrimac*, and the full proof of all that had been claimed for the *Monitor*. In the engagement the *Monitor* received no serious injury, but Lieut. Worden narrowly escaped with his life ; a shell from the *Merrimac* exploding near the look-out hole of the pilot house, through which he was looking, filling his face and eyes with powder, and partially stunning him. His escape was marvelous, as he had withdrawn his face from the opening only an instant before the explosion. The presence of the *Monitor* at Hampton Roads on the morning of March 9, 1862, was providentially opportune.

Had she remained in New York two hours longer, or been disabled on her voyage, or returned to New York, or harbored on the coast, as was

agitated on the night of the 7th, what awful havoc the *Merrimac* would have made along the coast! There were at Hampton Roads on that memorable Sabbath morning of March 9th, 1862, seventeen government vessels, mounting in all 222 guns, beside a number of transports, chartered vessels and private property, swelling to a large amount the values of life and property exposed to the *Merrimac*. All this captured or destroyed, the Atlantic cities would have been at the mercy of the Rebel ram, and the Civil war would have been largely prolonged. The *Monitor* was built at the right time, and the men who built her and manned her seemed to have been inspired to their work. The hand of God was upon them for the salvation of the country.

Some who read this article will remember the patriotic joy that rose like waves of light through all the Northern States at the triumph of the *Monitor*—the ovations of praise awarded to her gallant crew and commander. At Washington the demonstrations of joy were enthusiastic and intense. Commodore Smith, whose son was killed on the *Congress*, meeting Mr. Winslow in one of the Navy offices, seized his hands convulsively, saying, "Winslow, you have saved our Navy, but I have lost my Joe!" In Congress, a vote of thanks to its inventor was passed, and the President, with his Cabinet, personally awarded to Messrs. Griswold and Winslow the title of "Benefactors of their Country."

Orders for more Monitors were given, and the firm of Winslow & Griswold had the confidence and gratitude of the whole American Government. The great regret was that the *Monitor* was not at Hampton Roads one day sooner, to save the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, with the brave men who fell and went down in the murderous fight. All honor to the heroes who manned the *Monitor* on the 9th of March, 1862. Honor, too, to him out of whose brain and thought the *Monitor* was born. Honor, also, to the men who took the thought and wrought it into substance and power for the country in its hour of direst need and peril; whose enterprise, courage and patriotism made the *Monitor* a fact and her encounter with the *Merrimac* a triumph. One of these men has passed beyond the reach of human praise—the Hon. John A. Griswold; the other, the Hon. John F. Winslow, whose pleading patriotism almost forced upon the Government the *Monitor*; by whose indomitable will and persistent energy the enterprise was carried through all storm of opposition to the full tide of success, still lives, at Woodcliff, on the banks of the Hudson, near Poughkeepsie—a beautiful home, well earned, and as well deserved, where, in ripening years, honored and beloved, the memory of the important part he had in the great Rebellion is one of the fondest recollections of a long

and useful life. To his and his associate Griswold's wise forecast, practical and scientific knowledge and good sense, unflagging zeal, untiring determination and intense loyalty—that burned all the brighter as the days darkened, we owe the *Monitor*; and without the *Monitor* just at the time when she entered Hampton Roads, what a set-back to national affairs there would have been!

The story, therefore, of this marvelous vessel is not well and properly told till the part these gentlemen had in her construction is made known and their names are enshrined in the affections of their countrymen as among the saviors of the Republic.

The life of the *Monitor* was short as it was eventful. From the 10th of March until the final destruction of the *Merrimac*, on the 11th of the following May, 1862, she lay at Hampton Roads, in guard and defense of manifold interests there. On the 12th of May she led the vessels that went to Norfolk, on the evacuation of that city by the Confederates, afterward proceeding up the James River as one of the flotilla under the command of Commodore Rodgers, of the iron-plated steamer *Galena*. On the 15th of May she was in the engagements at Fort Darling, seven miles below Richmond, Va.; from this time until the retreat of the army from the Peninsula, she was employed in patrolling the James River, arriving on the 21st of August at Newport News, being the last vessel that came down the James River. In September following she was at the Washington Navy Yard for repairs, sailing again for Hampton Roads in November.

On the 29th of December, 1862, she sailed for Beaufort, N. C., in company with the steamer *Rhode Island*, her convoy, and on the night of the 30th she foundered near Cape Hatteras. About half of her officers and crew were carried down with her; the others were saved by her convoy, the *Rhode Island*. The cause of her foundering is not known, though it is thought that, having lain all summer in the hot sun of James River, the oak timber which had been fitted to the top edge of the iron hull had shrunk so that in a heavy sea the water found its way through some open space, flowing in great volumes into the ship with fatal effect. Thus her career was a short one, but so marked that her name and exploits will ever have a brilliant place in the history of the great Rebellion. Marking this, in all great movements and emergencies, there is present an Almighty and a controlling hand, that men and means are raised up for special needs, and blessed are those who come into the kingdom at such times and fall into the line of their high calling.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Samuel B. Wheeler



FIRST AERIAL VOYAGE ACROSS THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

DIARY OF DR. JOHN JEFFRIES, THE AERONAUT

It has been very generally supposed that the aeronaut who first crossed the British Channel was an Englishman. He was of English ancestry, but an American by birth. His great-grandfather, David Jeffries, removed from England to Boston in 1677, and married the daughter of Governor Usher. David Jeffries the aeronaut's father was treasurer of the town of Boston for twenty-eight years prior to the Revolution. Dr. John Jeffries was born 1744, was graduated with first honors from Harvard University in 1763, and read medicine with the distinguished Dr. James Lloyd of Boston. He commenced practice in 1766, was successful, but desiring further opportunities, went to England in 1768 to study under the most celebrated physicians and surgeons of London. He received the medical degree from the University of Aberdeen in 1769, and returned to Boston, where he again met with great success in his practice. His English visit and intimacy with the British officers in Boston made him a loyalist by association, though his father was a staunch patriot, deacon of the old South Church. He viewed with the commanding officers from Copp's Hill the battle of Bunker Hill, and crossed over and identified to Genl. Howe the body of Dr. Warren. They had been Freemasons together in St. Andrew's Lodge. He naturally retired to Halifax with the troops when they evacuated Boston. Through his warm friend, Genl. Eyre Massey, commander-in-chief of the Province, he was employed as surgeon in the military hospitals, and went to England in 1779, and there passed the examination at Surgeons' Hall, and was commissioned Surgeon Major. He was with the troops before Savannah and Charleston. He had left his wife and two children under the care of his friend, Benj. Thompson, Count Rumford. News of her sudden death induced him to give up his commission and go back to England, when he declined Lord McCartney's offer of a position on the medical staff about to go to India. During the next ten years, till his return in 1789 to his native Boston, he was a very successful practitioner in London; and becoming scientifically interested in aerostation he made two aerial voyages, in which experiments he was aided by Sir Joseph Banks the President and Dr. Blagden the Secretary of the Royal Society. His accounts of these voyages read before the Society were highly commended as contributions to science. They were printed and published in

London in 1786. Dr. Jeffries said: "I wished to see the following points more clearly determined; first, the power of ascending or descending at pleasure while suspended and floating in the air; second, the effect which oars or wings might be made to produce towards the purpose, and in directing the course of the balloon; third, the state and temperature of the atmosphere at different heights from the earth; fourth, by observing the



JOHN JEFFRIES, M.D. 1768.

varying course of the currents of air or winds at certain elevations, to throw some new light on the theory of winds in general."

Nothing scientific had yet been done by any of the balloonists. Among them was the Frenchman, Blanchard, who had made three ascents in France and one partially successful in England with Dr. Sheldon, F.R.S. Dr. Jeffries paid Blanchard one hundred guineas for a seat in his fifth ascent, which was from the Rhedarium in London, November 30th,

1784, witnessed and patronized by the Prince of Wales and Duchess of Devonshire. They landed safely in the county of Kent. He next determined to carry out his scientific investigations by crossing the channel, the possibility, etc., of which was then doubted. Balloon ascents were very expensive when there were no railroads, telegraphs or gasometers. Dr. Jeffries, however, agreed to pay all expenses, etc., for a voyage across the channel, amounting to over £700. Even with his bills paid Blanchard endeavored by various means to avoid fulfilling his contract. A vest lined with lead the tailor unfortunately brought to Dr. Jeffries at the hotel at Dover. This ascent was finally arranged from the cliff near the castle. From Dr. Jeffries' personal diary, March 1777 to 1819, still extant, the following notes are extracted:

Jan. 7, 1785. This morning, at six o'clock, my *little hero* Blanchard entered my bed chamber, and told me he believed the wind and weather were fair, and would do for our intended aerial voyage from the cliff below the royal castle of Dover, for the continent of France. Between eight and nine o'clock went with Mr. Hugget, the pilot, to the pier and pilots' lookout. The pilots were of opinion that the wind was not decided, and did not extend beyond mid channel, and that the wind was equally from the French land as from the English coast. This opinion embarrassed me much, although I did not think as they did. While I was at the lookout, the signal gun for our intended voyage was fired, and the flag hoisted, and soon after several other guns, to give notice to the adjacent towns, etc. The balloon and net, etc. were carried down to our apparatus, the balloon hung up, and we began the process for filling it. At nine o'clock went to the castle and breakfasted with the Deputy Governor Lane, after which retired to Capt. Arch. Campbell's apartments to dress for my voyage; after, called to pay my respects to Capt. James Campbell and his lady, and then went down to our apparatus, where I found my little heroick Captain, and the balloon half filled. At half after eleven o'clock let off a small Mongolfier, which went very well, and took a very good direction for us. At twelve o'clock filled and sent off from the hands of Governor Lane our little Devonshire balloon, (which had been the herald of our aerial voyage from London into Kent) and it took the same course as the Mongolfier had done. At half after twelve, we carried our aerial car and placed it under the balloon, and began attaching the cords of the net to it. At one o'clock had completed it, fastened and adjusted in its place the barometer. We then took in our bladders, other things, and eighty pounds of ballast, in bags of ten pounds each, compass, chart, loosened the ropes

which had guarded our apparatus, and let the balloon rise a little, and carry us free of the apparatus, &c. ; then fixed our wings, etc., and balancing the balloon, found our weight too great, on which we cast out one sack of ballast ; still too heavy, and on the very brink of the cliff cast out a second, then a third and fourth, and arose so as to clear the cliff, but being rather inclined to descend, we gradually emptied the fifth sack, and then arose gradually and most majestically. Exactly at quarter past one



JOHN JEFFRIES, M.D., IN THE BALLOON. 1785.

o'clock, we quitted the cliff, and had with us as follows,—three sacks of ballast of ten pounds each, balloon 148 pounds, net 57 pounds, aerial car and apparatus 72 pounds, Blanchard's books 34 pounds, Blanchard and his clothes 146 pounds, myself 128 pounds, sundries 19 pounds. In a few minutes after our departure, we saluted with our hands and flags, which they returned with very loud and repeated shouts and acclamations. Just before entering our car Monsieur B had most politely presented me with my colour, a British flag, in presence of the company and spectators,

on which I requested of Gov. Lane and Capt. Campbell, the commanding officer, leave for Mr. B. to display his French flag on our departure, which they very politely granted. At half past one, we had risen considerably, but appeared to have made very little progress, and that little rather to the eastward, the wind at our departure being less than at any part of the morning, and more westerly; the weather very fine indeed, very clear sun, temperate and warm; the barometer at starting, 29.7, has now fallen to 27.3.

We had a most enchanting view of the country back of Dover, &c. for an extent of an hundred miles around, counting 37 towns and villages, and a formidable view of the breakers on Goodwin sands, to which we seemed to approach. The coast of France likewise became very distinct. We passed over many vessels of various kinds, which we saluted as we passed, and they returned with shouts and cheers. The balloon extremely distended, and both tubes extended through their whole length and diameter. There seemed to be scarce a breath of air on the water under us. Three quarters past one, cast both tubes over the sides of the car, and began to attach the bladders to the hoops of the car. In doing this, I unfortunately, in reaching behind me, pushed off my colour, which Mr. Blanchard had placed there for security. 50 minutes after one, found we were descending fast; emptied one bag of ballast; not rising, emptied half another, and began to rise again. Appeared to be about one third of the way from Dover, losing distinct sight of the castle. At two o'clock, attached the slings to the circle, one at each end, and the third in the middle for our feet, to retreat to, like beavers, in case we were forced down into the water. Found that we were descending again fast. Cast out all the remaining ballast and bags and all; did not rise. Cast out a parcel of Mr. B.'s books, and in a minute or two found ourselves rising again, and that we were full midway between the English and French coasts. 30 minutes after two, found we were descending again; obliged to cast out by parcels all our remaining books, and scarcely found ourselves to arise after it. We had now nothing left but our wings and apparatus, &c. 40 minutes after two, (having passed over a number of vessels, and being about three quarters of the way over from Dover to the French coast, having a most alluring and enchanting view of it from Blackness, Cape Blanc Nez, quite to Calais and on to Gravelines) found ourselves descending, and very rapidly,—the part of the balloon next to us having collapsed very much, apparently for many feet from the lower pole. We cast out all the little things we could find,—apples, biscuits, &c., then one wing; still descending, we cast away the other wing; but not rising, cut away the damask curtains around the car,

with the gold cord tassels, &c., then stripped off all the silk lining, threw out our bottle of *l'eau de vie*. In its descent it cast out a stream like smoke, with a rushing noise, and when it struck the water, we heard and felt the shock very perceptibly in our car and balloon. I then attempted and succeeded in unscrewing and getting out the moulinet and handle, and cast all over. Found ourselves still descending, and now approaching the sea, within 120 yards, we proposed and began to strip, Mr. B. first casting away his surtout and coat. I then cast away my coat; then Mr. B. his new coat and long trousers; and we got on and adjusted our cork jackets, and were preparing to get into our slings, when I found the mercury in the barometer falling, and looking around found that we arose, and that the pleasant view of France was opening to us every moment, as we arose to overlook the high grounds. We were now about four miles from the shore, and approaching it fast. 50 minutes after two o'clock, had a fine view of Calais and between twenty and thirty little towns and villages. We now rose very fast, and to a much greater height than at any time since our first ascent. Exactly at three o'clock, thanks to a kind Providence, we passed over the high grounds from the shore, about midway from Cape Blanc Nez and Calais. At our entrée we were very high, and passed over in a magnificent arch. Barometer had fallen to 23 and three-tenths. Nothing can equal the beautiful appearance of the villages, fields, roads, &c. under us, after having been so long over the water. Mr. Blanchard threw out several packets, each of which was exactly five minutes in reaching the surface of the earth. The weather continued very fine; sun very bright all our voyage; the wind a little increased, and being more westerly than when we first passed from the sea, we were approaching fast the grounds covered with water, on our left, and above and a little to the right of Calais. In a few minutes we changed our course again to the southwest; and found ourselves gradually descending. Having before cast away both our anchors, cords, &c., Mr. B. took the cords of our slings, and the wood of them, to serve as an anchor in our descent. We took off our cork jackets to favour our descent, and I proposed to Mr. Blanchard that we should each of us take a bladder and pass as much as we could, and reserve the throwing it away at the very instant of descent, to break the force of the shock. We now approached a forest, and continuing our course directly over its length, and descending more rapidly, we cast away the substitute anchor and cord we had prepared. We were going much faster than any preceding part of our voyage, sailing along obliquely downwards, directly into the forest. We cast out our newly invented ballast, one bladder after the other, then my cork jacket, after it Mr. Blanchard's, and descended (after having passed

four-fifths of the forest) so that I caught hold of the top of a tree, exactly at quarter past three o'clock, and stopped our progress. The weight being relieved by pressing on the tree, the balloon floated and played very beautifully over us, at times pulling me very strongly, as though determined not to submit; but in 28 minutes, having opened the valve, the inflammable air escaped, with a very loud rushing noise. We found the balloon disposed to let us down, and pushing our car off from the branches, we descended most tranquilly between some trees, which were just open enough to admit the car and balloon. We immediately set ourselves about emptying the balloon and detaching it from the car, at which we worked hard, quite by ourselves for about half an hour, before any person got up to us; after which a number of peasants came up, and some horsemen, and assisted us in emptying the balloon, and after it, in folding it up; and placing it in the car, took it up, and proceeded in triumph with it on their shoulders.

Dr. Jeffries's regular daily diary says, in continuation, as follows:

1785. Jan. 7th. At three quarters past three o'clock, landed in France (about 12 miles from the sea) in the wood of Guines, from the aerial car of our balloon, with my little Blanchard. At 7 o'clock arrived on horseback at the chateau of Le Vicomte Desandrouin. We were most politely welcomed and entertained. At nine set off from thence in post chaise and six horses, and by pressing invitation stopped at the chateau of Le Vicomte Desandrouin, à Hardinghard, and were saluted at our entrance into the hall by a young lady singing some stanzas in honor of our enterprise. At eleven o'clock set out from thence, and at one o'clock arrived at the gates of Calais, at which we were admitted by the Commandant's order, he having sat up for us. After passing four strong gates, with drawbridges, &c., at half past one o'clock we alighted at Mr. Mouron's in Calais, and immediately went to pay our respects to the General Commandant, whom we found sitting up for us. His lady, in bed in a pavilion tent in his room, received us most courteously. Returned to Mr. Mouron's, got some tea from his lovely family, and retired to rest. May I never be unmindful of the mercies of this day, but thank God all my life.

Jan. 8th. This morning, the Governor, Commandant, Mayor of the City, Chief Justice, Chief Engineer, and all the different corps of officers, came to welcome us, &c., prepared a most elegant dinner for us, at the City of London Hotel, where we dined with all the officers, magistrates, Mayor and Aldermen of the city, King's Procureur General, and all titled and principal people of the place and neighborhood. They presented Mr. Blanchard with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and made repeated apologies,

expressing their wish to do the same for me, but could not without leave from the Court.

Jan. 11th. At two o'clock arrived at Paris. After setting down M. Pilatre de Rosier, we passed on to M. L' Abbe de Viernay, Grande Rue Turrane, Fauxbourg St. Germain, where Mr. B. was received by his foster father, the Abbe, in the most affectionate and polite manner, with repeated embraces, &c. Dined with a number of gentlemen and ladies, and were greatly complimented. While at dinner a number of French dames entered our apartment, bringing with them a laurel crown, ornamented with ribbons, and embraced us again and again, and chanted some verses honorary to our aerial voyage. Mr. B. insisted on my taking an apartment with him at the Abbe's, which for the present I have consented to do. At Paris *incontestibly*.

Jan. 12th. At ten o'clock we set out for Versailles, to pay our respects to the King, &c. On our way called on Mons. Gireredot de Marigny, banker. Very politely received and complimented by him, and engaged to dine with him and share some of his best claret, as he says, the best in the world. At Versailles, paid our respects first to Monseigneur Le Compte de Vergennes; politely received and complimented by him, but like a minister, a courtier. From thence waited on Madame La Duchesse de Polignac; most kindly and politely received by her, though she was dressing at her toilet, like a Venus in white muslin, and surrounded by five ladies, all in white, who were attiring her, a most engaging lovely, affable woman. From her apartments we went to visit his Grace the Duc de Polignac and were by him received most kindly indeed. He was pleased to take great, very great notice of me, and spoke again and again of what I had attempted and done. Thence visited the royal palace and gardens at Versailles, the first palace I have ever yet seen, magnificent beyond my expectations, the statues in the gardens and the spouting deities and sea gods and in the basins most magnificent. I had not conceived anything like what I find it. Thence went to visit Mr. B's uncle, Charge en Chef de Menagerie du Roi; most affectionately received by him and family. Too late to-day to see the King; and met in the gardens Monsieur the King's eldest brother; had been walking in the gardens, eight or ten guards and a gent with him. This evening went to the *Comédie Française* at Versailles; saw *La Rencontre Imprévue*, followed by *La Triple Mariage*; both very well played, and exceeding ours by having *all the parts well played*. After the comedy, went to the Hotel de Comedie, and soon after received a polite invitation to sup with Madame Montensier, *Directrice et Propriétaire de l'opéra de Versailles*, with three lovely girls, and one most lovely in person and easy



JOHN JEFFRIES, M.D. 1815.

manners, and a number of gents, several of those I had seen perform in the comedy.

Jan. 13th. At noon attended the Royal Chapel, saw the lady of the Compté D'Artois and Monsieur at mass, and many of the nobility, great number of the Royal Guards attended; very great civility from the royal attendants in the palace, and particularly from the officers of the guards and officers of state. Had the honor to be conducted through the apartments, and to see the King as he was going to walk. Mons. B. mentioned me to him, as I stood by him, and he condescended to look at me, soon after which Monsieur came near and most condescendingly came towards me, and with a most kind and affable manner, after inquiring of his attendants if I spoke French, he made his compliments and said, "I am very glad to see you, Sir." He was dressed in black velvet and the Cordon Bleu,

Star, &c. The King was dressed very plain, with brown leather spatter-dashes. After this I received the compliments of all the nobility; officers of the guards, officers of the apartments conducted me from the gardens to their apartments, which were most grand, and paid me repeated compliments and civilities, and particularly the Chevalier de Bagneux, Captain in service de Gardes du Roy. Dined with Mr. Blanchard's uncle, cousins, &c., near the Cathedral Versailles; most hospitably and politely received and sumptuously entertained. Returned to Paris at 12.

Jan. 14th. This morning introduced by M. Hirschberg to the gents, wits, and men of learning at the Café Careau au Palais Royal. Most kindly and honorably received by them, and our pictures to be placed among the busts of the greatest men of wit and enterprise which already ornament that place. Thence went to the museum, visited M. Pilatre de Rosier. This morning received very polite letter from Mr. Franklin, Mr. Williams, and at our entrance into the lecture room of the museum we were received by repeated shouts of applause and clapping of hands, *encore et encore*; after which was placed at the side of the President, and heard the lecture, then congratulated by a great number of the first characters, ladies and gents, —La Duchesse, Le Duc, Le Vicompte, &c.; then introduced to Monseigneur Le Duc de Chatres, who received me most graciously indeed. Had long conversation with him, in which he complimented me greatly, and at the end of our talk he did me the honor to say he approved highly of my conduct, that he was very glad to see me here, and that he should be very glad to be acquainted with me. As soon as the claps of applause were ended, I received from the hands of the President of the Museum, accompanied with a very polite letter, a *billet d'entré* as a Member and *Fondateur* of the French Museum. After dining with a large company of ladies, noblemen, Abbés, physicians, &c., went to pay my respects to his Grace the Duke of Dorset, English Ambassador; thence to Dr. Franklin at Passy; very hospitably and kindly received.

Jan. 15. Dinner with Dr. Franklin at Passy and number of ladies and gents. Supper with Madame Hirschberg, L'Hotel de Calais. Evening at *Opéra, Comédie Française*, &c.; elegant and brilliant company, and very elegant house.

Jan. 16. This morning introduced by M. De Hirschberg to M. Le Compte d'Ossun, at his hotel; very politely received and complimented by him; expressed his wish to accompany me to England. Went with Mr. Blanchard to Versailles at Court; presented to the Queen; heard the Duke de Polignac repeatedly speaking to the queen of me, and as often caught

her lovely eyes on me, and the King's while at dinner. Received the compliments of the Duchess and Duke of Polignac. Introduced to the Comte d'Artois at his apartments; very politely received and complimented, with his approbation; received the compliments of Madame and the ladies of the Court. Introduced to M. Le Baron de Breteuil, le Ministre de France; very politely received by him indeed; complimented me again and again, said he was charmed with me, very glad to see me. Dined with him most magnificently. Introduced to and complimented by fifty Lords and officers of the Court, and ladies, the Bishop, Abbé, and the Cardinal Rohan. Received very particular compliments and marks of approbation from Le Comte Suffrien, the gallant French Admiral, who said he envied my courage, and wished he had half as much. Introduced to Madame Breteuil, daughter of the Minister; very graciously received by her, and continually complimented by her for my courage, goodness and politeness. Introduced by her, particularly, to every lady at her levee at the Minister's. Evening, returned to the drawing room; saw two ladies presented; one the Princess Lamballe, most lovely, and the most brilliant and rich dress I had ever seen. Introduced to the grand Écurier, and very graciously received and complimented by Count Dillon. Then very particularly complimented by the Marquis de Laroche du Maine, who brought me from Versailles to Paris with him in his chariot, and introduced me to his family at his hotel, and loaded me with compliments and words of approbation. Paid my respects to M. L'Abbé de Viernay, and found there a card from his Grace, the Duke of Dorset, to dine on Tuesday next. Evening at the grand ball, the *Société, rue Coqueron, Hotel D'Orléans*, where I was received by universal and continuous shouts and claps of applause, embraced and complimented by hundreds of the first ladies and gents in Paris. Presented with a garland crown by the prettiest mademoiselle of Paris, placed on my temples by the hands of a lovely fair one, Madame Baunoir; very kind attention from Capt. Crofton, of the 69th, who introduced me to his brother, the Count, and his lady, and a most elegant group. The most particular favours and marks of attention through the whole evening from the lovely little vivacious Madame de Talairac, *rue de Maille*, who with lovely freedom and *simplicité de cœur* told me she was eighteen, had married at fifteen, had an infant, &c., &c.; took affectionate leave of me and engaged me to come and see her. I cannot describe the attentions shown me, marks of approbation and compliments paid me.

Jan. 17. Dined at M. Le Comte de Carrau, *rue de l'Université*, elegant house, apartments, &c.; very politely received and entertained by him, many compliments from him and company, Barons, Noblemen, &c. Thence

accompanied Mr. B. to Monseigneur Le Duc de Charast, Governor de Calais; very politely received by him and daughter.

Jan. 16. This morning sat for my portrait to Mr. Pujos, *peintre, rue Pelle-tier*. Dined with the Ambassador, his Grace the Duke of Dorset; met there Lord Trentham, who was at Dover when we ascended in the balloon, Col. Tarleton, and a great number of English noblemen; received many compliments from them. Evening, went to the opera, where we were honoured with loud claps and shouts of applause, *three* times repeated, before the curtain drew up, and repeated again when the opera was over. The house and scenery very elegant, with exquisite dancing by Madame Deimar and Mons'r Vestris; the dresses of the dancers, &c., uncommonly neat and elegant; performers very numerous. Band of musick very large and good, great number and elegant company. This day dined at the Duke of Dorset's elegant chateau; a number of most elegant ladies, in person, dress, and manners.

Jan. 19. Dined at Madame Limon and Madame St. Germain, rue St. Honoré. Most politely and affectionately received and hospitably entertained by them and the company. Received an order of admittance for the *Comédie Française* this evening. Received there by universal and *repeated* claps of applause and approbation. Saw the comedy of *Figaro* (by Mr. Beaumarchais); most witty, poignant composition, and supported to the life. Mr. Molé a capital performer; the house, scenery, girandolles and dresses superior to either of ours in London; plays in all their parts *far* better filled up than with us. The women charming; they act with so much ease and grace, and never beyond nature. Met at the comédie Mr. Franklin, and received his compliments.

Jan. 20. Visited, with Mr. B., Madame Baunoir, rue du Faubourg St. Martin, No. 23. Most kindly received; a lovely woman. Dined with Madame la Comtesse de Coualir, à l'Hotel à Place de Louis Quinze, a princely hotel, &c.; most elegantly and affectionately received; a truly elegant woman, and Countess indeed. I am charmed with such company, and well I may be. This day took lodgings at the Hotel de Vauban, rue Richelieu, at four Louis d'or a month. This evening at the Paris Assembly ball, Musée, rue Dauphin. Received again with claps of applause, &c.; particularly attended to by Capt. Crofton and number of English gents. Met there the charming Madame Baunoir and Madame de Talairac, most engaging and lovely; prayed me again and again to visit them. Met again there Le Compte de Crofton and the comtesse, with whose party I supped; paid very great attention to me, brought me home (I having lent my carriage to the charming Madame Baunoir), and urged me to accept of

apartments with them, &c. At the ball Mademoiselle Prieur and her father introduced themselves, and were particularly attentive to me.

Jan. 21. Dined at the Marquis de Brancas; very graciously received by him and the Marchioness. Introduced to M. Le Comte de Sceaux, who told me he supped with the Queen a few nights since at Versailles, and sitting near the Queen heard her tell the Duke of Dorset that she had seen and noticed me at Versailles, and wished to have understood English to have talked with me. Several other noblemen at the Marquis de Brancas; a sumptuous hotel, &c.; all repeatedly polite and complimentary to me. Visited and drank tea with Mademoiselle and M. Prieur, rue Colombier. Supped at M. Le Comte de Crofton, rue Traversière; large party of ladies of fashion, foreign noblemen, &c. Madame la Comtesse very attentive to me, as she always is.

Jan. 22. Went out to Passy, a most delightful situation. Walked in Palais Royal, and round the Tuileries; delightful places. Dined with Le Docteur and Mons'r Franklin at Passy. Met there Mr. Jona. Williams, Dr. Bancroft, and the celebrated and brave Commodore Paul Jones, from whom I received many compliments on my enterprise, and returned them, he deserving them much more than me. Evening, returned to Hotel Vauban. Received a card from Monseigneur Le Duc de Charost, to dine on Thursday next. This evening supped, &c., at the Comtesse de Belinworth, the Comte de Crofton, Lady, and with lovely, lovely women.

Jan. 23. Waited on his Grace the Duke of Dorset. Called on Madame Talairac, rue de Maile. Thence visited Madame Beaunoir, rue Faubourg St. Martin; kindly received; and took them in my carriage, and carried them to dine with me at Madame Talairac's; charming domestic circle. Thence we went to the Italian Comedy, where I was unfortunately ill, fainted, &c., taken out in the arms of a gent., the lovely fair ones attending. After the comedy, Madame Beaunoir led me again to my box, where I was highly entertained by seeing the comedy of Fanfan and Colas, *Ou les frères de lait* (written by Madame Beaunoir) very well played. After the play I took the two ladies to the ball, rue Coqueron, where after attending them half an hour, I left them and returned to my hotel, finding myself indisposed.

Jan. 24. Dined at M. Le Comte de Crofton. Evening at the *Comédie de Variétés au Palais Royal*. Supped at Madame Comtesse de Crofton. Met there Madame le Comtesse de Belvedere and Madame la Vicomtesse de Liniere; very polite to me; invited by the latter to supper to-morrow evening.

Jan. 25. Dined with M. Gireredot de Marigny, l'Hotel Colbert, rue

Vivienne. Large company of barons, noblesse and gentry ; most sumptuous entertainment ; house like a palace in furniture, sculpture, paintings, &c. In evening M. Gireredot carried me to the opera, and honored me with a front seat in his box. A new opera of Pannege ; most crowded house, and the most numerous, brilliant company I ever saw. The scenes, dresses, and decorations superb ; dancing not to be exceeded, I think.

Jan. 26. Dined at M. Le Marquis de Laroche du Maine ; most elegantly entertained. Monseigneur Le Duc de Montmorenci dined there ; complimented by him and several other nobles, barons, &c. Mademoiselle Laroche du Maine a sweet, elegant little girl ; band of musick and singing during dinner. Many compliments from the Marquis. Evening at the Italian comedy ; went very late. Between the first and second comedy, it became known that we were there ; our names were echoed from the pit, and universal and repeated claps of applause succeeded, to which we endeavored to return our compliments.

Jan. 27. Took into my service Mons. Bruilli, procured for me and recommended by the Comte de Crofton ; to give him forty sous per day, he to dress my hair, &c. Dined with Monseigneur Le Duc de Charost, rue de Bourbon, Fauxbourg St. Germain ; an elegant chateau. Very politely received by M. and Madame. Met there at dinner a number of noblemen, abbés, &c. The Duc Charost carried me to a museum, where he introduced me to a large number of noblemen, ladies, abbés, &c.

Jan. 28. Accompanied Capt. Crofton to the Fauxbourg St. Germain, to the Convent de Parthemont, rue de Grenelle, to see his sister there, a fine, charming, blooming girl (lost to the world). Saw there a lovely girl from Virginia. Dined at Madame Beaunoir ; met there Madame Tailairac and number of ladies and gents. Evening, supped at Madame La Comtesse de Crofton ; as usual very kind to me. Met there La Comtesse de Liniere (who invited me again to sup on Sunday evening), and the Marchionesse de Fleury, who chatted and looked pleasant things.

Jan. 29. Supped tête-à-tête M. Le Comte de Crofton. Madame la Comtesse, *au lit la même appartement, bien plaisant.*

Jan. 30. Went to *petit souper* at Madame La Vicomtesse de Liniere, rue Notre Dame des Victoires ; a most lovely creature, and very affable, with looks that may be felt. Met an elegant company there.

Jan. 31. Sat for my profile to M. Chaportay. Walked out to Passy, and dined very pleasantly with Messrs. Franklin and Williams. Very kindly received.

Feb. 1. Dined with Dr. Duploreil, rue de Bourbon. Very kindly and honourably received by him, ladies and guests. Met there a Mr. Roberts,

Regius Professor à l'École Royale Militaire, who was very particularly civil and attentive to me.

Feb. 2. Dined tête-à-tête Mad. and M. Le Compte de Crofton ; *très très agréable*. Evening at M. l'Abbé de Viernay ; the private comedy at his hotel, very well played ; a tragedy and comedy after it. After which an elegant supper and entertainment in his salon. Honoured with the heroine of the play at my side ; much good humor, and sung most charmingly, as did the others.

Feb. 3. Dined with Mad. and Compte de Crofton. Evening, at nine, Mr. Franklin called on me, and carried me and introduced me to Madame Morrell, where I was most kindly received indeed, and met there the charming Mad. de Villars, friend to Mad. B., both of them being from Lyons. Several other ladies, marquises, barons, &c. Met here the celebrated and extraordinary genius M. Garat, a very fine handsome young gent, who sings delicately and with perfect exactness (so as to correct instruments which accompany him) any tune which he hears ; can imitate exactly each and every one of the opera singers, etc. His voice exquisitely melodious, and though powerful, delicately soft and engaging, and his manner most gentleman-like. Many compliments passed between us, on his talents and my late enterprise. I cannot describe the lovely ease and elegance, yet delicate decency, with which Mad. Morrell and Mad. de Villars undressed themselves in my presence, and dressed again in lovely dishabille, previous to our going to the masqued ball at the opera, where I had the honor to attend them, and found them there as elsewhere most lovely and engaging. Met at the ball many ladies who knew me, but I could not know them all, so covered with dominos and masques. Two English ladies (Mrs. Lawrence and her little ward), one of whom I walked with again and again, but she would not let me know who. Afterwards met them both with his Grace the Duke of Chartres, with whom they appeared to be engaged. The Vicomtesse Liniere found me out, and we had many pleasant repartees before I knew her, promised to meet me at supper to-morrow, and wished much to be informed how I liked the lady I supped with last Sunday (which was herself). I tore off a piece of her fan as a token, which she consented to. Madame Talairac likewise found me out. After long time I found out my lovely Mad. Morrell and Mad. Villars, with whom and Mr. Franklin I left the ball at four o'clock. What would I not give to be able to transport such easy, engaging manners, joined with such wit and delicacy, to England. Mr. Franklin told me he had again met the Duke of Dorset at Versailles on Tuesday, and had again talked with him about me, and that his Grace had said that he would most

willingly do anything for me I would point out. Mr. F. mentioned to him that it would, he thought, be useful to me for his Grace to write to the minister, and recommend some pension or such like for me from government. Mr. Franklin said he had wrote to his father the Governor, desiring him to hint to Dr. Blagden, the Secretary of the Royal Society, that he should make me a member, free of all expense. Met Com. Paul Jones at the opera masque ball; apropos repartees.

Feb. 4. This evening the lovely Mad. Morrell called on me and carried me to supper with her lovely friend, Mad. du Villars—both of them so lovely, engaging and agreeable that I wish my charming countrywomen would catch and imitate their elegant ease of carriage and manners.

Feb. 6. Waited on his Grace, the Ambassador, the Duke de Dorset. Very kindly received by him and Mr. Stone, his private secretary; Mr. Hales, Secretary of the Embassy; Rev. Mr. Labord, his chaplain. Met there the Count d'Ossier, who was attentive to me; Lady Hervey and her little daughter; Lady Eliz. Forster, Lady H.'s sister; a fine little boy, son of the Duke by Madame Baccelli, a number of noblemen and gents. The Duke told me that he was well pleased that I did not suffer the Frenchman to pass over alone.

Feb. 8. Dined with M. Sellorf. Met there and was introduced by him to M. Le Prince de Hesse, Monseigneur le Prince de Deux Ponts, the Swedish Secretary, M. le Comte de Sickengen, Minister de le Duc de Barriere; Le Prince de Deux Ponts very particularly attentive and civil to me. Was acquainted with Sir Benj. Thompson, and told me he was aid de camp to his uncle the Prince (I think he said of Bavaria.) The streets of the city and fauxbourg full of masques of all ranks and sorts. Am glad this is the last day of the carnival; on the morrow they must to their several vocations again.

Feb. 10. Dined with Mr. Roberts, Regius Professor at l'École Royale Militaire. Met there Dr. Sutton, the celebrated inoculator. Visited the apartments and the elegant grand building of the Hotel des Invalides, Champ Mars, &c.

Feb. 11. Walked out to Passy, and dined with Dr. Franklin. Very kindly received and entertained by him, and very pleasant conversation. Evening, Mr. Franklin brought me to town in his chariot, and said he would again speak to the Duke of Dorset and his Secretary, respecting their writing in my favor to England. Engaged me to dine there on Monday next, to meet the Marchioness and Marquis de Fayet, Mr. Adams, Lord Mountmorris, &c., &c.

Feb. 11. Supped with La Comtesse and Le Comte de Crofton, and met there the Comtesse de Belvidere, &c.

Feb. 12. Breakfasted with Dr. Du Plaril; afterwards visited with him l'Hotel de Charité; found all the apartments, wards, &c., very clean and airy; patients clean, beds made, &c.; only men there. A pretty botanical garden, with labels affixed to and standards to each plant. Thence visited l'Hotel de Dieu, an exceeding large hospital, part on one side of the river, and part on the other, connected by a bridge belonging to the hospital. Between five and six thousand patients; four rows of beds in many of the wards. Patients of all descriptions, ages, sexes, and nations are admitted. Wards for all sick children, from two or three months to two or three years, struck me as novel. Warm and cold baths frequent and conveniently placed. Saw in the box for that purpose several human calculi very large. Conducted through all the female wards; some very low and dark; three, four, and five sick adults in the same bed, lying heads and points. Visited, just by the Hotel Dieu, l'Hotel des Enfants trouvés; very neat, roomy, and in good order.

Feb. 13. Attended the Duke of Dorset's concert. His Grace condescendingly attentive to me, and Mr. Stone, his private secretary, and many other English noblemen and gents. Met there Lady Eliz. Forster, who was civil to me, Lady Betty Lindsay and her sister Lady Mary Fordyce. Asked and received of Mr. Stone a request from the Duke to the Supt. of Police to give me a passport for myself and servant.

Feb. 14. Dined at Passy with the American Ambassador, Dr. Franklin; met there his Excellency, John Adams, Esq., his lady and daughter, all of whom were very civil to me; Lord Mountmorris, who was very uncommonly attentive and civil to me all the time; the Marquis and Marchioness of Fayette, a fine affable lady; Mrs. Bingham, a very genteel American from Philadelphia, and Mr. Bingham; Col. Humphreys, late aid-de-camp to Gen'l Washington, now a Commissioner from America; Mr. Jon. Williams; a Mrs. Boadley, &c., and several other gents of rank and note; Commodore Paul Jones, who was very attentive, candid, and complimentary to me, and who brought me to Paris with him in his chariot. Talked with Mr. Franklin about the Duke of Dorset, and he advised me to call on the Duke tomorrow, make use of his name, and ask of his Grace a letter from him to the Minister in England, Mr. Pitt. Took leave of the venerable old Dr., and received many compliments, with his best wishes, &c. Supped with Comtesse and Comte de Crofton, and by him introduced to his brother, a very agreeable gent.

Feb. 16. Waited on his Grace, the Duke of Dorset, the Ambassador.

Very kindly received by him ; talked freely, and most friendly to me ; said he would write or do anything for me that I thought would be most useful to me ; and proposed to me to make application to the King ; said he thought he might, and that he would give me a letter to Mr. Pitt, the Minister, to inform him what the King had done here for Blanchard. Thence I set out with Chevalier Crofton for Luciennes and St. Germain. Passed over the bridge, which is the largest and best I have seen in France ; although so long, quite plane, and has stones of 32 feet length, for the ballustrade barrier. On the left of it, in the Bois du Boulogne, saw the Royal Chateau de Madrid, which was built by the French for a pretended residence of Francis the First, to enable him, under pretext of the name, ignominiously to break his parole and engagement to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who had taken him prisoner, and let him on his parole return to France, under engagement that he would soon return and surrender himself again a prisoner at Madrid, the Emperor being at that time (also) King of Spain. We stopped at Machine de Marli, to visit M. Le Chevalier Brouard, Maître de Machine, &c. Very kindly, hospitably, and affectionately received by him and his niece Mademoiselle ; gave us a card to Madame à le Pavillon du Madam la Comtesse du Barry à Luciennes. Visited the Pavillon ; most elegant and luxuriantly rich, clean and beautiful ; very fine busts and statues of the King Louis XV., pictures, &c. Then went through the lovely gardens from the Pavillon to the hotel de la Comtesse. Found her at her toilet, having a select company party to dine to-day (dinner serving up) and designing a ball privé this evening. However, ordered that I should be shown the apartments, &c. Found them, like the Pavillon, rich, elegant and beautiful, with most lovely and enchanting conveniences and designs, &c. The very fine portrait of the King given by him to Mad. La Comtesse du Barry, and her own elegant picture, a fine and beautiful likeness, with many others of the King and Comtesse, busts and statuary of them with various designs. The villa of Lady Craven, pretty and charming, situated near Madame du Barry, and the elegant Chateau de Monseigneur le Duc de Aiguillon, who was Secretary of State and War at the time of Madame du Barry's connection with the King. At St. Germain, which is a lovely town in a fine high situation, and extensive forest, with beautiful terrace above half a mile in extent, with the forest on the left and the river and extensive beautiful country on the right, the situation being so high as to command the river a great many miles. Dined at the Castle with Mad. and Dr. O'Flynn, very kindly and hospitably received by them ; called on Mr. Williams at the Castle, met there four of the Misses Alexanders, Mrs. Williams's sisters. Intro-

duced by the Chevalier Crofton to Maj. Kelly of the Irish Brigade, kindly received by him with many compliments. At six o'clock returned to M. Brouard à la Machine de Marli and then we went to the ball at Madame du Barry's à Luciennes. Found a number of young women and men dressed very prettily to dance, with good musick, &c. Met there M. le Marquis de Chabrilian whom I had visited at Versailles. He was very civil and attentive to me, mentioned me and introduced me to Mad. le Comtesse du Barry and her sister, and to Monseigneur Le Duc de Brissac, Governor of Paris, to M. Le Comte D'Orsay and M. le Marquis de Fondrille, all of whom were very polite and attentive, particularly the Duc de Brissac and Le Comte d'Orsay, who paid me many and great compliments. La Comtesse du Barry was exceedingly pleasant and in good spirits, complimented me again and again, and declared herself greatly pleased and gratified in my company. After taking leave of me, she again sent the Comte de Chabrilian to request my company to her apartments, where I had a most agreeable chat and repartee with her for near an hour, and after it did me the honour to propose dancing with me, ordered refreshment, &c. When I finally took leave at midnight, she again expressed how happy she was to have had my company there, and paid me many more compliments. Her sister resembled her much in features, but not so elegant or handsome. Returned to La Machine de Marli, took leave, with grateful thanks to M. Le Chevalier Brouard and Mad'lle, and at one in the morning returned to Paris.

Feb. 17. Visited with Dr. Duplariel the Jardin du Roi and Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle. Found elegant apartments, and fit for the purpose, and fine collections of fossils, woods, stones, insects, birds, animals, fishes and anatomical preparations and reptiles, in very good preservation. Very politely received by M. Dauberton, M. Le Comte de Buffon, and invited to dine with him to-morrow. A very fine statue of the Comte de Buffon (at the entrance) in fine marble, well executed and with well designed emblems. After which visited the gardens of the Arsenal and the Royal prison of the Bastile, a dreadful place.

Feb. 18. Called on the Ambassador, his Grace of Dorset; very kindly (as always) received by him, and requested not to leave Paris to-morrow, but to call on him again to-morrow forenoon. Took my place in the diligence for Calais, to set out Monday forenoon. With the Count de Crofton called on Mad. La Vicomtesse de Liniere. Found her *au lit*, but admitted and received most kindly and more. Showed her the rape I had made at the opera masqued ball (piece of the fan). She acknowledged in the greatest good humour the *identity*, and was much pleased that I had

kept it. Indulged me in the most lovely embraces and adieux, made her compliments and best wishes, said she would come to England in the spring, and would find me out then. Dined with M. le Comte de Buffon au Jardin du Roi. Most politely, honourably, and affectionately received by him and M. Panchenot, who dined with him. Honoured with many and great compliments by le Comte, and which from such a man are indeed more than compliments. Made me a present of one of the last proof prints of himself by N. P. Casson. Took affectionate leave of me, with his satisfaction in my conduct, and in seeing me; and gave me his best wishes, as did M. Panchenot, very politely, desiring that I would remember him particularly to Sir Joseph Banks.

Feb. 20. Called on his Grace the Duc de Dorset, and received a letter from him in my favor to the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt the Minister in England, first Lord of the Treasury, &c. Evening with La Comtesse, le Comte and Le Chevalier Crofton, at the hotel, rue Traversière. Very affectionate, polite and agreeable, like sisters and brothers ever since I have been here, and in a manner the least irksome and the most agreeable.

Feb. 21. Called on Mad. la Comtesse de Crofton, M. le Comte, and the Chevalier her brother. She has been as a mother, sister and friend to me since I first saw her. With the most affectionate and tender embraces, encore & encore, her eyes full of tears, bid me adieu, with her earnest request to return again soon, or to live with her ever. The good Comte would accompany me to the bureau, nor quit me until we drove from the yard, when, with the most friendly adieu and engagements to embrace again for me the fair Vicomtesse de Liniere, at half after twelve o'clock we set out from the rue Notre Dame des Victoires, *en diligence* for Calais.

Feb. 27, 1785. At a quarter past four P. M. I landed safe (thank God) at Dover.

Feb. 28. This forenoon Col. York, Capt. Campbell, &c., &c., officers of the 69th, did me the honor to come to Maurice's Hotel to pay their compliments to me. Dined with Col. York and the gents. of the 69th. Lt. Crofton delivered me a message from Sir Thomas Hyde Page, requesting to see me to-morrow forenoon. Mr. Young informed me that it was in contemplation to present me with the freedom of the city &c. This P. M., in my absence, Sir Thomas Hyde Page called on me. The officers and gents. at the castle very particularly civil and polite to me.

Mar. 1. Dined with Mr. Fector, his family, Sir T. H. Page, etc. Received very great and repeated marks of attention from Mr. Fector, the ladies, and Sir T. H. Page.

This afternoon received a message from Mayor of City and Corporation, assembled in Town Hall, desiring my company there. I accordingly

waited on them, and was informed that they had assembled and *unanimously* voted me the freedom of the city, and to be a Baron of the Cinque Ports; for which I returned many thanks to the Mayor and Corporation, and took the oaths accordingly, as usual on such occasions. I was informed that there were but seven honorary Freemen besides myself, that I made the eighth; that the Duke of Dorset, Lord Sackville, and Sir Richard Pierson are three of them.

Mar. 2. Breakfasted with Lady and Sir T. H. Page. After breakfast, Mr. Stringer and Capt. Walter, two of the Corporation, called on me, with their congratulations; and with Sir T. H. Page, Dr. Young, and Mr. Fector, I called on the Mayor, corporation and Common Council, with many thanks for the honour done me yesterday, in admitting me a Freeman and a Baron of the Cinque Ports. They again mentioned to me that this had not been done in the usual way by ballot, but that it had been done *vive voce*, having been *unanimous*, which they said was a very uncommon instance. Mr. Springer and Mr. Walton said my freedom would have been presented me yesterday in a gold box, if they could have found any trace or precedent for it in their records.

Dined at the Antwerp, by invitation, with the Mayor, Sir T. H. Page, and the principal gentlemen of the town. After, the Association Band of musick came to the Antwerp to pay their compliments to me, dressed in their uniforms, and with their instruments of musick entertained me for some time; then payed their compliments and good wishes to me, and retired. Yesterday the officers of the 69th came to pay me their compliments at my hotel.

Mar. 3. At noon visited the cliff and spot of our departure on our late aerial voyage into France. The recollection of it was awfully grand and majestick, and my heart filled, I hope, with sincere and grateful acknowledgements to the kind protections of that day. Oh, Gracious Father, may I be influenced by it as I ought through my life!

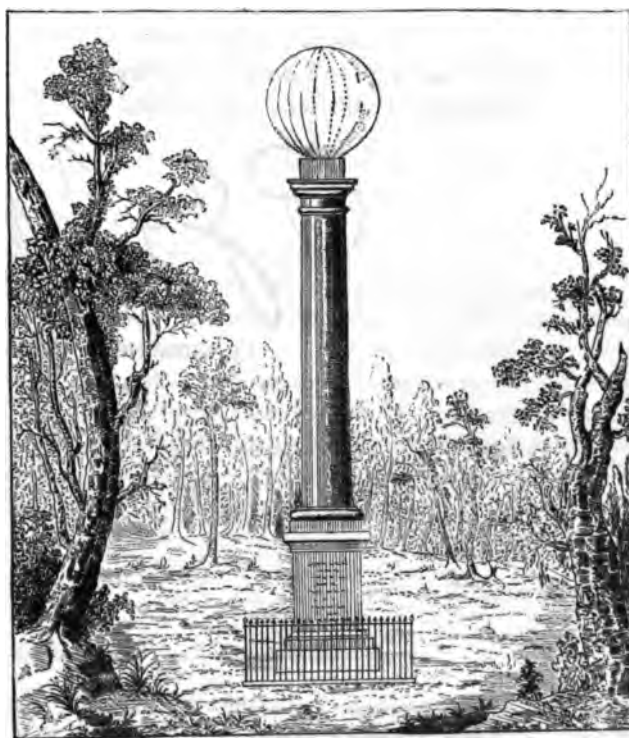
Mar. 5. At quarter after four o'clock, arrived, thank God, at Margaret St., Cavendish Square, London.

John Jeffries

Under royal consent the "Corps municipal de la ville et Comté de Guines" voted Feb. 17th 1785 to erect a monument at public expense where the balloon alighted in the forest. It still stands, but shorn of its cap and tablets, awaiting the repairs which it is hoped a centennial interest, &c., may secure.

INSCRIPTION ON THE FRONT OF THE COLUMN.

Regnante Ludovico XVI
Anno MD.C.C.LXXXV
Joannes Petrus Blanchard-Gallus.
Comites Joannes Jeffries. Britannus
Die VII. Mensis Januarii
Hora. Ia. Post meridianā
Ex Arce Dubriensi
Machina Aerostatica
In sublime Evectus
Fretum Britanniam inter et Galliam
Primus superavit,
Ex post Horas II. S. Aerii cursus
Hoc in loco consedit,
Audaciam mirati Novam
Cives Guisnenses hocce Monumentum
Posuerunt.



THE COLUMN.

On the reversed sides of the column are engraved, on the one, the Arms of Guines, and on the other those of the Viscount Desandrouin.

ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE COLUMN.

Sous le regne de Louis XVI.

MD.C.C.LXXXV

Jean Pierre Blanchard des Andelis en Normandie

Accompagné de Jean Jeffries, Anglois

Partit du Chateau de Douvres

Dans un Aérostat,

Le VII Janvier, à une Heure et un quart

Traversa le premier les Airs

Au-dessus du Pas de Calais

Et descendit à Trois Heures Trois Quarts

Dans le Lieu même où les Habitans de Guisnes,

Ont élevé cette Colonne

A le Gloire des deux Voyageurs.

(Signé)

De Guizelin, Lt. de Maire

Fortin, Berger, De Launay, Le Fevre

Echevins et Officiers Municipaux

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "P. Jay Jeffries". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "P." being small and the last name "Jeffries" being larger and more prominent.

15 CHESTNUT STREET,

BOSTON, MASS.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

EIGHT UNPUBLISHED REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS.

One from General Burgoyne, one from General Gates, two from General Heath, one from General Philips, one from John Hancock, one from John Adams, and one from General Artemas Ward.

Contributed by Ferguson Haines.

General John Burgoyne to Major-General William Heath.

Cambridge, Jan'y 17th 1778.

Sir.

Your Commissary Mr Miller has met Mr Commissary Clarke, and I enclose you the report made to me in consequence of that meeting, in order that you may see whether Mr Clarke has made any mistake, and determine whether you abide by the demand as stated by Mr Clarke.

I request the favour of your answer in the course of the day, and Mr Clarke will be ready to set out tomorrow. If you thought proper to depute any person at Cambridge to take his parole and examine his letters which at your desire will be very few in number, it will be an obligation to him; otherwise he will wait upon you at any time you shall appoint to morrow morning.

I submit to you whether it would not be a circumstance of convenience and dispatch for the officer that goes to General Gates, to set out with Mr. Clarke; if so, he shall also wait upon you with his letters and give his parole.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your favour last night, repeating your call of the names, size, age &c of the troops of the Convention; my opinion on it being changed. I am under the necessity of referring you to my former letter upon that subject; assuring you at the same time, that if you will point out to me the instances you allude to, where similar demands have been made by British officers, and complied with, I will give the matter further consideration and further answer. In Canada I know the case was directly the reverse.

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. Burgoyne.

P. S.

Since writing the above Col Chace has delivered in an account amounting to 13175£: 6s: 11d. commission money at 5 per cent included; and he informs me

that he has orders to demand the payment in hard money. I must desire you to let me know whether this is a determine you mean to abide by.

J. B.

(Indorsement on back of original letter, "last paragraph sent to Congress.")

Gen. Horatio Gates to General John Stark.

War Office 24 January, 1778.

Dear General,

The Honorable Congress having thought proper to direct an Irruption to be immediately made into Canada, and their Design being, in Part, communicated to you, by the Hon'ble James Duane, Esq.r, I am directed by that Honorable Body, to acquaint you that for wise and prudential Reasons, they have appointed Major General The Marquis De Fayette first in command, and Major General Conway second in Command, who will act in Concert with you in promoting the Interest, and political Views of the United States in Canada. I am confident, from my knowledge of your attachment to the Freedom of America, that you will cordially co-operate with them in every measure conducive to the public service. My Experience convinces me, and the opinion I entertain of you and your associates, the General officers, upon this important service, induces me to believe, that the Expectations of Congress will be fully answered by your hearty agreement with, and officer-like assistance to the Gentlemen above mentioned. There is not anything that will more recommend your many and good services to Congress, than your implicit Compliance with their wishes upon this occasion.

I am

Dear General

Your most obedient

Humble servant

Horatio Gates, Pres't.

Major-General Heath to Major-General Philips.

Head Quarters, Boston April 16th 1778

Sir.

In consequence of a late Resolution of the Continental Congress, the Troops of the Convention are to be removed into the Interior part of this state. The

Royal Artillery and Advance Corps are to Hold themselves in Readiness to march for Rutland on Monday morning next. you will please to acquaint the officers of those Corps that any private affairs of the officers which request may be settled previous to their removal.

I am sir

your obdt serv't.

W. Heath.

Major-General Heath to Major-General Philips.

Head Quarters Boston June 3^d 1878

Sir.

The 9th Reg^t must begin their march for Rutland on Tuesday morning next at Eight o'clock, of which you will please to give them notice. They are to take the same Rout and march the same distance each Day, as the last Division Did. If you wish to send a Quarter Master a Day or two before I have no objection. I think the Reg^t had best draw four Days Provisions the day before they march, and that Two or Three Days allowance be cooked for convenience on the Road. The Quarter Master of the Reg^t will pay attention to this and will also apply to Major Hopkins for such waggons as may be necessary.

I am sir

Your obdt servant

W. Heath.

Major-General Philips to Major-General Heath.

Cambridge 20th June 1778.

Sir

Warm as I am in my resentments when I consider myself injured in the Character I hold in the British Army, I am also sensible of an obligation—And I am, therefore to thank you for the orders you gave for preserving decency and against insult at the Funeral of Lieutenant Browne.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

W. Phillips.

[*Note.*—The above letter was written 3 days after Phillips' famous letter to Genl Heath of June 17, 1778, published in Lossing, Vol. I., page 594, and undoubtedly refers to the same officer (Browne) who was shot by an American sentinel, on Prospect Hill.]

*John Hancock to the Hon^{le} Board of War*Castle Island, 5th Novemb^r. 1779

Gentlemen.

The Return I made to your Hon^l Board of the Carolina Negroes, who are the objects of the Resolve of the Assembly with respect to Cloathing, was short by one man; he being at work at Dorchester did not at that time fall under my observation, but is entitled to the advantage of the Resolve. As I have rec^d a message from you that the Cloathing is now ready, & as the poor Fellows are suffering for want of the cloathing, I am to request the fav^r you will be pleased to deliver the cloathing to Mr. Salisbury whom I have sent up for the purpose, & I will myself see that the cloathing is properly deliver'd & I will then Lodge a Receipt with your Board in such manner as you shall Judge best.

I am with much Respect

Your very hum^l Serv^t

John Hancock

We are much in need of a Bell,
the old one being destroyed by
the British. I wish your Hon-
ors could furnish one.

Hon^l Board of War.

John Adams to Hon. Thomas Barclay.

Amsterdam, May 24, 1784.

Dear Sir.

I am here to collect together the Bills and send them to you by Express.

When this Express returns, I pray you to send by him, my Trunk and all my Cloaths. The Books you will deliver also to him or his order to be sent to me. Will you be so good as to pack the Trunk yourself, and see that the Books, Papers and Plate are well placed and fixed so that they may not shake too much. You will send the key, by him too, if the Trunk is not sufficient he must purchase another, if Mr Ridley has the Trunk, he will consider this Letter as to him. Upon a second Thought, perhaps it would be better to take out the plate and bring it in a small Box in the carriage with the Express. There are 96 Pieces of it.

There are of the Bills 169 which I received of Messrs Freeman & Co formerly, and 375 which I received yesterday. As I have given them a Receipt for these

Bills it will be necessary for you to give me one. You have only to sign a Receipt at the Foot of the List inclosed, which is a copy of the one I gave them.

The 169 amount to 186472 florins

The 375 amount to 290780 : 13

total	544	total	477252 : 13
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I am with great Respect, Sir your
Friend & Servant

John Adams.

P. S. our Worthy Friend Mr Jay returns to his Country like a Bee to his Hive, with both Legs richly loaded with Merit and Honour. He has no doubt announced to Congress his Intention of returning, and this I presume will occasion some Changes in their arrangements, so that I dont think it probable I shall have occasion to go to Paris at all, at least I shall wait at the Hague their ultimate Directions. It is necessary for some one to be here, or our Credit will be in danger of running down so low, that we shall not obtain money enough to pay the Interest of what we have had.

J. A.

Major-General Artemas Ward to Gen^l Committee of Supplies.

Head Quarters Cambridge, June 18. 1775

Gentlemen.

I am in immediate want of large ordnance, a Quantity of powder, and small Musket Balls.

I am Gentlemen

Your humble Servant

Artemas Ward.

Gen^l Committee supplies.

MINOR TOPICS

AN INTERESTING BI-CENTENNIAL

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOARD OF AMERICAN PROPRIETORS OF EAST NEW JERSEY

On Tuesday, the 25th of November, 1884, a notable assemblage filled the little antique City Hall at Perth Amboy, the occasion being one of peculiar importance. Gentlemen and ladies of prominence from various parts of the State of New Jersey and from New York were present, nearly all being descendants of the original proprietors who organized themselves into a Board in 1684. This Board opened an office in Perth Amboy as soon as it came into existence, and from that day to this annual meetings have been held in the ancient town. The two hundredth anniversary of the birth of this long-lived Board was celebrated with enthusiasm. The meeting opened at ten o'clock A.M., the present President of the Board, Charles E. Noble, of Morristown, New Jersey, presiding. An invocation was offered by Rev. Dr. Stearns, of Newark, New Jersey, and an eloquent and scholarly historical address delivered by the great lawyer, Cortlandt Parker, of Newark. The history of the Board was recited from its origin and personal descriptions of the men who composed it presented with pleasing effect.

At its close Surveyor-General Cook exhibited some old maps illustrating the boundary complications which agitated the people of New Jersey for more than a century. Professor Austin Scott then delivered an able and carefully studied address on the "Influence of the Proprietors in Founding the State." There were present Rev. Dr. Merrill E. Gates, President of Rutgers College; Rev. Dr. Demorest, Dean of the Rutgers Theological Seminary; State Senator Trist; Mr. and Mrs. Cortlandt Parker; Mayor Garretson, of Perth Amboy; William M. Force; Hon. James Bishop; Congressman John Kean, Jr.; Mrs. John Rutherford; Mrs. Martha J. Lamb; Amos Clark, Jr.; Hon. G. A. Halsey, Col. Charles Scranton, Archibald D. Russell, John A. Rutherford, Lewis M. Rutherford, J. Lawrence Kearny; Hon. Francis Tichenor, of Newark; John W. Hamersley, John Watts Russell, of New York City; Thomas T. Kinney, Silas Halsey, of Newark; Hon. Isaac Wildrick; John Jay Pierrepont, of Brooklyn, and many others.

An elegant collation was served by the ladies of Perth Amboy to at least two hundred guests at the close of the meeting. In a little brick building near the City Hall is a large quaint brick vault packed with the records of the Board, the accumulation of two centuries. This was visited by many of the guests and curiously inspected. It contained one deed dated September 10, 1680, signed by James, Duke of York. Two parchment deeds were exhibited dated 1681 and 1682. One of them bore the signature of William Penn, and was full five feet square, and each had large wax seals of the olden time.

CHARITY IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

In the early part of the last century there was a society in Scotland formed for the "Promotion of Christian Knowledge," or, as it was expressed in an old letter, for the "Gospelling of the Indians." Mr. Peter V. B. Livingston was the treasurer of the "committee of the correspondents" in this country to whom the money contributed in the colonies was sent, and by him distributed as ordered. The Indians lived in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, but some old letters in my possession refer particularly to the Jersey Indians who lived at Bethel. Then, as now, "What to do with the Indians," was a problem.

In a draft of a memorial to the Scotch society, the committee here beg them to "petition the Board of Trade and Lords of the Admiralty to allow the Jersey Indians, who need more land for their hunting grounds, to occupy some belonging to the Six Nations in the Province of New York, but they add with much naivete that the Six Nations have formerly in their wars conquered most of the other Indians, and hold them in contempt, and these being Delawares, they fear they will not easily be permitted to settle among them unless special treaties should be made with the other tribes." Rev. John Brainard was the missionary to the Jersey tribe, who was located at Bethel. He was a very devoted man, making repeated journeys to Connecticut to receive the collections taken for his support in the different parishes.

President Clap of Yale College was appointed to account for the collections in Connecticut; a few extracts from the letters of that date will give a glimpse of the work proposed and difficulties encountered.

"To Mr. V. B. Livingston Treas.r &c

Sir

The collections in Connecticut for the Indians were ordered by the Assembly to be Sent to Mr. President Clap at New-Haven, and by him to be remitted to you, and the Correspondents at a late Meeting by their Committee voted that the collections should be applied to the Setting up, and carrying on of a Spinning School among the People of my Charge, and have appointed me with two others, to manage that affair. This is therefore to desire that you will please to impower me by a Line from under your hand, to receive the sd. Collections of Mr. Clap and if you think proper any other Collections made for the same purpose, that fall in my Way and let me be accountable to you for the same

- - - - - No more at
present but sincere and humble Regards to you and your Spouse from Sir your
very humble Servant

John Brainard "

Eliz Town Oct. 2 1752

The Spinning School was for the purpose of teaching the Indians the use of flax contributions of which were acknowledged by Mr. Brainard. The Parishes in Connecticut were liberal, as will appear from extracts from President Clap's letters.

N Haven, Aug. 7 th. 1752

"Sir

The Contribution for the Indians in the Jersies is likely to come out well. I have received about £600 from less than a fifth part of the Congregations. I wait orders of the Correspondents for the Disposal of it. I want 100 lbs of White Lead very much, and therefore took the freedom to send to you 10 p of 8 by Sr. Kettletas to purchase and send it in case any Opportunity should offer before Capt. Bradley went. I understand that Capt. John Wilson in the Brig Content, is likely to sail from New York to New Haven next week.

Your Humble obliged Servant

Thomas Clap "

In September, 1752, he acknowledges the receipt of the white lead, and says : "Above 30 congregations have not yet sent any contributions; I have heard that there is in one contribution of near £80 yet to come."

A year later, September, 1753, he writes : "In Nov. 1752 I Received the Contributions for the Indians £3134 In Feb. 1753 I recd. £108 9. 10, since that, I have recd. £59 more, which in pursuance to your order I have with difficulty exchanged, 18 Rough pieces of eight, and sent them to you by Mr. Alexander. This is the whole of the contributions "——.

Perhaps, however, the following letter from Mr. Pierpoint is the most interesting. With the complete mail and banking facilities of the present time, and a uniform currency in all the States, it is difficult to realize the annoyances and trouble consequent upon sending a few dollars to New York. Mr. Pierpoint's apprehension lest the account was not strictly accurate, is refreshing reading, and savors of the days when honesty, truthfulness, and integrity were no meaningless terms. The letter is as follows :

Sir :

I had left in my hand by Mr. John Brainard a bond from his brother, who I understood took sme of ye money collected here for ye Indians, obliging himself to pay York money which he brought to me last June. But I not understanding how money past in New York, went with him to Mr. Cooke, who told me his way with broken money was, to ballance it with Dollars. So we put ye broken money into one scale, and as many Dollars as would equal it in the other scale, then counting ye Dollars found ye value of the broken money : Then I took the money with Ed Brainard's promise that if it should hereinafter appear that this methoed of reckoning was not right, he would rectify it when he came to see his brother, So I cancelled his Bond. Mr. John Brainard ordered me to remit the money to you when I received it, So I have attempted to do several times, but when ye persons came to see ye broken money, and to understand how I took it, they all refused to carry it, lest their honesty should be questioned, which I advised Mr. Brainard of, and desired Instructions from him, and a few days ago I received a letter from him to

send it to you, not being like to come here this fall, as he had proposed to do. But here I must inform you that at ye beginning of last Oct. Mr. Ebenz Poregarpon the Church of England Parson here, having a sudden occupation for some silver money urged me to let him have some of that money which lay by me and he would draw upon Mr. Paul Richmond, his correspondent and special good friend in New York to pay it to Mr. Brainard or his order, which he would immediately do; so I told him if he would take the broken money, I would presume to do it. Accordingly he took nine ounces of broken money which was almost all, also five Pistoles full weight, and fifteen Dollars

I took his note upon Demand, and now send enclosed his bill of exchange on Mr. Richmond, therefore, which I hope will be paid upon sight; but if not, desire you'd send it back immediately. I also send one half (Johannes?) fifty six Dollars, 2 half dollars, 1 French piece about as big as half dollar, 3 pistoreens, 3 half ditto, 1 shilling piece, 2 dutch bitts? 4 small pieces of silver about 3-4th. of a pistoreen in weight as I should guess, which is every mite I received of Brainard; I also send herwith Mr. Poregarpon's letter of instructions to Paul Richmond. Brainard's Bond was for £40 York money and ye interest £4.80; you see whether what I have sent amounts to it or not, and I desire you'd Inform Jn Brainard that he might settle ye matter with his brother So with regards to you and Spouse, I rest yr very Humble Ser't

New Haven

Nov. 31st.

1754

James Pierpoint

NEWARK, N. J.

C. L. RUTHERFURD

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS *

II

(Continued from page 566, vol. xii.).

[The first installment of these papers has called out so many comments and suggestions, that the author desires to bespeak further favors of the same description with a view to the eventual compilation of a glossary which shall be as full as possible. Information will be gratefully received regarding facts, phrases, and incidents of a political character, the date and circumstances of origin and first printed publication are especially desirable in the case of words and phrases. The author may be addressed Box 53, University Club, New York.]

BOYCOTT.—An adaptation from the Irish-Nationalists, Captain Boycott was an Irish landlord who incurred the wrath of the neighboring peasantry in 1880, and was popularly ostracized. No one would have anything to do with him, or allow any one else to deal with him. Hence, primarily, the meaning of the verb "to boycott" is to ostracize. It has been adopted in this country with the same general meaning.

BOYS.—This word is often used nowadays to designate the political hangers-on of a candidate or party; those who can be counted upon to cheer and be on hand in season and out of season, and who expect the small change of the campaign funds in the way of free drinks and the minor offices as their remuneration. "Heelers" (*q. v.*) has much the same meaning, but with a rather derogatory implication. It is safe to call a boy a boy, but to call him a "heeler" might involve an unpleasantness. "B'hoys" is a somewhat obsolete corruption of *boys*, but has a rowdyish rather than a political signification.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—A general nickname for Americans. It was originally applied by Washington to Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, on whose judgment Washington placed the greatest reliance. In perplexity he was accustomed to say, "I must consult Brother Jonathan."

BUCKTAILS.—A political faction originating in New York in 1815, which was opposed to the administration of Gov. De Witt Clinton. The members wore bucktails in their hats and be-

longed to the benevolent association known as the Tammany Society (*q. v.*).

BULL-DOSE.—In Texas and western Louisiana the "bull-whack" is a terrible whip with a long and very heavy lash and a short handle. It is used by drovers to intimidate refractory animals. The use of this weapon was the original application of bull-dose. It first found its way into print after the civil war, when it came to mean intimidation for political purposes by violence or threats of violence. Since that time it has acquired a wider significance, and may be used with reference to intimidation of any kind.

BUMMER.—Primarily an idle, worthless fellow. During the civil war, a camp-follower or straggler, especially as connected with Gen. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea. Now used in a political sense.

BUNCOME, BUNKUM, ETC.—Talking merely for talk's sake. The original employment of the word in this sense is ascribed to a member of Congress from Buncombe county, North Carolina, who explained that he was merely talking for Buncombe, when his fellow members could not understand why he was making a speech.

BURGOO.—A Southern and Southwestern term akin to barbecue (*q. v.*). The feast, however, was furnished by hunters and fishermen—everything, fish, flesh and fowl, being compounded into a vast stew. After this was disposed of, speeches were made, if the meeting was to have a political character.

BURRITES.—An independent political party;

organized and led by Aaron Burr in 1797. Its existence was short-lived, terminating with Burr's overwhelming defeat at the polls the same year.

BUSHWHACKER.—In politics, as in war, simply a "free-lance."

BUTTERNUTS.—Equivalent at the North to "copperheads" (*q. v.*). It is derived from the popular name of a coarse brown homespun cloth commonly worn by Confederate soldiers during the Civil War.

CARPET-BAGGER.—After the Civil War, numbers of Northerners went South, some with honest intent, others with the hope of profit from irregular means. They were for the most part looked upon with suspicion by Southerners, and as they were generally republican in politics and affiliated with the freedmen at the polls, the term came to have, and still retains a political significance. It was unjustly applied in an opprobrious sense to many well-meaning men, but at the same time it admirably fitted the great horde of corrupt adventurers who at that time infested the South. Originally, however, a carpet bagger was a "wild-cat banker" in the West. A banker, that is, who had no local abiding place, and could not be found when wanted.

CAUCUS.—A meeting of partisans, congressional or otherwise, to decide upon the action to be taken by the party. The word is said to have been used as early as 1724 (*Gordon's Hist. of American Revolution*), and Dr. Trumbull of Hartford derives it from the Indian *cau-cau-as-ic*, one who advises.

CÆSARISM.—Those are accused of Cæsarism, *i. e.* imperialism, who favor the re-election to the presidency for a third term of one who has already held the office twice.

CENTRALIZATION.—The political creed which favors large powers for the general government as opposed to the limitations of State rights.

CHIVALRY.—"The Southern Chivalry" was a common phrase before and during the civil war. It was claimed as a proud title by Southerners and their friends, but has always been heard and used at the North with a shade of contempt.

CIPHER DISPATCHES.—After the closely contested Presidential campaign of 1876, the *New York Tribune* secured a number of telegraphic dispatches in cipher, which emanated from the

Democratic headquarters in New York. The key was most ingeniously discovered and the dispatches translated and published, implicating the senders in corrupt dealings of the most flagrant nature in connection with the bribery of State returning boards whose decisions affected the vote for president.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—The correction of abuses in the public service, or more specifically, the adoption of a system which shall not permit the removal of good and faithful officers for partisan reasons, and which shall prevent appointment to office as a reward for partisan services.

CONVENTIONS.—The different parties in counties, States and in the nation at large usually hold conventions prior to important elections. Delegates are selected in the various local political subdivisions. National conventions are held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. The delegates number many hundreds, and the votes are recorded as the roll of States is called from the presiding officer's desk. National conventions date back about sixty years. Prior to that time general nominations were made in Washington, the congressmen representing the two great parties meeting in caucus for the purpose. Increased facilities for travel made really national conventions possible, but it was many years before they attained their present perfection of organization.

COONS.—A nick-name for the Whig party during Henry Clay's time. In the campaigns of that day raccoons were painted on banners, and live specimens were frequently borne in processions.

COOP.—To "coop voters," is to collect them as it were in a coop or cage, so as to be sure of their services on election day. Liquor dealers are the usual "coopers," for obvious reasons.

COPPERHEAD.—As early as 1863, this epithet was to be found in the daily press, applied to Northerners who sympathized with the cause of the South in the civil war. The aptness of the name is apparent, when it is explained that the "copperhead" proper is a venomous snake nearly as deadly as the rattlesnake, but which gives no warning before he strikes.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

AN ARTFUL YANKEE—Run away from Fish Kill Landing, on Friday morning, the 2d inst., a certain fellow, who called his name *Uriah Ford*, about 5 feet 6 inches high, 21 years of age, or thereabouts, well made, light hair and eyebrows, wears his hair sometimes hanging loose in his neck, and at other times has it tied with a false tail; his occupations are various, besides that of pilfering and stealing, he assumes the professions of a painter, carver, taylor, and sometimes displays his abilities with the razor and shaving-box; wore a round beaver hat bound with ribbon; he took with him two scarlet coats, one a short coat much worn, the other a long one quite new, the property of the subscriber, a camblet watch coat lined with green baize, fastens before with hooks instead of buttons, a pair of black calimanco and a pair of spotted velvet breeches, a pair of old fashioned saddle bags, with sundry articles in them, the bottom part of one end cut out. He also took with him a large dog of a yellowish colour, some white in his face, his name is Watch. Whoever takes up and secures the above described person, so that he may be brought to justice, shall have Five Dollars reward and necessary charges.

ELBERT WILLETT, jun.

FISH KILL LANDING, *June 13, 1786*

N. B.—Since he went off, I have been informed his name is Hungerford, it is possible he may change it again. He was born in Connecticut, at or near New Haven, at which place he worked at the

painting business with a Mr. Gardner.—*N. Y. Packet, July 3, 1786.*

PETERSFIELD

COLONIAL NEWPORT—*Newport, Rhode Island, September 5, 1763.* By a gentleman who arrived here a few Days ago from the Coast of Africa, we are inform'd of the arrivals of the Captains Morris, Ferguson, and Wickham, belonging to this Port, who write very discouraging Accounts of the Trade upon the Coast, and that upwards of 200 Gallons of neat Rum had been given per Head for Slaves, and scarcely to be got at any Rate for that Commodity. This must be sensibly felt by this poor and distress'd Government, the Inhabitants whereof being at this Time very large Adventurers in that Trade, having sent, and about sending, upwards of Twenty Sail of Vessels, computed to carry, in the whole, about Nine Thousand Hogsheads of Rum, a Quantity much too large for the Places on the Coast where that Commodity has generally been vended. We hear many Vessels are also gone, and going, from the neighbouring Governments, likewise from Barbados, from which place a large Cargo of Rum had arrived before our Informant left the Coast, of which they gave 270 Gallons for a prime Slave.

PETERSFIELD

AN OLD SCRAP-BOOK—I find the following "song," in the Scrap-book of a gentleman, who from 1780 to 1820 copied the verses he most admired. Having never seen them in print, I ask for them a place in your Magazine, hoping some of

your readers will know where they may
be found ?

"ORPHEUS AND EURIDICE—OR THE
POWER OF MUSIC.

I

When Orpheus went down to the regions below
Which men are forbidden to see,
He tuned up his Lyre, as old histories show,
To set his Eurydice free.

II

All Hell was astonished, a person so wise
Should rashly endanger his life
And venture so far, but how vast their surprise
When they heard that he came for his wife !

III

To find out a punishment due to his fault,
Old Pluto had puzzled his brain,
But Hell had not torments sufficient he thought
So he gave him his wife back again.

IV

But pity succeeding soon vanquished his heart
And pleased with his playing so well,
He took her again, in reward of his Art—
Such power *had Music in Hell*.

THE ANSWER BY A LADY.

I

When Orpheus went down to the regions below
To bring back the wife that he loved,
Old Pluto confounded, as histories show,
To find that his music so moved,

II

That a woman so good, so virtuous and fair,
Should be by a man thus trepanned,
To give up her freedom for sorrow and care,
He owned she *deserved to be damned*.

III

For punishment he never faltered a whit,
The torments of Hell had not pain
Sufficient to curse her, so Pluto thought fit
Her husband should have her again.

IV

But soon he compassioned the woman's hard fate
And knowing of mankind so well,
He recalled her again, before 'twas too late,
And said she'd be happier in Hell."

The same gentleman in a letter to his daughter, March 23, 1804, mingles with his family news something about literature and public affairs. After a long criticism on Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming," commending its "sentiment and sensibility," he says :

"I wish to entertain you with the news afloat, and information was announced to me last night that will be new and interesting to you. What think you of a new City ! to be built on the ground at Paulus' Hook, to be called the City of Jersey. The grounds have all been purchased on a lease for 999 years, of the Dutchman, the proprietor. This has been done by a company of gentlemen in New York. The lots many of them have been laid out, and many sold. The plan is to be similar to the City of Philadelphia, the situation is elegant, and the salubrity of it will induce to its settlement very fast. The prevalent disease of the present city, I suppose, has occasioned this plan, & I flatter myself it will progress very fast. I cannot but congratulate M. very much on the probable consequence of this measure. Most surely it will extend its influence to the increase of the value of property to all the country around, which depends on its trade thither. Our children will surely feel its effects; and I am sure under very moderate expectations the Goshen estate, as well as mine, will before a great many years increase in a double ratio of value. This is not chimerical

but bottomed on very reasonable calculations. You will see all this business in the next paper."

M. M. L.

HAMBURG, N. J.

COLONEL HENRY B. ARMSTRONG, who died near the close of the past year at his residence, Red Hook, Dutchess County, New York, was the only surviving son of General John Armstrong, Secretary of War under Madison. He was born in the year 1791, and his early years were spent in France, where his father was American Minister to the Court of the first Napoleon. His education was received, as he told the writer, at a French military school, where he went bareheaded for years, hats of every description being considered effeminate. Before leaving France in 1811, young Armstrong frequently saw Napoleon and many of his marshals. On the breaking out of the second war with Great Britain he entered the army as Captain of the 13th Regiment of United States Infantry, and served through the war with great gallantry and distinction, having been severely wounded at the assault upon Queenstown Heights, and having shared in the capture of Fort George, the battle of Stony Creek, and the sortie from Fort Erie. At the close of hostilities in 1815, he retired from the regular army as Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Regiment of Rifles. For nearly twenty years Colonel Armstrong lived the retired life of a country gentleman at his home on the banks of the Hudson in Dutchess County, where his warm heart and genial disposition made him universally beloved by a large family circle and troops of friends. His mind and

memory were richly stored with interesting recollections of many eminent men whom he had met in the course of his long career of ninety-three years.

JAS. GRANT WILSON

NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1884

OAT-MEAL IN 1758—The *Pennsylvania Journal & Weekly Advertiser*, March 10, 1758 [printed and sold by William Bradford, at the Sign of the Bible, Corner House of Front and Market Sts., where persons may be supplied with this paper at 10s. a year], contains the following: "Choice Oat-Meal and Grets made for the subscriber and sold at his dwelling House in Lombard St. * * * The known usefulness of Oat-Meal in preserving and restoring health in the Navy and Army, and among people in general where the use of it obtains, is sufficient to recommend it.

GUNNING BEDFORD "

HAMBURG, N. J.

M. M. L.

THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION—The immensity of the World's Exposition is readily seen from the fact that there are sixteen exhibition buildings, one alone covering thirty-three acres of space and all together covering some ninety acres. To attend it will be the event of one's lifetime.

AN EXTINCT TITLE—The highest price given for Country Quills at No. 178 Water Street, next to the corner of Burling Slip, New York, by P. Byrne, Quill manufacturer and *Pen Cutter to Congress*.

Jan. 11, 1820

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

DID THE FATHERS LAND ON PLYMOUTH ROCK ON FOREFATHERS' DAY?—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History*:—On the 6th of December, 1620 (old style), a few of the leading men of the Pilgrim band left the *Mayflower*—then lying in Provincetown harbor—to explore the neighboring coasts. Their boat was ill-suited to the winter blasts of Cape Cod Bay, and on the evening of Saturday, Dec. 9th, (old style) they were glad to seek shelter on an island, now known as Clark's Island—in Plymouth harbor. There they passed the Lord's day drying their clothes and recruiting their strength. On the next day they set foot on the mainland somewhere inside Plymouth harbor, and then set out for Provincetown and the *Mayflower*. This "landing" took place on Monday, Dec. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1620. Now, where did the exploring party land on that day?

On the morning of Dec. $\frac{1}{2}$, the sun rose at about twenty-five minutes after seven, and we may suppose that they got to their work by eight. The (*computed*) *time of high water at Plymouth on that morning was very nearly nine o'clock*. This is a very important factor in the solution of the problem, for Plymouth harbor is to a great extent bare at low water. Either before or after they had sounded the harbor, and found it deep enough for the *Mayflower*, they went to land. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that—remembering the flats were covered—they landed at a most inviting headland over against Clark's Island, than that they rowed nearly to the southern end of the harbor? Wherever they went on shore they "marched into the land, and

found diverse corn-fields and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for settlement." This is all that we know of the doings of the exploring party inside Plymouth harbor on Forefather's Day; and could have taken place without their going within miles of Plymouth Rock.

EDWARD CHANNING

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 1st, 1884

Who was the author of the following work? "An answer to certain parts of a work published by Mathew Carey, entitled 'The Olive Branch, or Faults on both sides,' by a Federalist." I. C.

ALLEGHANY, Pa.

GREY-COURT [xii. 569]—"E. M. R." throws very little light on the origin of this name, though he is better informed as to which Crommelin it was who purchased the tract than was the writer of the query. From E. M. R.'s information about the date of the deed from Ten Eyck (1704) I perceive it refers to the first Daniel Crommelin(e), the grandfather of the one I had in mind, and who was the founder of the Holland Banking house, well known in America. The latter person I had hitherto supposed to be the reputed builder of the Grey Court house, which, as I said, could not be. The elder Daniel came to New York in 1696, and of course it now is easy to see from the deed that it was he who purchased the interest in the Wawayanda Patent. This Daniel (1st) married a Mlle. Testart in Paris about 1674; he had a son, Charles, as E. M. R. supposed. This Charles mar-

ried a Miss Sinclair, of New York, in the year 1706, and by her had the son Daniel who, I had erroneously supposed, was thought to be the owner of Greycourt. But no matter which Daniel in fact purchased Greycourt, the point of my query was the origin of the name. E. M. R. would seem to assume that a Crommelin(e) named it. If this assumption is founded on fact, it destroys the legend given by the historian, Mr. Eager, that it came from a gray coat of

arms, gradually by a local process (similar to Grimm's Law) changed to Grey Court (p. 520 Eager's Orange County). Pointing out the error as to the original purchaser of the Crommelin interest, hardly meets my query, though I am duly grateful for this correction. May I now be permitted to ask on what authority E. M. R. assumes that Daniel Crommelin or Cromeline named the place, for this proof would solve the point of my query? HISTORICUS

REPLIES

SULKY LITTLE RHODY [xii. 567]—The note under this head speaks rather harshly we think, and it therefore may interest the readers of the Magazine to know why she was so "sulky" about approving the Constitution. From its settlement in 1636, the State of Rhode Island was, until 1728, in a bitter contention for existence with Connecticut. From 1636 until the present year 1884, a similar war has been going on between Rhode Island and Massachusetts—not a simple boundary dispute, but a struggle on the part of "Sulky Little Rhody" for the breath of life itself. You will see by reading both the Connecticut and Massachusetts charters, that they can be so construed as to include Rhode Island, and so as to be taken in by both these adjoining colonies. This contest passed on from one generation to another, and was a struggle of the severest kind. When the Revolution came "Little Rhody" had her part; she had in her capital city a powerful force of British soldiers, who stayed there nearly four years, and who succeeded in de-

stroying many fine buildings, laid the island desolate, and sapped the life-blood of her people. So well did the British do their work that it is a historical fact, that for thirty years not a solitary building of any kind was put up in this city (Newport). She received chastisements enough to make her "sulky." She went into the Revolution for freedom, and certainly history shows that no State did better service in that grand struggle for Independence. Coming out of this struggle, it is true victorious, with the rest of her sister colonies, yet like them sadly crippled in resources and with heavy losses in property and life, she found, that instead of having the freedom she expected, she was to meet danger (as she viewed it) from an unforeseen quarter. That is, if she joined the Union, or rather gave in her adherence to the Constitution, the larger States would take it into their heads to annex her to either one of the adjoining States, and this she had labored all her lifetime to avert. So it can be safely said that no State fought

more desperately, or more persistently, or stood out more "sulky" for her rights than "Little Rhody." When it was plainly made known to her that she should have her existence as a State protected, that she should have an equal voice in the Upper House or Senate with each of the large States, and that most of her twenty-one proposed amendments to the Constitution were there in spirit and intent, she yielded, and came in last, and so by her vote made the Constitution unanimously accepted by all of the original thirteen States. The compact has been carried out to the very letter. No pen can point out wherein she has ever faltered in her duty. She has marched as grandly to the step of the Union as the noble old Empire State; and certainly no one of the States is more generally beloved by all than is "Little Rhody," and no one is more often kindly mentioned by citizens of other States.

She is "sulky" but she is spirited, and certainly none of her sons need to blush for any deed of hers. We close by saying long live "Sulky Little Rhody."

JAS. N. ARNOLD

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS [xii. 569]—A copy of the publication referred to by "Collector" is in the library of the New York Historical Society. It is an octavo of one hundred and twenty-two pages, entitled, "Observations on the American Revolution. Published according to a Resolution of Congress, by their Committee. For the consideration of those who are desirous

of comparing the conduct of the opposed parties, and the consequences which have flowed from it. Philadelphia: Printed by Styner and Cist, in Second Street, MDCCCLXXIX."

W. K.

"THE OLD ROGER MORRIS PLACE" [xii. 563]—It was to this historical residence that the foot-note was intended to refer, and *not* to the "Beekman House, Turtle Bay."

W. H.

SCHOONER [xii. 474]—Schoon is a Dutch word, meaning handsome, whence the name perhaps, but certainly not from the Scotch or the American. Small vessels with two masts were called by the French *goelette*, and foreign ones *schooner*, or skunard. Scherer, *Recherches*, etc., Paris, 1777, mentions three skunards as building at Arkangel. The translator of Pernetty's *Journal of Bougainville's voyage to the Falkland Islands*, London, 1771, finds a schooner at Montevideo. Webster, 1828, derives it from the German, on the faith of a *Mar. Dict.*, as also Crabb, 1823. This question has been asked and answered before in the *Am. Hist. Mag.*, vols. iii. and vi., 1859 and 1862. Such a vessel called a *schooner* at Albany, in 1723, not long before a Dutch colony, *Mag. vol. vi. p. 221*, is enough to kill the New England story, which comes out every few years. In Baltimore, an English colony, they were called clippers, and they were built in the Bermudas and the West Indies. No marine dictionary in Dutch, previous to 1720, is known.

B.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—An interesting paper was read at the Society's stated meeting, Nov. 4, by Dr. George H. Moore, entitled, "A Summary Vindication of the Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Concerning Attainders," in which he gave the results of some recent investigations of this subject, especially in its bearing upon the legal proceedings in the Salem witchcraft cases, a topic lately discussed by the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. A copy was requested for publication by the Society.

On the 18th, the Society celebrated the eightieth anniversary of its founding, when the address on "Puritanism in New York in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," was delivered by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary. This able summary by Dr. Briggs of our ecclesiastical history during the colonial period is printed in another part of this number of the Magazine.

At the stated meeting, Dec. 2, Ernest H. Crosby, Fletcher H. Bangs and O. Perry Dexter were elected resident members. The paper of the evening was furnished by Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D.D. on "The Early New York Post Office and Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster and Postmaster-General," a valuable monograph, exhibiting thorough and careful research, and adorned by the lecturer's characteristic grace of composition and charm of expression. The interesting facts concerning the establishment, early operation and progress of our postal sys-

tem were given in detail, and the great services of Franklin and Hazard in connection therewith justly brought to the notice and appreciation of those who enjoy this great branch of the public service in its perfection to-day. The post-boy of the past and the railway of the present were contrasted, and the dissemination throughout the country by the former of the stirring news of the battle at Lexington was graphically described. Availing himself of the ample historical material gathered in his research, the lecturer impressed on the minds of his audience a faithful and charming picture of the manners and habits of our colonial and Revolutionary ancestors.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting Nov. 18, 1884, Hon. E. B. Washburne in the chair. Judge Skinner, in behalf of the committee to prepare memorial notice of the late E. C. Larned, an annual member of the Society, asked for a postponement of the paper till the next meeting of the Society, which was granted. The librarian, Albert D. Hager, in behalf of and for Mrs. William Hickling, presented the Society a painted portrait of her late husband, who, at the time of his decease, was vice-president of the Society. The librarian reported the accession of 198 books since the meeting of the Society in October last. These added to former accessions make a total of 9,315 volumes, and 30,856 pamphlets and unbound books in the library.

The following officers were elected

for the ensuing year. For President, Hon. E. B. Washburne; Vice-Presidents, Gen. Alex. C. McClurg and Gen. Geo. W. Smith; Secretary and Librarian, Albert D. Hager; Treasurer, Henry H. Nash; Members of Executive Committee, Edwin H. Sheldon and William K. Ackerman. The report of the Treasurer was submitted and adopted, showing a balance of \$830.16 in the treasury of the general fund. The report also showed that \$2,000 had been set apart from the general fund to restore to the treasury the "Jonathan Burr Fund." The report of the Executive Committee, by E. G. Mason, Esq., showed that the "Lucretia Pond Fund" of \$13,500 was safely invested, and the income was being used in the purchase of books, etc., for the library of the Society.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting of the "Oneida Historical Society" was held Nov. 24th, in Library Hall; Vice-President Ellis H. Roberts, presided, in the absence of Hon. Horatio Seymour, President. Judge D. E. Wager, of Rome, read an interesting and scholarly paper on Fort Stanwix, and the other forts of Rome. He stated that the first mention of the site which subsequently became that of Fort Stanwix, and of the present city of Rome, was to be found in the Oriskany patent, granted in April, 1705; and that in 1756 there were three forts at the "Oneida Carrying Place," and a fourth in process of completion. After the reading of the paper, other business was transacted, and instructions were given to the committee on publications to publish at once another volume of "Transactions."

The next meeting of the Society will be held Tuesday, January 13th, 1885.

THE ALBANY INSTITUTE—At the regular meeting, November 18, 1884, Rev. Dr. William E. Griggs, of Union College, read an able and interesting paper on "Arendt Van Curler, the Founder of Schenectady and of the Dutch Peace Policy with the Iroquois." While the French and English were striving for the mastery of the country, each was endeavoring to secure the Iroquois as allies. Van Curler stepped in and made peace with the nation, securing them as allies for the Dutch. He was a man of remarkable character both as a statesman and a scholar. After his marriage, he became ambitious to secure land in fee for his own posterity, and by permission of the Dutch governor secured from the Indians the large tract of land which now forms the site of Schenectady, becoming thus its founder. The paper closed with an eloquent tribute to the character of Van Curler, and was received with marked attention throughout its reading. Interesting remarks were made by Prof. Jonathan Tenny and Mr. Thomas Greene.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting was held in November, at which a committee on publication, consisting of Professor Dexter, Professor Hoppin, Professor Baldwin and Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr., was appointed, and probably will publish a new volume of society records during the winter. Rev. Dr. Beardsley declined a re-election as president, and after a vote of thanks for his valuable services, officers for the ensuing year were chosen: President, Professor Simeon E. Baldwin; Vice-

president, James E. English ; Treasurer, Robert Peck ; Secretary, Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr. ; Curator, George Sherman ; Directors, Rev. E. E. Beardsley, Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr., Henry Bronson, M.D., E. H. Leffingwell, M.D., John W. Barber, Charles R. Ingersoll, Frank E. Hotchkiss, Charles H. Townsend, F. B. Dexter, Johnson T. Platt, E. H. Bishop, M.D., George Petrie, Henry L. Hotchkiss, James M. Hoppin, D.D., Eli Whitney, Charles Dickerman, Charles Peterson, Joseph B. Sargent, Charles L. English, T. Attwater Barnes, James G. English, Rev. E. E. Atwater, Ruel P. Cowles, Caleb B. Bowers.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION OF NEBRASKA STATE UNIVERSITY—This organization held its first regular meeting at the chancellor's office in Lincoln, on Saturday evening November 15, 1884. Its special object is the study of local history, and the collection of documents and information pertaining to Western history in all lines. Its projectors are university professors and post-graduate students. Chancellor I. J. Manatt said that a university was not for the mere communication of knowledge, but for the extension of its limits and the opening up of new fields. "In a State like this," he continued, "where history is just making, a rare opportunity is offered for preserving it in accurate and attractive form. The State Historical Society has done some good in this direction, and for the future the headquarters of that society are likely to be at the University. Here scholarly methods and systematic persistent work would be brought to bear, and much greater results reasonably expected."

Professor Howard said the field offered by the two studies, history and political science, was a large one, embracing all that pertains to institutional law and to government, its social, political and financial aspects. History includes not only the history of nations and peoples, but the history of art, of science, and of language. Instructor H. W. Caldwell gave several felicitous illustrations of the admirable methods of work in a similar society at Johns Hopkins University, and of its advantages.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Its meetings of November 18 and December 2. On the first occasion Professor Franklin B. Dexter of Yale College read an exceptionally interesting paper on the "Diary of the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D." who was for many years minister of a church in Newport, and afterward President of Yale College.

On the second occasion Professor William Mathews read a paper on "William Wirt," who began life in humble circumstances, and climbed, rather than flew, to heights of honor. The speaker, after giving an interesting account of the career and character of the eminent advocate, said: "He began his life with a lofty idea, and kept that before his eyes all through. He won the highest honors in the profession. He became a polished writer, and won by his books, orations and addresses literary laurels worthy of his profession. He was conscientious in the discharge of his duties, severe as a critic, patient in labor, warm in his affections, faithful in his friendships, powerful as an advocate, and a sincere Christian. He left an example worthy of emulation."

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT RYEDALES, and their Descendants in Normandy, Great Britain, Ireland, and America. From 860 to 1884. Comprising the Genealogy and Biography for about one thousand years of the families of RIDDELL, RIDDLE, RIDLON, RIDLEY, etc. By REV. G. T. RIDLON. 8vo, pp. 786. Published by the Author. 1884. Manchester, New Hampshire.

Some thirty-eight exquisitely executed steel portraits embellish this remarkably well printed genealogical work, together with twenty full-page views of houses and monuments in color, and coats-of-arms in gold and heraldic colors representing twenty different shields and crests. Upon turning over the pages we find the volume something more and better than a mere statistical record. Genealogy predominates, but historical and biographical sketches of prominent events and characters are numerous. There is one comprehensive article on heraldry, which enables the reader to understand the significance of the coats-of-arms; and another is devoted to surnames and changes of orthography, followed by a brief account of the Christian names peculiar to the families that form the chief subject of the book. In the preliminary chapter a succinct history of the ancient clan of Ryedale appears, in which its branches are traced from century to century, and from land to land whither they have migrated. The period covered by the researches of the author is more than one thousand years; and his pains-taking and scholarly labors have occupied fourteen years. The results are eminently satisfactory, and will be welcomed by a multitude of American descendants and family connections.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland. April, 1666—June, 1676. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, Editor. Square quarto, pp. 570. 1834. Baltimore. Maryland Historical Society. Price per volume, \$2.50.

The second printed volume of the Maryland Archives contains the Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly from the point at which the first volume closed to 1676. It also supplies the text of many laws missing from the Archives, through copies obtained from the Public Record Office in London. Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury has not only furnished the transcripts of many of these and other valuable papers, but has inter-

ested Mr. E. Maude Thompson, keeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum, who has searched that repository for additional material. The most painstaking care seems to have been taken to secure minute accuracy in copying the text for the volumes, and we are told that the copy has in every instance been collated, word for word, with the original manuscripts before going to press, and that in this collation the use of the lens was often necessary when the text was almost illegible from stains or fading of the ink. It is a meritorious work ably accomplished, and one that will prove most acceptable to the students of American history. The Committee of Publication in their report, October 13, 1884, pay a deserved and appreciative tribute to Dr. Browne, whose careful editorship has contributed so largely to the prominence and value of the publication.

THE CRUISE OF THE ALICE MAY in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and adjacent waters. With numerous illustrations. Reprinted from the *Century Magazine*. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Square 8vo, pp. 129. New York, 1885. D. Appleton & Co.

This delightful book should find its way into every household, as it is admirably adapted for the entertainment of the home circle. It is a continuous chapter of geographical information, vividly illustrated with maps and original sketches, and brightened with incident and story. Characteristic features of the towns along the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence are presented to the eye through the pencil of the expert artist, and the inhabitants and their manners and customs are deftly introduced to the reader with the author's ready pen, and in a manner so pleasing and picturesque that they will be apt to occupy a place in memory for evermore. Such works form excellent companions to text-books in the schools, and only need examination to be appreciated.

BOYS COASTWISE; or, All Along the Shore. By WILLIAM H. RIDEING. With numerous illustrations. Square 8vo, pp. 365. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Another holiday issue, although a book that will be attractive all the year around, is Mr Rideing's new story for the boys. There is so much knowledge to be gleaned from the author's clever narrative of incidents along the wharves and chats about pilot boats, ocean steamers, coast wreckers, life savers, lighthouses, lightships, canal boats, and other kindred matters, that the reader grows in wisdom without effort, and while fancy-

ing he is only entertained and amused, becomes really intelligent upon subjects which every one ought to understand. The description of the duties and perils of the life-savers is one of the best parts of the volume. The illustrations are pertinent and of special interest. The frontispiece is a picture of the boarding of an ocean steamer for news. In the closing pages we have two views of the Brooklyn Bridge; and a scene at Manhattan Beach, Coney Island.

VOCAL AND ACTION LANGUAGE. Culture and Expression. By E. N. KIRBY. 16mo, pp. 163. Boston, 1885. Lee & Shepard.

An interesting little hand-book just issued by the enterprising house of Lee & Shepard is entitled as above. It is not generally conceded that the art of expression can be acquired from the printed page; but with a good book the earnest student will undoubtedly make progress. The author gives a brief history of elocution, and happily alludes to the appreciation of the power of persuasive speech among the ancient Egyptians. The birth-place and early home of oratory, however, was in Greece, where it rose to the highest perfection, and from where its fame has spread over all the earth. In regard to the conditions for successful oratory, good health and a cheerful mind are among the chief mentioned. Dyspepsia and other infirmities easily influence the voice. "Occasion," says Professor Kirby, "must exist for splendid oratory as it does for heroism; but every speaker who desires to serve truth and who has something to say can make an occasion for usual, perhaps for unusual oratory." The book abounds in useful lessons, and will be an ever-present help to its possessor who has any tact or ambition for vocal culture.

SI-YU-KI: Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629). With Map. By SAMUEL BEAL, B.A. Two volumes, 12mo. Boston, 1885. James R. Osgood & Co.

This work was prepared by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, from documents brought from India by himself in the seventh century. It embraces an account of his travels in that country and through some portion of Central Asia, and is full of legend and old-world folk-lore. It contains the best account of the condition of India at that ancient period extant, and being the result of personal knowledge on the part of the author, is of the utmost value, showing as it does the wonderful effect which the rise and development of Buddhism had on the old national life of India and neighboring countries.

The Chinese original, now translated for the first time into English, is one of the works included in the magnificent collection of Buddhist books sent to the India Office in 1876 by the Japanese Government. It consists of twelve Books, or Chapters, and the translation is included in these two volumes. The introduction and an elaborate index are the work of the translator, who is the Rector of Wark, Northumberland, and Professor of Chinese in University College, London. Speaking of the Buddhist literature of China, he says its discovery has had much to do with the progress made in our knowledge of Northern Buddhism during the last few years. The chief points of interest in these volumes before us are the references to the geography, history, manners and religion of the people of India.

KENTUCKY. A Pioneer Commonwealth. By N. S. SHALER (American Commonwealths. Edited by HORACE E. SCUDDER). 1 vol., 16mo, pp. 427. Boston, 1884. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The reader is requested by the author of this work in his preface to kindly remember that it is not entitled a history. The one main object has been to interpret the motives that guided the people in shaping the Kentucky Commonwealth. A full and faithful history would require the space of several volumes and much longer devotion to research than practicable in the present instance. It is not an easy matter to discern the forces that have made a people what they are. These lie hidden beneath the surface, like the functions of the well-conditioned individual body. One hundred and fifty years elapsed between the first settlement of Virginia and the settlement of Kentucky. The origin of the Kentucky population is so marked that the Commonwealth may with propriety be called the child of another commonwealth; Kentucky history goes back to the parent state even more directly than that of America to Britain. Such budding of a new state from an old colony has hardly a precedent in the history of America. The Kentucky spirit was the offspring of the Revolution. The most important element of the Kentucky colonists was from the soldiery at the close of the war with Great Britain. The various reasons which led to this westward migration are forcibly presented by Mr. Shaler, and among other important topics he discusses the interesting problem relative to the absence (at the period of its settlement by the Virginians) of resident Indians in the fertile territory of Kentucky, with its mounds, ditched and walled fortifications, and other evidences of extensive and permanent occupancy by a considerable population. He believes that the mound-builders were of the same race, of the

same tribes, as our ordinary aborigines, who have by various chances become somewhat changed in their habits. "The first Explorations of Kentucky" and the "Early Settlements" are the most valuable of the interesting chapters of the work—unless we may except Chapter IX. which deals with the adoption of the first constitution of the Commonwealth. An excellent map of Kentucky is a welcome feature of this concisely and well-written volume.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By J. MARION SIMS, M.D., LL.D. Edited by his son, H. MARION SIMS, M.D. 12mo, pp. 471. New York, 1884. D. Appleton & Co.

"Doctors seldom write autobiographies. They never have leisure and their lives are not so full of adventure or incidents as to be interesting to the general reader," writes the foremost surgeon of the age at the opening of the story of his eventful life, in which is narrated the origin and growth of those original and valuable achievements in the domain of surgery, which, by the general judgment of enlightened men, have stamped him as a benefactor of his race. Dr. Sims was born about ten miles south of the village of Lancaster, South Carolina, the 25th of January, 1813. He graduated from Columbia College in December, 1832. "I never was remarkable for anything while I was in college, except good behavior," he writes; "nobody ever expected anything of me, and I never expected anything of myself." Of his choice of medicine as a profession, Dr. Sims writes, "There was no premonition of the traits of a doctor in my career as a youngster, but a graduate of a college had either to become a lawyer, go into the church, or be a doctor. I would not be a lawyer; I could not be a minister; and there was nothing left for me but to study medicine." The father of Dr. Sims was grievously disappointed when his son declared his intention, as he held the medical profession in the utmost contempt. "There is no science in it; no honor to be achieved by it; no reputation to be made by it," was his emphatic verdict. But he finally yielded a reluctant consent, and the future doctor, whose genius and intelligence have since challenged the admiration of the whole scientific world, entered upon his studies. The path chosen was by no means strewn with roses. But like a heroic soldier the student pushed forward regardless of obstacles. His trials and triumphs are recorded in these pages in simple, straightforward language; and to all those who remember that as early as 1863, Dr. Sims had not only risen to distinction in his profession, but had received general and authoritative recognition, both in Europe and America, as the greatest clinical surgeon of either country, the story of his career becomes one of the most interesting on

record. It is to be regretted that the autobiography does not cover the latest twenty years of the eminent physician's life, but for all the purposes of a life-record it is sufficient. His professional fame rests upon his successful treatment of certain hitherto supposed incurable diseases; on his invention and introduction of surgical instruments which have advanced medical knowledge in certain directions to a point which could not have been reached in a hundred years without such aids; to his establishment of the Women's Hospital in New York; and to his valuable contributions to medical literature.

HAND-BOOK OF BLUNDERS. Designed to prevent 1,000 common blunders in writing and speaking. By HARLAN H. BALLARD, A.M. (Principal of Lenox Academy, Lenox, Massachusetts). Pocket size, pp. 60. Price 50 cents. Boston, 1885. Lee & Shepard.

The inelegancies and inaccuracies of speech that jar our ears daily, and offend our eyes in written communications, and in manuscripts intended for publication, would diminish in rapid ratio with such a hand-book as this of Mr. Ballard's in popular use. Many educated people are prone to carelessness in expressions without giving a moment's thought to the subject. Others cling from habit to words acquired in childhood, and would be shocked and chagrined to be accused of blunders—which are observed by every one but themselves. The little work does not offer much that is new in the line of rhetorical or grammatical criticism, but it is in an exceptionally convenient form for reference, and we commend it heartily.

THE CIVIL, POLITICAL, PROFESSIONAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL RECORD OF THE COUNTY OF KINGS, AND THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. New York. From 1633 to 1884. By HENRY R. STILES, A.M., M.D., Editor-in-Chief, assisted by L. B. PROCTOR, ESQ., and L. P. BROCKETT, A.M., M.D. With Portraits, Biographies and Illustrations. 2 vols., square quarto, 1408 pp. W. W. Munsell, 458 Myrtle Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

The above is the very extensive title to a historical work of very great magnitude. There is no good reason why county histories should be produced in the patchwork and unsatisfactory manner which has hitherto characterized so many—nearly all, indeed, that have made their appearance within the past ten years. When projected

in the proper spirit and executed with intelligence, good sense and ability, they cannot fail to be invaluable to the scholar and treasures of importance in the household. Evidences of improvement in works of this character, we are happy to say, have not been wanting of late, and we now have the pleasure of welcoming the best county history that has yet been issued from the American press. We congratulate the Kings County public on an achievement in which they will ever have occasion to rejoice. The two monster volumes before us have been edited with conscientious care. Dr. Stiles seems to have borne constantly in mind the general scope of the whole, and the relations of its several parts to each other, and thus has been able to secure a nearer approach to harmony of detail than is usually found in similar productions. He was admirably equipped for the sifting and arranging of the mass of historical, biographical and statistical material through his former labors and experience in the same field. We find traces of the best part of his "History of Brooklyn" running through these pages, with much added information. His tact and talent in gathering personal and family history, and his happy presentation of the facts in their proper light and place, contribute greatly to the interest as well as permanent value of the work. One feature commanding special notice is the record of growth and development in all departments of material interest—as the industrial, manufacturing, commercial, architectural, the parks, the water supply, and the professions. The chapters devoted to the charitable institutions and the ecclesiastical organizations of the county would together fill a good-sized volume, and as they were prepared under the personal direction of the indefatigable and painstaking editor, their authoritative worth is assured. The history of Sunday-school work, the rise and progress of medicine, educational institutions, fish culture and the markets, are among the chapters to which we would direct the reader's attention. Chapters are also devoted to each individual town in the county, written by leading and well-informed men.

The volumes abound in steel portraits, many of which might be designated as choice works of art; for instance, those of the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Henry E. Pierrepont, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. John K. Kiernan, Edward Ridley, Darwin R. James, Henry Sheldon, Benjamin D. Silliman, and A. S. Barnes. There are not less than two hundred and fifty portraits contained in the two volumes, and more than that number of other illustrations—including maps, buildings and views. It is to be regretted that each volume is not provided with an index and table of contents of its own. The inconvenient, old-time practice of combining the index of two volumes in one, particularly in a work of such magnitude,

ought to be abolished. We believe, however, that it was the original intention in this instance to comprehend the whole work in one volume. It is printed in clear type, on heavy paper, and is well bound.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF BAYARD TAYLOR. Edited by MARIE HANSEN-TAYLOR and HORACE E. SCUDDER. In 2 volumes, 12mo, pp. 784. Boston, 1884: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

We have in these engaging volumes a portrait of Bayard Taylor—the delightful story-teller, the poet, the critic, the lecturer, the editor, the man—which is as perfect as was ever traced unconsciously through the private letters of a busy writer. "Beyond any book of the time," writes one of Mr. Taylor's best friends, "this biography is a disclosure of the secrets of the guild, the hopes and fears, the pleasures and the pains of literature." Mrs. Taylor and her critical associate have selected with rare good taste and judgment the letters appropriate for publication, and such as best illustrate the poet's life and the beauty of his character. We can almost as we read hear the sound of his voice. The sketch of his career, with which the letters are tied together, is also intensely interesting. All who are familiar with the varied productions of Bayard Taylor's pen will be glad to learn of the conception and growth of those productions as revealed in these pages. His correspondence was by no means a literary exercise. He wrote as he felt, and of the matters uppermost in his mind at the moment, without a thought of his letters reaching the eyes of others than the familiar correspondents to whom they were addressed. He wrote, for instance, to Paul H. Hayne, in August, 1876: "I have been unsuccessful with your poem, as I feared. I am very sorry to announce this, but I am hardly surprised at the result since learning that this summer is the blackest period ever known since we began to have literature. The publishers say they never knew the like; absolutely *no books* are sold, and the papers and magazines are living, as much as possible, on already accepted material. I have not been so pinched pecuniarily, driven by necessity, thwarted in all reasonable expectations, for twenty years past. I have sent my wife and daughter into the country, but cannot go myself." Bayard Taylor was a man of strong personal attachments, noble, generous and upright.

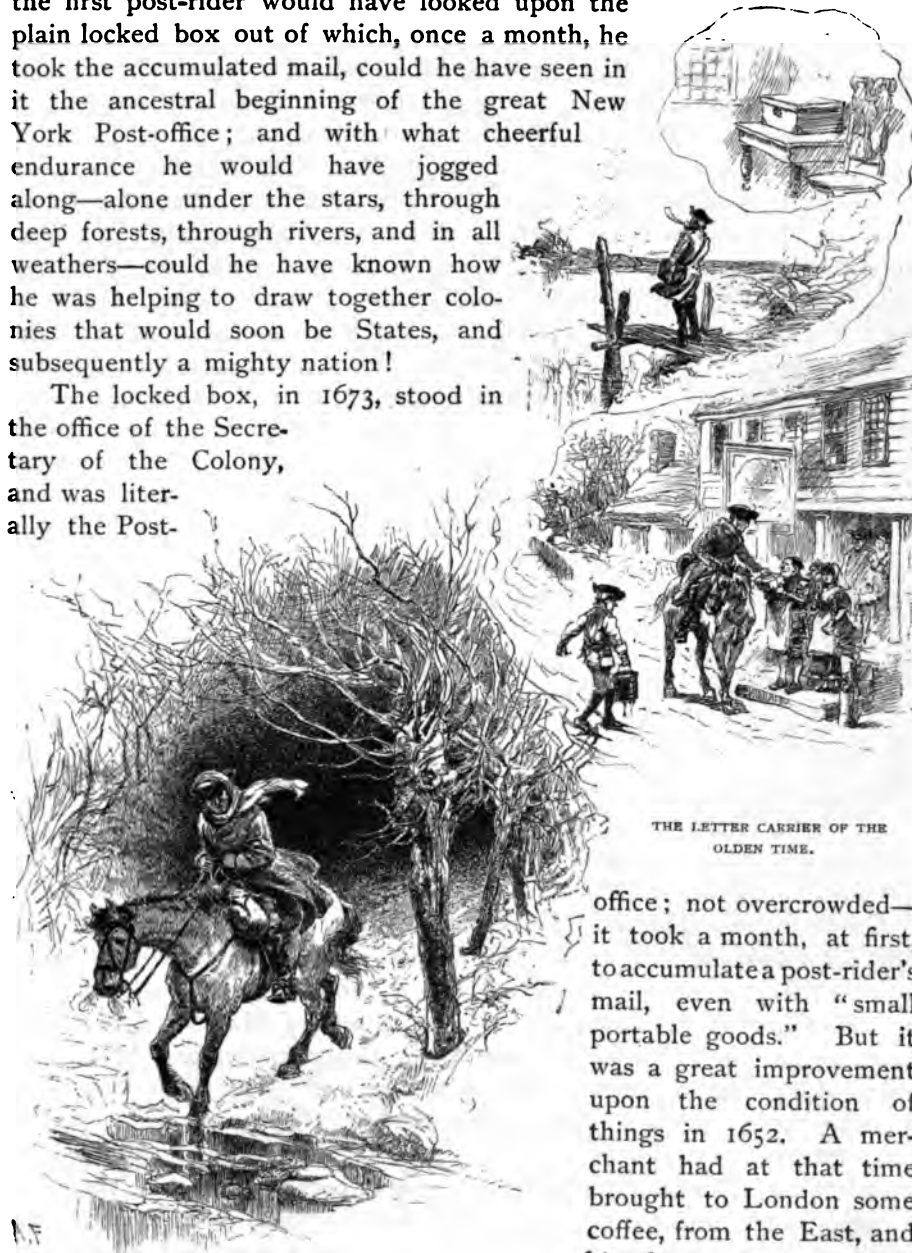
ANNOUNCEMENT.—Among the eminent contributors to the February Magazine will be Dr. William A. Hammond and Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D.D.



G. H. M. Johnson
Onwunonsyehon 2. Chief

the first post-rider would have looked upon the plain locked box out of which, once a month, he took the accumulated mail, could he have seen in it the ancestral beginning of the great New York Post-office; and with what cheerful endurance he would have jogged along—alone under the stars, through deep forests, through rivers, and in all weathers—could he have known how he was helping to draw together colonies that would soon be States, and subsequently a mighty nation!

The locked box, in 1673, stood in the office of the Secretary of the Colony, and was literally the Post-



THE LETTER CARRIER OF THE
OLDEN TIME.

office; not overcrowded—it took a month, at first, to accumulate a post-rider's mail, even with "small portable goods." But it was a great improvement upon the condition of things in 1652. A merchant had at that time brought to London some coffee, from the East, and his house was soon so

crowded with visitors to taste the delightful beverage—then innocent of

chicory—that he established his servant in a special coffee-house. From that beginning coffee-houses multiplied everywhere; and it is worthy of notice that benevolent people are again introducing them, in England, as a counteraction to intemperance—especially among seamen. To the coffee-house, then, as a popular gathering place, letters and packages were originally taken; left on the table, to be well thumbed and critically examined, till called for or removed—of course, with no certainty of delivery, since so much depended upon the good-nature or mindfulness of neighbors and acquaintances. That “locked box,” officially kept, and the monthly rider coming to empty it, were the first steps in advance toward system. In 1692, one



THE OLD MAIL BAG.

person (Thomas Neale), received letters-patent in England to take charge of the whole postal business of the colonies. In 1704, a new arrangement was made; a general office in London, under a Postmaster-General, with a colonial deputy Postmaster-General at New York. For fifty years, however, things went poorly under British management. The roads were bad; and we can imagine that poor foot-post, in 1730, trudging to Albany in midwinter—thankful, no doubt, if, like the rider from London to Edinburgh, in 1753, he had but one letter in his bag—and that not overloaded with sealing-wax. Besides this, the riders were often untrustworthy, postmasters no better; and the service did not pay even their salaries, till, in 1753, Benjamin Franklin came into office as deputy Postmaster-

General for the colonies. Then began system. He established the penny-post; made newspapers pay, which hitherto had been perquisites of the postmasters and riders; advertised letters, reduced rates; and quickened up riders and everything else. It was on one of his annual horseback journeys from Philadelphia to Boston, for this purpose, that he stopped one cold evening at a tavern near New London.* The place around the fire was closely occupied, and no one stirred. “Give my horse a peck of raw oysters,” said Franklin to the landlord. As the curious crowd followed the landlord out, he took the warmest corner; and since the horse, “foolish beast,” refused the oysters, he had them set before himself. The result of Franklin’s energy, as Postmaster-General, was, that in 1774, in-

* Related in “Recollections of Olden Times,” by Thos. Hazard of Rhode Island.

stead of deficiency, there was a clear annual revenue to Great Britain of £3,000. In that year, for political reasons, he was dismissed, and the whole service practically collapsed; only again to reach like success under our two Postmasters and Postmaster-Generals/ Ebenezer Hazard and Thomas L. James.

Early in 1775, my grandfather, Ebenezer Hazard, bookseller in New York, suggested to the patriot Committee of Safety, or rather of "Observation," as it was called, the great importance of reconstructing the Post-office; and, under their sanction, he undertook the work. A few days after—viz., May 8, 1775—they wrote to the Hartford committee that "a Constitutional Post-office is now rising on the ruins of the Parliamentary one, which is just expiring in convulsions!" Delightfully mixed metaphor—"ruins, expiring in convulsions!" "I smell a rat; I see him floating in the air; I will nip him in the bud;" most certainly there was a countryman of Sir Boyle Roche on that committee! It smacks so sweetly of that rich and



EBENEZER HAZARD.

[From a painting in possession of Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D. L.]

redundant brogue that has made itself heard in so many convulsions, and, doubtless, will be heard in the very last one. Evidently associated with Mr. Hazard, were William Goddard, born in New London, an enterprising journalist and printer of New York; and John Holt, a Virginian, editor of the *New York Journal*. The office was at Holt's printing-house, in Water Street; Goddard had charge of the route to Philadelphia, whilst Mr. Hazard superintended the route to Boston. This latter route had been the scene of some notable exploits in the way of

post-riding. In 1773, the famous Paul Revere (who was an engraver by trade, and not a regular rider), had traveled the road in hot haste from Boston to New York, and thence to Philadelphia, with the news of the "Boston tea party." This same year (1775), Ebenezer Hurd, a regular rider, closed a service of forty-eight years, having begun it in 1727! Once a fortnight, during that entire period, he had made a journey from New York to Saybrook and back, 274 miles. In other words—for such is the computation—during those forty-eight years he had traveled over as much space as twelve and a half times round the world, or as far as to the moon and half way back! Meantime, what of the wife? Bringing up the children, managing the farm—during one year at least, 1767—spinning not less than five hundred yards of wool and flax, all raised on the place, making and mending, especially for that indefatigable rider who was doubtless "hard on his clothes." During the early night of April 18, 1775, Paul Revere made his now famous ride. Before daybreak, that memorable daybreak of Wednesday, the 19th of April, of a spring so unusually bland that the gardens were already made—that daybreak, nevertheless, chill and seemingly disastrous, of which Samuel Adams said as he heard the firing, "Oh what a glorious morning is this"—before that daybreak the tragedy of Lexington Common was over; but not, for a whole day, the fight and the avengement. Somewhere about nine o'clock A.M., the Watertown committee started Israel Bissell to convey the news through the country. At noon he entered Worcester, shouting, "To arms, to arms, the war is begun!" He had ridden thirty-six miles; and his white horse, bloody with spurring, and exhausted, fell as he reached the church door. Immediately another was procured, the Watertown dispatch was indorsed, and Israel Bissell was off again, due south for Brooklyn, Connecticut, thirty-eight miles more. This, for some reason, he only reached at eleven the next morning. But General Putnam quickly heard the news, left his plow in the furrow, and he, too, was off. Norwich, twenty miles more, was reached at four o'clock P.M.; New London (thirteen miles), at seven P.M. Here he had also reached the Boston post-road, by Providence; but the British had stopped the exit from Boston, and he must carry his news to Saybrook (twenty miles more) in order to meet the New York rider. At four A.M., of Friday, he was there. It is one hundred and thirty-seven miles to New York. A new rider now mounts, quite possibly the veteran Hurd, whose route it was. That same day, at noon, he was at Branford, seven miles from New Haven. At eight o'clock P.M., on Saturday, Jonathan Sturges signed his dispatch at Fairfield; Sunday, the twenty-third, at noon, Isaac Low signed it at New York, and at four o'clock P.M. forwarded it to

Philadelphia. This first Revolutionary dispatch Mr. Hazard afterward secured, and it is now in the Historical rooms at Philadelphia. But in New York how anxiously they discussed and how anxiously awaited the next news! It is four days since the rider left Boston; the fight then in progress! On Monday at nine and one-half o'clock A.M., at New Haven, Pierrepont Edwards indorsed a second dispatch; the rider secured a fresh horse and hurried on. At three P.M. he was at Fairfield; at three A.M., Tuesday, the twenty-fifth, at Greenwich; and at two P.M., at New York. His name is not actually given, nor that of Sunday's rider, who bore the first dispatch. But whether as the first or second of the two—since this date closed up the old British service, and he was its veteran—as he went clattering down the Bowery, shouting the news to eager crowds, it would have been a fine close to the riding days of Ebenezer Hurd.

Mr. Hazard undertook the new arrangement the 1st of May. The matter of the post, however, was too vital to be left to disconnected efforts or individuals. Jefferson, in 1777, alludes to this—the great importance of speedy intelligence; falsehoods were propagated, and, simply for want of intelligence, people became lethargic, and the country suffered. Hence, they sent no provisions to the army, but left the States and places immediately involved to bear the brunt—so vital to the cause was a good and effective postal department. At Franklin's suggestion, the Continental Congress took up the matter; appointed him Postmaster-General for one year, or till another succeeded him, salary \$1,000; and he appointed Richard Bache, his son-in-law, Secretary, Comptroller and Register-General, salary \$340, commission to date from September 29, 1775, but signed October 2, 1775. In July (26th,) by a vote of twelve to six for Holt, the New York Provincial Congress (created in May,) had recommended Mr. Hazard to the Continental Congress as a fit person for Postmaster; and October 5, 1775, he was duly appointed by that body the first Postmaster of New York—nine months before the Declaration of Independence.

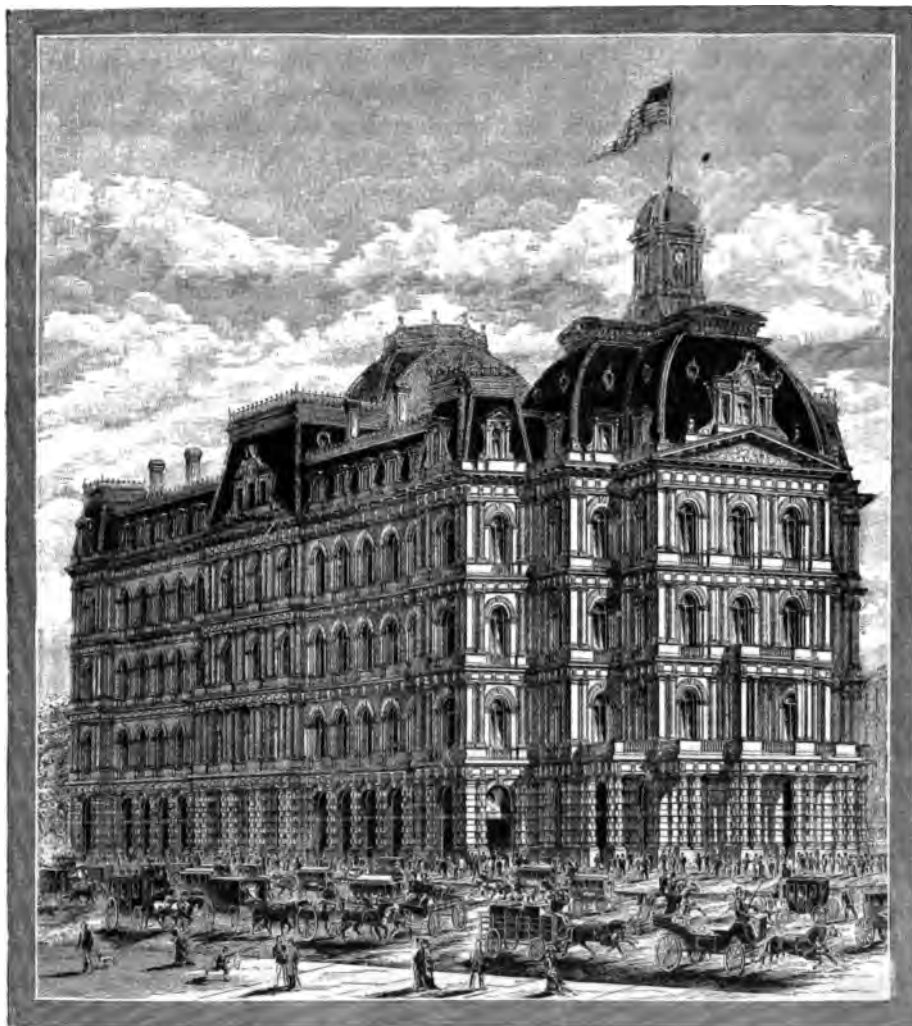


FROM A PEN AND INK SKETCH IN "FINLEY'S JOURNAL."

Mr. Hazard was born in Philadelphia, January 15, 1744, his father being Samuel Hazard, a merchant of that city, and his mother Catharine Clarkson, daughter of Matthew Clarkson and Cornelia De Peyster, of New York.* He was a student of Rev. Dr. Finley (his uncle), at Nottingham Academy, Maryland, and was graduated at Princeton in 1762. He was so well educated that he and Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, corresponded in Latin; and when Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, was making his now rare translation of the New Testament, he regularly sent the manuscript to Mr. Hazard for revision of the Greek. From 1770 to 1775, he was a partner in the publishing firm of Noel & Hazard, of New York; or until about the time he became Postmaster, in his thirty-first year. Mr. Hazard's father, and afterward himself—the father dying in his forty-fourth year, when the son was fourteen—were the movers in a notable scheme for the good of the Indians. I doubt if our philanthropy in that direction has moved with the sun or made much advance upon theirs. It was first a project of large colonization, upon lands extending from one hundred miles west of Pennsylvania to one hundred miles west of the Mississippi, and which by an ancient land-grant belonged to Connecticut. One object was to check French encroachments in that quarter. Therefore the colonists were to remove there fully armed and organized. But the chief and ultimate aim of the scheme was to Christianize the Indians. Hence, the colonists must be people of good moral character who would not prejudice the Indians by their bad lives. Whoever should injure, cheat or make them drunk was to be punished. With this in view, there were to be twelve ministers, and such parts of their congregations as would accompany them, of any Evangelical Protestant denomination, although they were expected to be mostly Presbyterians. To carry the plan into effect, Samuel Hazard (the elder) personally explored the territory and had frequent meetings with the Indians, with whom he treated for land; and he obtained a release of its claim from Connecticut, July 24, 1755. On the 9th of that month Braddock and his army were being slaughtered like sheep, at Fort Duquesne, near Pittsburg, by 800 French and Indians. Evidently that was not the best plan; although that battle gave to the world its greatest name—Washington. Samuel Hazard had 3,500 arms-bearing men, and nine ministers, good, sturdy Presbyterians, already engaged, and could have raised, he said, 10,000; but he died, after a short illness, in 1758. In 1775, whilst acting under the

* Samuel Hazard was one of the original Trustees of Princeton College, and before his removal to Philadelphia an Elder in the Wall Street (Presbyterian) church. His wife (Catharine Clarkson) was the first person buried in the church vault, in the old Wall Street burying ground, August 17, 1788.

Committee of Safety, as Postmaster, Ebenezer Hazard applied to Connecticut for a confirmation of the grant to his father; offering, for himself and others, to bear all expenses of the colony and pay Connecticut £10,000 in



THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE IN 1885.

aid of New Haven College or any other institution of that State; but his memorial was negatived.

The day following Washington's retreat from Long Island [during the

night of August 29, 1776], the Committee of Safety—a sub-committee of the Provincial Congress, in session at Kingsbridge—ordered Mr. Hazard to Dobbs Ferry. The city itself was occupied by the British September 15. Henceforth, for several months, the post-office—at least its postmaster—was not in clover. Ostensibly, it was kept at Hercules Cronk's, next door to Major Abraham Storms', a mile above the ferry; that is, letters might be left there, and the real office, and postmaster, heard of. It was, in fact, peripatetic, and might easily have been mistaken for a peddler or a tramp. It had to be near the Provincial Congress, then at Fishkill; at the same time near Washington and his movable headquarters, as most of the letters were army letters. It received, substantially, no salary; it could afford no horse; and so, this patriotic post-office did its work, over many miles of country, from Harlem Heights upward, on foot; and something worse yet—since civil officers were excepted from mercy in the British proclamations—with the comfortable prospect, if caught, of a halter round its neck. Fortunate escape! Mr. Hazard lived to marry, to have gout, to be Postmaster-General, but did not attain that high but fatal elevation, which, more than any other, *chokes one off* from good standing in the world.

Dobbs Ferry had an interest of its own during the war. It was the crossing place into New Jersey, just below where the Tappan sea meets the Palisades. It was here, in the September of 1780, that Arnold intended to meet André. An accident prevented the interview—his barge was fired at by the British guard boats. The delay and what it led to was fatal to André, and saved West Point. It was here that André landed from the *Vulture*, with Col. Beverly Robinson, and here that the British commission met General Greene, in their subsequent efforts to save him. It was here that Washington, Governor Clinton, Sir Guy Carleton, and their suites met in reference to the peace, May 3, 1783. Doubtless it had some stationary postal service during those years. But in November, 1776, Richard Bache became Postmaster-General in place of Franklin; and Mr. Hazard, a year later, Surveyor-General of roads and offices throughout the thirteen States. He was now as he says "hurried through life on horseback." But with him, and his peripatetic services, the New York Post-office disappears; not dead exactly, but a case of "suspended animation," or rather the body was missing; till, on November 28, 1783—three days after the evacuation—it turns up, alive and well, at 38 Smith Street, William Bedlow, P.M., whose wife was a daughter of Colonel Henry Rutgers. Mr. Hazard was at the time, and had been since January 28, 1782, Postmaster-General, in place of Bache.

Here we will change the point of view, from the outside to the inside,

and note what was passing *through* the mails. We have, as a basis, the "Belknap Papers" *—Mr. Hazard's correspondence with Dr. Belknap, of New Hampshire, from 1779 to 1798, covering many subjects of the day. Mr. Hazard was not only Postmaster-General from 1782 to 1790, but in 1792 was the author of "Historical Collections" (under the authority of Congress), which now sell at a high price; he was the first corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; a member of the "American Academy of Arts and Sciences," founded in 1780; and of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia; a man, therefore, of various attainments, whose letters, as well as Dr. Belknap's, possess great interest. Paper was then \$3 a quire—24 sheets—and poor at that; postage high, and every letter must be a budget, crisp with news, and with considerable gaps of silence and waiting between the sending and reply. In 1789, it took Congress fifty-three hours, from Philadelphia to Braintree, Massachusetts, to inform Mr. Adams that he was Vice-President. That was rapid communication for the time; and a document not likely to be lost on the way, or mislaid, or to go to the wrong man, who was not Vice-President. As these letters go back to 1779, one of their subjects is the old *confederacy*, under which the people were then living, its weakness and inadequacy. We see the difficulty of forming this present union of States; and the madness, that difficulty once overcome, of ever again attempting to part them. In 1760, Franklin declared union impossible, except under the squeeze of "grievous tyranny and oppression." In 1776, it evoked that cry of human rights, and that appeal to God, called the Declaration of Independence. But the moment they undertook to form a constitution for themselves, there came in the old difference, jealousy and repulsion of colonies, each haggling for individual sovereignty and power. They retained, or claimed to retain, so much for themselves, that the Confederacy was almost powerless. Belknap, remembering, perhaps, Charles V.'s experiment with the clocks, likens it to thirteen independent clocks, each retaining its own independent weights, hammers and machinery, but agreeing to strike the time, all at once, on one bell! All very well, if you can "so nicely wind and adjust" them all, "as to make them move exactly alike, and strike at the same instant;" but otherwise, amidst the jangle of sound, who can know the hour, and what is their agreement worth? Thus, in the Confederation, there was always the spirit and portent of disunion. No wonder that, in his retirement at Mount Vernon, after the war, after the tonic strain of action was removed; as he saw the clashing of interests and passions, and the apparent decay of patriotism; saw the nation, as

* Published by the Mass. Hist. Soc. in 1878.

such, prostrated and dishonored, and the hopes of the friends of freedom disappointed; no wonder—with no history behind him to teach him hope—that even Washington should lose faith, and fall into gloom, lassitude and sadness. No wonder that others—ripe men, too—seeing no way out, should have fears of democracy, thus loosely combined, and therefore loosely restrained; until, in 1785, Washington's own voice, from Mount Vernon, spoke check to the impending chaos; led the way to a new Convention, a new Constitution, and this Federal union. The celebrated Dr. Mason, of this city, once said that he "would give nothing for a young man who was not a Democrat; and nothing for a man of 40 who was." That is, as I understand it, the individualism, the self-reliance, the energy, push, of Democracy, is good in youth—and in the youth of nations as well; but later on, with relations established in life or growing, individualism is selfishness, and must give place to citizenship—the good of the whole.

But underneath such public topics, of interest to all the states, and which divided them into warring and vituperative parties—Federalist and Anti-Federalist—are others, in these letters, more private and personal, but of historic interest. Strange to say, here are two men corresponding for years, partly during war time—the Revolution—one of them riding the country as Surveyor-General of the Post-office, and afterward Postmaster-General; the other, a learned divine and historian, off in New Hampshire; and yet, not a battle is alluded to—except, in an incidental remark, the weather at the battle of Lexington. As if "far from the mad'ding crowd," where the surges of such things did not reach them, nor any "confused (and confusing) noise" of the nation's struggle, they write mostly of books, persons, and things literary, scientific, historical and religious. In fact, they were collectors of such things; that was their groove of personal life; and when "Old Mortality" gets into a churchyard, before a nice old half-obliterated inscription; or when an historical collector and writer—paying old-fashioned prices for postage and paper, out of an old-fashioned salary—writes to his particular friend who is delving in a similar but distant hole; battles and military movements! he would forget his wife and dinner.

From our standpoint, among so many things familiar; wrestling, as we are, with such great problems as electricity and its possible uses; to skip a century and find what they were studying, seems strange. As a book containing an "amazing fund of literary entertainment," Mr. Hazard sends Dr. Belknap a Philadelphia reprint of Blair's lectures—two copies, one for himself, and one for the "social library." Then he recommends, as some-

thing new, and perhaps useful to the doctor, Goldsmith's "Animated Nature." Then, again, he would have sent Lord Chesterfield's "Principles of Politeness," but it could only be found in one shop in Philadelphia, and the price was \$400. Fortunately the doctor had native politeness, as his letters show, and much better principles, so that he lost nothing but Chesterfield's paint and style, and saved his money; and his children, for whom he wanted it, were better off without it. If, however, books were scarce in the colonies, brains were not, and they made their own scholarship, good and accurate so far as it went. Chancellor Kent once told me that he owed his reputation to the fact that when studying law, during the war, he had but one book, "Blackstone's Commentaries;" but that one book he mastered. With not much help from books, therefore, Dr. Belknap was quite a naturalist, and Mr. Hazard quite an experimenter as to the practical uses of things. Regarding America as "a treasure yet untouched," they studied soils, minerals, and things common and well known to us, but then new. Their "Philosophical Society" was doing the same incipiently but effectively. It was one result of the Revolution. It forced America to depend upon herself instead of England, and started into life that ingenuity, that spirit of invention to meet arising wants, that are now native traits. Thus, when asbestos was found in New Hampshire, Mr. Hazard set himself to work it into gloves, stockings, pocket-handkerchiefs, but found the fiber too short to spin, though it is now sometimes used in cloth. Already, in 1784, Dr. Belknap and a deaf uncle of his, had reached the principle of the audiphone, and made successful experiments with it, which he communicated to Mr. Hazard.

And now, since it was one hundred years ago, when the country was more wooded than now, when natural and philosophical causes were as yet so imperfectly known, and after what we have sometimes seen in our own day, can we wonder at the impression made by an incident which Dr. Belknap admirably and understandingly describes? May 19, 1780, there was a wonderfully dark day in New England. In the forenoon it was cloudy; then the clouds became yellowish or "brassy," and reflected the same color upon everything. Presently it grew dark, till at one o'clock P.M. they lighted candles. Meantime the houses were filled with smoke, birds were found dead, and the water was black with soot. One affirmed it to be the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy of "A pillar of smoke;" another that it was the pouring out of the "Seventh Vial" into the air. In Connecticut the State Council was in session. The day of judgment was supposed to be at hand, and they thought of adjourning, till Colonel Davenport said: "The day of judgment is either approaching, or it is not. If it is not,

there is no cause for an adjournment ; if it is, I choose to be found doing my duty. I wish, therefore, that candles may be brought."

We must remember that our complete histories—such, for instance, as Bancroft's—have been mostly the work of our own life-time. Only the materials were then gathering ; only the furs and the peltries, from many quarters, which, when combined and sorted and dressed and made up, in the factory of Bancroft's imagination and mind, would make his charming history. Hazard's "State Papers"—documents and things which he arrested from decay and oblivion—have been an invaluable resource to his successors. Others, in connection with him, did the same kind of work—Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, and Dr. Belknap. How ignorant it sounds to us, men of 1884, to hear the latter ask : "Pray who was Tammany?" just as if Tammany was dead, and there had been a funeral, and he was a reporter inquiring the particulars ! But that was in 1784, just after the Revolution ; and what he wanted to know was, the origin of St. Tammany's day, and by what order of men it was kept. But, there is somewhere something about "where ignorance is bliss." I find both Belknap and Hazard, apparently, utterly ignorant of our great and popular New York game of "knocking-out in 4 rounds." Perhaps there was too little money in the colonies to get a "pound" of any kind. Perhaps the few "mills" they had, were only intended to grind heads of wheat and ears of corn—not such grain as noses. Perhaps too much Puritanism or Presbyterianism had spoiled their purer tastes. Perhaps the war, which made the nation, had unmade its manhood. We do find back there, however, the germs of some things noble and scientific ; the germ, for instance, of a temperance movement, by Dr. Rush ; of the Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies, successfully planted by Pintard, in connection with Belknap and others ; of the Philosophical Society, of which Noah Webster was "monarch," with Rush, Rittenhouse, Hazard and others, as members ; the germ, moreover, of a marvelous invention ; which, while the Post-office is rumbling its ponderous mails along the surface, converts the air, and even the bottom of the sea, into a noiseless, timeless, highway of thought. In 1783, Postmaster-General Hazard had married, at the house of Judge Samuel Breese, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, Mrs. Breese's half-sister, Abigail Arthur. In 1789, at Mrs. Hazard's house in turn, Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, met Mr. Hazard's cousin, daughter of Judge Breese and granddaughter of Dr. Finley. In 1791, Dr. Belknap saw a child asleep, of merely two days old, of whom he writes : "He may have the sagacity of a Jewish Rabbi, or the profundity of a Calvin, or the sublimity of a Homer, for aught I know ; but time will bring forth all things." He thought most,



Samuel F. B. Morse

apparently, of how, the next Sunday, they would impoverish the catalogue of names, by calling him Samuel Finley Breese Morse. The first and geminal strand of an invention is the brain of the inventor; a part of

which it is, and out of which it comes, as the web of the spider issues from itself. When I met Prof. Morse in Paris, in 1858, a commission of the different governments was discussing what testimonial they should give him. Several propositions were rejected; when he suggested, "simply the saving of one year over the old post-road system of government messages." They adjourned for a fortnight to get the figures; and then said it was too much, no government would give it, and gave him instead 400,000 francs. He said to me, he did not expect to die rich, they kept him so constantly in law; and indeed, when he returned, his company claimed and (I believe) sued him for its share of the testimonial.

Those who handle that massive tome, Webster's Dictionary—that "new world of words," and the first in the new world—may catch a glimpse, in these letters, of its author and its incubation. I remember once seeing him at my father's house, when I was a boy—a little old man, but who impressed me with great awe. Doubtless I had already seen, and been impressed with, the inside of his spelling-book. In these letters, we see him "monarch" of the Philosophical Society; but rustling about in literary fields, starting magazines and failing, bruited his word-theories, and bent upon the idea of a "Federal language." Horne Tooke says of letters, that "letters; like soldiers, are apt to desert and drop off in a long march." Very true. But Webster's was a systematic picking off and slaughter of those that had stood faithfully in the ranks, and reducing their companies to skeletons. As a body, language grows and changes with a people, and cannot be tinkered. A "Federal language" was, when Webster tried it, and is, impossible. Dr. Gordon, in his "History of the American War," now so rarely seen or read, tells us that "Yankee," originally meant "fine, excellent." But it has changed its climate, and with it its meaning, to something just a trifle sharp, smart, clever, and forward; not to say, sometimes "cantankerous." An old New England word, that, which Dr. Belknap heard in a back New Hampshire town, but which he also found in Goldsmith—"a cantankerous bitter toad." How *many* words, new or old—old English of the back county towns, such as Tennyson uses with such fine effect—words now local, but quaint, humorous or expressive, we should lose by any "Federal language!"

The closing months of the Confederation, and the early ones of Washington's administration, were not entirely pleasant to the Postmaster-General. He lived, at the time, at No. 29 Broadway, near "the Oswego market." Josiah Quincy was his opposite neighbor; there is a letter of Mrs. Quincy's extant, which describes her friend and opposite neighbor, Mrs. Hazard. Personally, Mr. Hazard regarded strictly the public service, and

not his own advantage ; but some of those with whom he had to deal were not like him. We are not to suppose that things were essentially better in those days than now. These very letters tell us of failures and distress in New York in 1792—all beginning with one man who had more credit than he deserved. John Pintard and Royal Flint were among the number financially ruined ; and the trouble soon reached Philadelphia. I once asked the late Caleb Cushing why there was no mention of God in the Constitution ? He had not thought of it, but supposed it was the state of the times. For knowledge of any and all kinds, Mr. Cushing had an insatiable maw. I had found him studying Chinese, although he was Attorney-General, and home merely for a vacation. And so, a fortnight later, he brought me abundant references as to the times of George III. He took the ground that colonies always followed the mother country, and most interestingly went over men and things. War itself is, however, always demoralizing. Partisan venom existed, and made victims then as now through the newspapers. Mr. Hazard's first difficulties were with the anti-Federalist newspapers, which he was accused of suppressing from the mails. But by law newspapers were not mail matter ; proprietors made their own arrangements with riders. The contractors of stages also attacked him, since he would not pay their exorbitant prices ; they undermined him in Congress, and kept him busy to prevent removal. I suppose that Postmaster-General James, with his back to the wall fighting "star-routers," would have thought these men mere mosquitoes. But Mr. Hazard could not think so ; mosquitoes are sometimes large, and (if permitted) draw blood. He retained office, however, till September 29, 1789, when Washington named and the Senate confirmed Major Samuel Osgood, as first Postmaster-General under the Constitution ; Franklin, Bache and Hazard, having been the three incumbents under the Confederation. Mr. Hazard was able to say to the President, that with 1,500 miles of roads under his care, on a salary of \$1,250, without clerk hire, which he could not afford, and without the aid of the Treasury, he had made the office pay its way—which it did not afterward. In 1791 he removed to Philadelphia, was active in business, in public societies and charities, in the church, and in many trusts. He died in 1817, aged 73.*

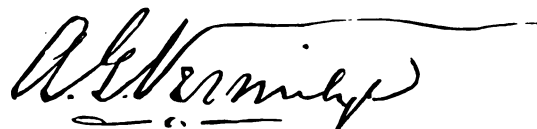
In conclusion, when we take that simple sequence of twenty-four letters

* During his residence in New York, Mr. Hazard was a Trustee of the Wall Street (Presbyterian) Church ; subsequently, a Trustee and Elder in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia ; and a Trustee of the Presbyterian General Assembly. He was one of the founders of the North American Insurance Company, Philadelphia ; manager for many years of the Schuylkill Bridge Company ; of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company ; of the Philadelphia Dispensary ; of the Guardians of the Poor, and of the Presbyterian Board of Missions.

—our alphabet—see by what an easy affiliation these letters compose themselves into words—knowing that each word is the condensation of a thought, as the invisible air condenses itself into raindrops, hail and snow ; see these words then cumulating into sentences, thought upon thought ; and reflect how these sentences, collected upon the page, may excite the emotion of other minds, we see something of the place and beauty and power of writing.

When, again, this writing is committed to letters ; when we consider how much of the world's business is done by letter, and how they alone subserve its details and its needful privacy ; or when we enter the home, with its affections—affections aching, perhaps, for just a bit of news from some other home ; see what an educator the letter is to multitudes, who, with cramped fingers, and not always a good hit at spelling, are yet learning every time to do better ; we learn, as they feel, the value and blessing of the Post-office.

When we recall what it has done from its inception ; see the plethoric pouch of its carrier as he goes his round of drop-boxes, and returns, like a bee with its pockets full of pollen and honey for the hive to work up—and what is the Post-office, with its compartments and departments and busy swarm, but a hive of working bees ? when we reflect upon the one item of Christmas money that goes out—pollen and honey for “the old folks at home,” somewhere in the bogs of Ireland ; we may understand the place and value of the New York Post-office. And when we multiply this great unit by hundreds or thousands, the country over, see the lines stretching, like a spider's web, from center to circumference ; see the vast mass collecting, as our food does, from all parts and corners of the land and world ; see it as an agency in binding hearts, nations, the common people everywhere, together ; we may appreciate at something of its worth, the General Post-office. We shall then pay due honor to the man who, under British rule, as Postmaster-General, the first American, set its slumbering wheels in motion, gave it system, and made it pay—Benjamin Franklin ; to the man who, under the Confederation, amid the prostration of everything, almost without help, and notwithstanding needful lenity to postmasters, by honesty, by great industry and self-denial, kept it running, and made it pay—Ebenezer Hazard ; to the man who, though “the stars in their courses fought against” him, has in our own day, by great management and integrity, again made it pay—Thomas L. James. These three names stand out conspicuous with honor in the Postmaster-Generalship

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "A. L. Vermilye". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right from the end of the name.

CHIEF GEORGE H. M. JOHNSON—ONWANONSYSHON

HIS LIFE AND WORK AMONG THE SIX NATIONS

The career of this eminent Mohawk chief, who did more perhaps than any other individual of our time for the elevation and advancement of his kindred of the red race, deserves a more permanent record than that of a newspaper obituary. His biography forms the latest and by no means the least interesting chapter in the annals of that famous Iroquois confederacy, which has held an important place in the history of the United States and Canada from the era of Champlain almost to our own day. As he claimed a descent from a companion and fellow-counselor of the great founder of the league, the brave but peace-loving lawgiver Hiawatha, so his character and his acts recall something of the traits and the deeds which authentic tradition ascribes to that no longer mythical hero.

The death of the chief occurred on the 19th of February, 1884, at his residence, Chiefswood, on the Grand River Reserve, in the Province of Ontario, a few miles from the city of Brantford. Though he had attained the age of sixty-seven, his death must be deemed premature. He belonged to a long-lived race and family. His venerable father, Chief John Smoke Johnson, for many years Speaker of the Six Nations' Council, in which he is known by his truly poetical Indian name of Sakayenkwarahton, or "Disappearing Mist," is still living, in vigorous health of mind and body, at the age of ninety-two. The causes which enfeebled the stalwart frame of his more noted son, and made his last illness fatal, were undoubtedly the injuries which he received in his endeavors to protect the morals and the property of his people from the white outlaws and desperadoes who formerly infested the Reserve. It is somewhat remarkable that an Iroquois chief should, in our peaceful time and among the quiet and law-respecting people of Canada, die from the effect of wounds received from his enemies of European race, as doubtless many of his predecessors had died in the fiercer days of old. But the conditions were strangely reversed. The conflict was still one of civilization with barbarism; but in this case Indian civilization stood at bay before White savagery, and conquered in the end, though at the expense of a noble life.

Chief George Henry Martin Johnson—as his name is recorded in full—was born on the 7th of October, 1816, at what is now known as Bow



Park, then a part of the Grand River Reserve, where his parents resided. Of his father, an eminent war-chief and orator of the Six Nations, who bore a notable part as a military leader in the war of 1812, some mention has already been made. On the mother's side the boy's lineage was, according to Indian notions, still more distinguished. Her family had taken the English name of Martin, and had some strain of European blood, derived from the marriage of an Indian chief, in former days, with a captive white girl, adopted into a Mohawk household. None the less it was known as one of the fifty noble families of the Iroquois confederacy, descended from the fifty great chiefs who, about the middle of the fifteenth century, under the leadership of Hiawatha, framed that confederacy, and thus founded an Indian state which was for a long time the dominant power on our continent north of Mexico. During the American war of Independence, this confederacy, in the clash of stronger forces, was for a time broken up. At the close of that war Brant and his followers, comprising the greater portion of the Iroquois people, left their ancient abodes on the south side of the lakes, and withdrew to Canada. The government for which they had fought gave them lands along the Grand River, from its source to its mouth; and here, just a hundred years ago, they re-established their league, and rekindled its council fire. The laws and policy framed by Hiawatha and his associates, more than four centuries ago, are still in force among their descendants in this district. The territory has shrunk, by many sales, made at the well-meant instance of the protecting government, to an extent of little more than fifty thousand acres, with a population of some three thousand souls. But in this small domain the chiefs are still elected, the councils are still conducted, and the civil policy is decided, as nearly as possible, by the rules of their ancient league. Not many persons are aware that there exists in the heart of Canada this relic of the oldest constitutional government of America—a free commonwealth, older even than any in Europe, except those of England and Switzerland and perhaps two small semi-independent republics which lurk in the fastnesses of the Pyrenees and the Apennines.

Chief John S. Johnson was in his way an educated man. He had learned to read and write, but only in the Mohawk language, as it was written by the missionaries. He was determined that his son should have better advantages than he had enjoyed, and accordingly sent him for a time to the school in the then small frontier village of Brantford. Here the lad showed an intelligence and an aptitude for learning which fortunately attracted the attention of a newly arrived missionary. This was the late Rev. Adam Elliot, a clergyman of the English church, who for many

years devoted himself with untiring zeal to the religious instruction of the Iroquois converts. He found their language—which is a peculiarly complex speech, and is broken up into several dialects—not easy to master. As the Mohawk (or Canienga) idiom was spoken by the largest number of the people, and was generally understood by the others, it occurred to him that his best course would be to train up an intelligent youth of that nation to interpret his exhortations to his hearers. Young George Johnson was recommended for this office, and thus had the good fortune to find

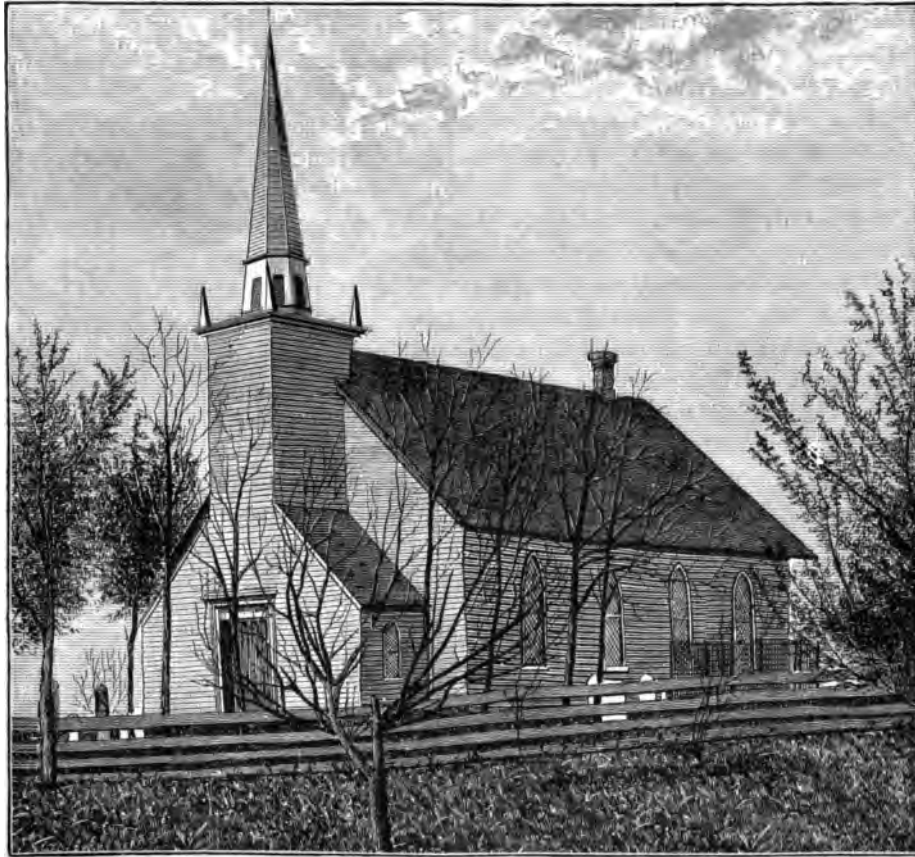


CHIEFSWOOD. HOME OF CHIEF GEORGE H. M. JOHNSON.

himself installed in Mr. Elliot's family, as at once his pupil and his assistant. He was still but a lad, and the instruction and practice which he needed to qualify him for his responsible duty occupied several years. To translate readily the recondite reasonings of an English sermon into a language of such a different type as the Iroquois was a task of no small difficulty. That he finally mastered this art, and was able to convey to an Indian audience, promptly and accurately, the meaning of the most complicated passage of an English speech, was admitted by all among his hearers who were acquainted with both languages. In translating rapidly from Iroquois

into English he was not always so happy. In his childhood he had spoken and thought only in Mohawk. English always remained to him, in a measure, a foreign speech; and a certain hesitation was sometimes apparent in finding the right word, which, however, usually came at last. But in his own language he was always ready, and could, when his feelings were stirred, rise into the eloquence proper to his race.

In 1840 young Johnson was formally appointed to the office of interpreter for the English Church Mission on the Reserve, an office which brought with it a small salary, and no little toil and exposure. He was the constant companion of the missionary in his rides or drives through the Reserve, over roads which then were bogs in the spring and autumn, and were commonly piled with snowdrifts in the winter. He had often to make long trips by himself, on horseback or on foot, by night as well as by day, to carry announcements, to read the services, and to visit the sick, when the missionary was otherwise engaged. But the work seemed light to him, for he was young and hardy, and his heart was entirely in it. His religious feelings were fervent; his attachment to the English Church was sincere; and his affection for his people amounted to a passion. Many of them were pagans, as some unfortunately still remain. Young Johnson saw, or thought he saw, no hope for these, either in this world or in the next, except in becoming Christians. On one occasion his zeal for their conversion led him beyond the bounds of prudence, though happily with no ill result. Among the Indians on the Reserve was a small band of Delawares, an intelligent but highly conservative race, who for the most part still adhered to their heathen belief. They had formerly been conquered by the Iroquois, but had lately been elevated by them to the position of members of the confederacy. The Indians of the United States and Canada, as is well known, had in general no idols; but the Delawares had advanced, as some ethnologists would say, to the status of idolaters. They had carved a post into a rude image of the human form, and around it performed their religious dances. When the young Mohawk neophyte heard of these awful rites, he mused until the fire burned in his heart. Seizing an axe, he made his solitary way through the forest to the distant outskirt which had been allotted to the Delawares. Here he suddenly appeared before them, and after haranguing them, to the best of his ability, on the monstrous nature of their religion and its ceremonies, demanded to be allowed to destroy the image. The people listened sullenly, ready at a word to rush upon the intruder and fell him to the earth. But their chief was a well-informed and prudent man, possibly half a convert in his heart. He knew that the youth belonged to an influential



THE OLD MOHAWK CHURCH ERECTED IN 1784.

family in the dominant Mohawk tribe, and that any injury done to him would meet with condign punishment. He gave a seemingly reluctant consent, and at the word the axe descended, and the obnoxious image soon lay in fragments. The triumphant iconoclast carried off the head as a trophy, which is still preserved. Not long afterwards the conversion of all the Delawares was announced ; and at this day they are among the most steady attendants upon the mission services on the Reserve.

The proceeding which has just been related will doubtless elicit a smile from some readers, who may be reminded by it of the wholesale military conversions of the Middle Ages. Chief Johnson himself, in after days, would have cared little for a convert who had been gained otherwise than by

reasoning and the influence of religion. By nature he was one of the most reasonable and tolerant of men. In later life he counted among his most valued friends many whose opinions on political and religious questions differed very widely from his own.

His marriage was an event which exercised a strong influence on his character and fortunes. He was married on the 27th of August, 1853, to Miss Emily Susanna Howells, a sister of the wife of his missionary patron and teacher, the Rev. Mr. Elliot. Coming of a good family in the ancient English city of Bristol, Miss Howells had many near relatives in distinguished professional and political positions, both in Canada and in the United States, including the late able and eloquent American consul in Toronto, the Hon. Wm. C. Howells, and the eminent author, Mr. W. D. Howells. As may be readily imagined, the companionship and influence of a refined and accomplished lady, belonging to a family noted for literary tastes and talent, did much to develop the husband's naturally good capacity, and to fit him not only for the work in which he was then employed, but also for the wider field of usefulness which was soon to open to him.

While he was engaged in his duties as church interpreter, he was called to take part in the civil government of his people. One of the associates of Hiawatha was a Mohawk chief, who bore the designation of Teyon-hehkon, or "Double-Life." He was, as has been said, one of the fifty great chiefs who composed the first federal council of the Five Nations. His name descended to his successors, like the title of an English peerage. It had been last borne by George's maternal uncle, whose English name was Henry Martin. On the death of a chief, the duty of nominating his successor—who must be one of his kinsmen on his mother's side—devolves by Iroquois law upon the oldest matron of the family, who is commonly known as their "chief matron." This position in the family of the deceased chief was held by George's mother, who, after due consideration and consultation, named her son for the place. Such a nomination, to be valid, must be approved and confirmed both by the tribe to which the candidate belongs and by the Great Council of which he is to be a member. In the present case this confirmation was speedily given, and the young chief took his place as one of the legislators of his people.

By a singular chance, which illustrated alike the Iroquois institutions and the character of the race, he was not long allowed to hold this position undisturbed. His ability as an interpreter, and his character for energy and probity, had attracted the attention of a newly appointed "Visiting Superintendent,"—as the officer is styled who represents the Canadian Government on the Reserve. Through the nomination of Col. Gilkison—

who now for more than twenty years has filled this responsible office to the satisfaction alike of the Government and of his Indian wards—Chief George Johnson was appointed to the post of Government Interpreter for the Six Nations. A modest salary attached to the office formed an acceptable addition to his income; but the post was chiefly prized by him for the large opportunities which it offered him of benefiting his people. The humble title of the office gave no idea of the duties and powers attached to it, or rather, it should be said, which quickly annexed themselves to it when held by the new incumbent. In strictness, perhaps, he had only to interpret between the superintendent and council, and also in courts of justice, when Indian witnesses were called, and to attend at the semi-annual distribution of the annuities which accrued to the Indians from the sale of their lands. But as the interpreter was necessarily the chief assistant of the superintendent, and as powers and responsibilities naturally flow to the capable and the willing, it was not long before he found himself the chief executive officer on the Reserve, charged with the duty of carrying into execution both the laws enacted by the council and the regulations framed by the protecting government. He became, in fact, and was often styled, the Warden of the Reserve. It was a post highly congenial to his disposition, and he assumed its duties with his usual energy.

But he had hardly entered upon them when an unexpected difficulty arose. Was it consistent with the principles of the Iroquois constitution that a salaried official of the colonial government should be a member of the Legislative Council? The question was warmly discussed. The case was new, and there was no precedent to serve for a guide. The general opinion was unfavorable; and at length it was understood that at the next meeting of the council the new Teyonhehkon would on this ground be displaced from his chieftainship. But the councilors had reckoned without their hostess. The chief matron, when she learned of the indignity, as she deemed it, which was about to be inflicted on her son and the chief of her choice, was greatly moved. The Iroquois women have always been noted for their high spirit and their turn for public affairs. In this instance the matron, who was both the wife and the sister of a chief, understood—or believed she understood—the principles of their government better than the councilors themselves. There was no doubt of the right of the great council to eject one of its members; but this, it was well known, must be done for a good cause. It had never before been done except for some delinquency of the ejected person himself. To deprive a councilor of his office, not for anything he had done, but for something which they feared he might do, was, she acutely reasoned, not only unprecedented, but un-

just. Using her privilege as a peeress, she presented herself before the council at their next meeting, and there delivered her mind. After soundly rating the members for their unconstitutional and arbitrary purpose, she ended by declaring that if they deprived her son of his chieftainship for no misconduct of his own, she would never nominate a candidate to fill his place so long as she should live. This threat startled the assemblage. If it were carried out, the Mohawks, who formed the leading nation of the confederacy, would lose one of their nine representatives in the council. The matter was reconsidered, and a conclusion was finally reached which satisfied all scruples. Chief George was to retain his title and his seat in the council, but so long as he remained a salaried official, a resolution of the council (which usually required a unanimous vote) should be valid without his assent. Thus jealously did these freeborn sons of the forest guard the independence of their parliament.

The chief, now firmly established in his new office, set about the measures which he had long had in view for the benefit of his people. The first and most important of these was to get rid of the gangs of white ruffians who then hung about the Reserve, corrupting and impoverishing the Indians by the illicit sale of liquor, and by combining with the more ignorant among them to rob the Reserve of its valuable store of timber. It was an evil of long standing, against which all efforts had hitherto seemed fruitless. It remained to be seen what could be done by an efficient superintendent and a zealous native warden. One prosecution after another, leading usually to fines and imprisonment, was brought against the dealers in illicit whiskey. At length they became thoroughly alarmed. Their active and resolute pursuer must be disposed of. One day in January, 1865, two men encountered the chief walking alone. While one of them drew his attention by some remark, the other suddenly struck him on the head from behind, with the heavy butt of a whip. He fell insensible, and as he lay was beaten in a most brutal manner, resulting in fractured bones and internal injuries. His assailants believed him to be dead, or at least disabled for life. After he was brought home, he lay for five days unconscious. A long illness followed, but his strong constitution finally triumphed. He recovered, but bore till his death the disfigurement and the enfeebling effects of his injuries. Of the criminals one fled and escaped; the other served a term of five years in the penitentiary.

No sooner had the chief regained sufficient strength to enable him to resume his duties than he renewed his crusade against the law-breakers with as much energy as ever. The liquor venders had been sufficiently alarmed and cowed. The timber plunderers, who belonged to a somewhat

higher class, and who acted with the connivance of many Indian confederates, were more difficult to deal with. Against them he waged a troublesome contest of watching, warnings, seizures and prosecutions for several years, and acquired their deadly hostility. In the ordinary intercourse of society the chief was always gentle, courteous and unassuming; but in dealing with the corrupters and despoilers of his people his manner totally changed. He knew them to be men utterly callous and unscrupulous, and only to be subdued by the strong hand and the terrors of the law. To them he was stern and imperious, as if the spirit and temper of twenty generations of the great chiefs, his ancestors, had been concentrated in his tone and manner. This deportment in "an Indian" filled the measure of their wrath to overflowing. At length their rage had its outbreak. In October, 1873, the chief was encountered on a lonely road, at midnight, by six men, who suddenly set upon him with bludgeons, knocked him down, breaking two of his ribs and a finger, and finally shot him with a revolver, and left him for dead. Recovering, however, he was able to crawl home; and once more, after a long illness, his wonderful vitality triumphed. He regained his strength, but his constitution was irretrievably shattered. He became subject to frequent attacks of neuralgia and erysipelas, which at times incapacitated him for work. But in the intervals of these attacks he continued as alert and resolute as ever in the performance of his duties.



CHIEF GEORGE H. M. JOHNSON.
[In citizen's dress.]

These duties, however, no longer included the war with lawless and degraded white men. The last murderous attack upon him had aroused a flame of popular indignation. All classes, whites and Indians alike, shared in the sentiment and in the determination to crush the mischief. Before this blaze of public wrath the vile conspiracy shriveled at once, as if smitten by lightning. The malefactors were hunted down, and expiated their crime either in prison or by flight and self-banishment. From that day the Reserve has been as safe and as free from open violations of the law as any part of Canada.

While the chief was waging the war against lawlessness which was thus at last concluded, he had been active in other plans for the benefit and improvement of his people. It was his way to proceed rather by example than by precept. A fortunate venture, into which a mercantile friend had persuaded him, had yielded a good profit and put him in funds. The Indians on the Reserve had for the most part lived on their scattered farms in the small log cabins which had replaced their earlier bark-built habitations. A few attempts at a better style of residence had been made; but that an Indian should compete with the wealthy whites in this way was not expected. The chief, who had a natural taste and talent for architecture, erected on his farm one of the finest dwellings in the county. A white stuccoed building, of two lofty stories and a spacious and imposing front, rose, elegant and stately, upon a terraced eminence overlooking the Grand River, in the midst of a parklike grove, in which almost every variety of the native woods was represented. The example proved infectious. The traveler crossing the Reserve sees already, here and there, the new and comfortable dwellings of frame or brick, which are gradually replacing the rude log tenements of former days. The house, it may be added, obtained for its possessor the Indian personal name by which (apart from his hereditary designation in the council) he was best known—that of Onwanonsyshon—"He who has the great mansion."*

The Iroquois have always been an agricultural people. Their extensive plantations of maize, beans, and pumpkins excited the admiration of the first explorers. Since their removal to Canada their industry and aptitude as farmers have been notable. The wheat market of Brantford has for many years been largely supplied from the Reserve. To direct this industry into the best channels, and to furnish it with the latest scientific aids, was a most desirable object. The chief took a zealous part in establishing an agricultural society on the Reserve. An older chief, whose influence would be useful, was made president, while Chief George assumed the humbler but more important duties of secretary. The annual exhibitions of the society, beginning on a modest scale, now rival those of the neighboring townships. Of the progress which agriculture has made on the Reserve, of late years, a judgment may be formed from a single fact. A visitor, not long ago, passing through a part of the Reserve, counted in his morning's drive five thrashing-machines at work, all owned and managed by Indians.

* The chief was accustomed to annex to his signature a peculiar hieroglyphic, somewhat resembling the letter Z enclosing a dot, which he explained as an arm embracing a heart—an ancient Indian symbol of friendship.

The chief was a member of the Provincial Horticultural Association, and frequently attended its meetings, where his judicious remarks were always heard with pleasure and respect by his associates. His own grounds showed a choice selection of fruit trees and the best varieties of the grape. In this respect, also, his example has proved inspiring and useful.

The care of the Mission Society and the government has provided the Reserve with schools, including one of a superior stamp, the Mohawk Institute in Brantford. As was to be expected, the Indians were for a long time slow to perceive the advantages of these schools. The teaching, which was now conducted entirely in English, seemed to them anything but attractive. Such an education might suit the children of white people, but not theirs. The chief took the best possible method of dispelling these ideas. He secured for his own children—two boys and two girls—the best education which the schools and colleges of Brantford and London could give. This prescient care has speedily been repaid. His sons have already, at an unusually early age, gained positions of much trust and responsibility, the eldest, Mr. Henry Beverley Johnson, being cashier of the New York Life Insurance Company for the Dominion of Canada, and the youngest, Mr. Allen W. Johnson, holding a good mercantile situation in Hamilton. They are not alone in manifesting to their people the advantages of such a training. Several other educated members of the Iroquois tribes, in various positions, professional and commercial, in Canada and the United States, are displaying the acumen and energy of their remarkably intellectual race.

The chief was often sent by his people as a delegate to bring their needs, and occasionally their remonstrances, to the attention of the government. If not in all cases successful in such missions, his appearance and address always secured him attention and respect. Governors and statesmen received him with courtesy and interest. At Government House, and everywhere in society, he was a welcome visitor. At public entertainments, his fine Napoleonic figure and face, set off by the Indian costume* which on such occasions he frequently assumed, made him a center of attraction, which his quiet dignity of manner and a happy style of conversation, combining good sense with humor, and made more piquant by a half foreign accent, was well calculated to enhance. At home he was the most genial and kindly of men. The attractions of the place and of the household brought many visitors, who all came away delighted with a reception in which Indian hospitality had combined with English courtesy and refine-

* See Frontispiece to the Magazine.

ment to make the guests feel themselves pleasantly at home. American tourists who visited Brantford eagerly sought an introduction to Chiefswood, and sometimes gave to the public, through the journals of the southern and eastern cities, an account of their agreeable experiences—the elegant and tasteful Indian home in the tree-embowered mansion, overlooking the wide and winding river, the cordial and dignified chief, the gentle English matron, and the graceful and accomplished young “Indian princesses”—all making a picture as charming as it was novel and unexpected.

The health of the chief, never very good since he received his injuries, began latterly to fail perceptibly. His final illness, however, was brief. An attack of erysipelas, following a long drive in a drenching rain, seemed at first so slight as to cause no apprehension. After a few days, however, the malady took an unfavorable turn. Pyæmia, or “blood-poisoning,” set in, and the patient gradually sank, losing consciousness partially toward the last, but retaining always his kindly and cheerful manner so long as he was capable of speaking. He died without pain. The family and friends who surrounded his bed were not for a time aware that he had ceased to live. There were other anxious watchers outside, for the news of his precarious condition had spread through the Reserve, and caused much uneasiness. Suddenly a loud, wailing cry rose, in a single note, high, prolonged and quavering, from the river bank below the house. It was repeated on the opposite shore. The well-known signal passed, in the still winter night, from lip to lip, from lonely cabin to cabin, from farm to farm, in every direction, until within an hour all the tribes of the Six Nations on the Reserve knew that a great chief of their council had passed away.

In the churchyard of the ancient Mohawk church near Brantford, built by Brant and his fellow-converts a century ago, the remains of this noble Mohawk chief and Christian gentleman rest beside the graves of his forefathers. His memory will long be cherished by multitudes of both the races to which he belonged, and for whose common welfare he labored and may be said to have died. Few have done more than he accomplished in his humble sphere, in breaking down the absurd and wicked prejudices of race, and proving the essential unity and brotherhood of the human family.

Horatio Hale

BENEDICT ARNOLD'S MARCH TO CANADA

Visiting one of the famous trout resorts of Maine, the route up the Kennebec and Dead rivers was shown to be identical with that of Arnold, on his expedition to Quebec in 1775. The falls and rapids of the rivers, the towering crest of Mount Bigelow, 3,800 feet above sea-level, and the handsome flagstaff erected by the people of "Flagstaff Plantation," where Arnold raised the American flag one hundred and nine years ago, causes the traveler, especially the sportsman who visits that section, to renew his interest in one of the most remarkable of military expeditions.

He reads again the story of the officers and men who in eight weeks marched six hundred miles. One hundred and eighty miles of this distance they were compelled to wade the rapid streams as they pushed their heavily laden bateaux, and for at least forty miles they carried them on their shoulders, sometimes up to their arms in water and their waists in mud, forcing their way through almost impenetrable swamps, lacerated by thorns. Many of the men were barefooted, starvation staring them in the face, and realizing that each obstacle overcome placed them nearer the enemy and made retreat more impossible.

Benedict Arnold was at army head-quarters when Washington assumed command of the Continental Army, July 3d, 1775, to whom he did not hesitate to express in strong language his dissatisfaction with the course recently pursued by the Massachusetts legislature. Having friends in Montreal, where he had served as an enlisted man in the British army, he had ascertained the effective force under Carleton to be five hundred and fifty men scattered at different posts, and written Congress that Canada could be conquered with two thousand men. His plan was not approved, and a committee from Massachusetts was sent to inquire as to his "spirit, capacity and conduct," empowered, should it seem proper, to order his immediate return to Cambridge. Soon afterward Congress seriously considered the possible coercion of Canada into opposition to Great Britain, and about the middle of August determined to send a force under General Philip Schuyler to accomplish the same. Arnold proposed to Washington and several members of Congress visiting the army, a plan for an expedition through Maine to co-operate with Schuyler and capture Quebec. His plan was adopted, he was commissioned colonel in the Continental Army, and designated to organize and command the expedition. In his

letter of instructions Washington said: "You are intrusted with a command of the utmost consequence to the liberties of America. On your conduct and that of the officers and soldiers detached on this expedition, not only the success of your present enterprise and your own honor, but the safety and welfare of the whole country may depend." He instructed him to treat the Canadians as friends under all circumstances, avoid offense, respect their religion and customs, pay promptly for supplies, and punish severely all improper acts of the soldiers.

He furnished him a printed address for distribution explaining the cause of the colonies in revolt, and urging the Canadians to join in the contest for American liberty. Arnold's command was composed of ten companies of New England infantry, selected as the best in the army, and three of riflemen. It numbered 1,100. The field officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, and Roger Enos, of Connecticut, Major Return J. Meigs, of Connecticut, and Timothy Bigelow, of Massachusetts. Aaron Burr accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, wearing a knapsack and carrying a musket. One company of riflemen was from Virginia under Captain Daniel Morgan; it marched from Virginia to Cambridge in six weeks. Two were from Pennsylvania. Of the Pennsylvania companies one was from Cumberland, under Captain William Hendricks, and the other from Lancaster, under Captain Matthew Smith. The riflemen were uniformed in round hats, fringed buckskin hunting shirts, leggings and moccasins. Each carried a rifle, tomahawk, hunting-knife, and small axe. They were well-known sharpshooters, hunters, and Indian fighters—the great attraction of Washington's camp.

Advancing at quickstep they could hit a mark seven inches in diameter at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. Many were over six feet in height. It was believed they could maintain themselves on game and fish, shelter themselves, and were in every way qualified for desperate work. Many of the infantry were men of character and independence. No man of ordinary ability could lead and control such a command. Washington knew that Arnold could. The little army marched from Prospect Hill, near Cambridge, to Medford, on the evening of the 13th of September, reaching Newburyport next day. It embarked on transports* September 19th, and, two days after, was sailing up the river to Pittston, about thirty-six miles from its mouth, where carpenters had constructed two hundred bateaux—a long, flat-bottomed boat, with high, slanting sides and raised, sharp-pointed bow and stern, double-enders, considerably longer on

* Historians disagree as to the number of transports. Some say ten, and some eleven. Considering the number of men, quite a discrepancy

the rail than the bottom—a boat much used at the present day by lumbermen on the Kennebec and Penobscot; the best boat made for falls and rapids. To these the provisions and stores were transferred, and the command moved up the river, arriving at Fort Western, opposite where Augusta, the capital of Maine, now is, on the 23d. Arnold was about to move into an uninhabited, unexplored wilderness, of which he knew nothing more than learned from an imperfect copy of the printed journal of Colonel Montross, a British officer, who, fifteen years before, ascended the Chaudière River from Quebec, crossed to the south-western branch of the Penobscot, down which he passed into and through Moosehead Lake to the eastern branch of the Kennebec, and down that river to its mouth, returning up the western branch, Dead River, and through Lake Megantic to the Chaudière; what he learned from some St. Francis Indians who visited Washington's camp, and from a rough, incomplete map * made by a surveyor, a resident of the country. He sent a detachment of twenty riflemen, under Lieutenant Steele, to move rapidly in birch-bark canoes, explore and mark a route to Lake Megantic. Steele selected as one of his party John Joseph Henry, a youth of seventeen, at the close of the last century Judge Henry, of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania, who in after life wrote a journal of the "hardships and sufferings of that band of heroes." Leaving Fort Western, the detachment paddled up the river to Skowhegan Falls, where it "blazed" trees around the first "carry."

Three miles from these falls, the Norridgewock Indians, a half century before, had a village where lived Father Rallé, and exercised great influence. The settlers of Massachusetts, considering him an enemy, in 1724 sent an expedition which surprised, killed and scalped the priest and thirty Indians. All that was now left of the village was the ruined foundations of the church and a rude cross over the grave of the devoted priest. A handsome monument to-day marks the spot, easily seen from the cars of the Somerset railroad, as they pass near.

Up the river went the detachment, passing many falls and rapids, blazing each carrying place, to "the great carry," sixty miles from Skowhegan,† and fifteen across to Dead River. On the "carry" were three ponds which could be utilized. The first day after leaving the Kennebec the detachment crossed the first pond and bivouacked, sleeping, as usual, on beds of fir, hemlock and spruce boughs.

Here Steele deemed it prudent to divide the detachment, leave the weakest and half the provisions, and press forward with the rest. The car-

* To this day there is no reliable map of the northern parts of Oxford and Franklin counties.

† An Indian name, signifying "a place to water."

rying place was rough, rocky, and interspersed with bogs, morasses, creeks and ravines, so it took him two days more to reach Dead River. Finding it a deep, smooth, running stream, with few obstacles, he paddled rapidly, and, on October 4th, reached the deserted wigwam of Natanis, an Indian chief, called "the last of the Norridgewocks," supposed to be a British spy, who afterward, with part of his warriors, accompanied Arnold to Quebec.

The route was more and more difficult, as the detachment advanced, until upon the "divide," bitter cold, snow and ice, were added to the other obstacles. They were also short of rations, as Henry says: "a half biscuit and half an inch of raw pork was our evening meal," when the detachment reached the divide. The character of the wilderness may be appreciated from the fact that in 1858, a musket, abandoned by one of Arnold's men, in 1775, was found in the woods in worse condition than Rip Van Winkle found his rifle after his long sleep in the Catskills.

October 7th, on a high mountain on the divide, the little squad gathered around a tall pine—forty-feet to its first branch—up which one of them by Steele's direction climbed, and from its lofty top saw and followed the winding course of the Chaudière, away northward, from Lake Megantic about fifteen miles distant. Steele considered it best, under the circumstances, to face about, and was soon overtaken by a terrible storm of rain and sleet. Drenched, hungry, and exhausted, they sheltered themselves under the trees and "slept, notwithstanding the pelting storm." They hunted faithfully, but found no game until the 9th, when was accomplished the difficult feat of shooting a loon. At night, around the camp-fire, debate was earnest over the momentous question of how the loon and the rest of their food should be cooked to sustain life longest. It was decided it should be boiled, and each man place in the camp-kettle his last bit of pork, run through with a sliver of wood on which should be cut his private mark.

The broth was supper, and a mouthful of pork breakfast next morning. At night the "diver" was divided into ten parts and distributed; one of the men turning his back to the rest, and Steele asking, "Whose shall this be?" The answer designated the man. Henry says: "My share was one of the thighs."

The next day they saw no game and slept supperless. It is surprising that a party of experienced hunters should suffer for food in a country abounding in game and fish. The day after their supperless night, a canoe was run on to a partly sunken tree, which ripped the bark from stem to stern. The accident delayed them hours, as they were compelled to hunt

a suitable white birch tree, carefully strip off the necessary bark, find a gum tree for pitch, dig cedar roots for thread, and carefully apply those useful articles to their badly damaged canoe.

It greatly discouraged them, and Henry says: "The thought came that the Almighty destined us to die of hunger in the wilderness. The tears fell from my eyes, as I thought of my mother and family in their far-off home." No wonder their stout hearts quailed. They had been forty-eight hours without food, and labored as only hungry men can in an interminable wilderness out of which there is but one exit. As it is always darkest just before light, this was their darkest day. A rifle-shot and loud hurrah, a short distance in advance, suddenly caused them great joy. Bending to the paddles their canoes shot ahead, and they experienced the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing a moose struggle out of the water and fall dead upon the bank. Henry says in his journal: "The tips of its horns seemed eighteen feet from the ground." The forest rang with shouts of delight and thanksgiving. Happy was the hunter who saved the detachment, possibly, from starvation. A fire was built, and the savory roast prepared, on which they feasted *sans* champagne and cranberry jelly, but with appetites appreciated by those who know it is not all of war to fight, nor all of war to die.

Their trials were now soon over, as on the 17th they met the riflemen under Morgan coming up. As only brave men welcome comrades who have toiled and faced danger for them, they were welcomed. The detachment had been absent three weeks.

Arnold, after starting Steele, moved his command in four divisions, one day apart. Captain Morgan and the riflemen first, next Lieutenant-Colonel Greene and Major Bigelow with three companies, Major Meigs with four companies, and in rear three companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Enos. He personally superintended the embarkation, and having seen the last man and last pound of supplies afloat, started himself in a light canoe, paddled by a trusty Indian guide, and overtook Morgan at Norridgewock Falls on the third day. Here the bateaux were taken out of the water, carried and hauled, with the provisions and stores, a mile and a quarter, to smooth water above, with great toil, as the banks of the river were steep and rocky and the country very rough. No mention is made of the nature of the stores and provisions Arnold took with him, nor that he had any number of beef cattle. Sparks, in his "Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold," speaking of the command at "the great carrying place," says: "They had passed four portages, assisted by oxen and sleds where the nature of the ground would permit."

Lossing says: "Oxen dragged the bateaux part of the way on sleds, and the baggage and stores were carried on the shoulders of the men." Isaac N. Arnold, in his "Life of Benedict Arnold," says: "Draft animals could not be used to any considerable extent, as a large portion of this savage and desolate region was then inaccessible to any animals but those of the chase." Mention is made but once of oxen having been slaughtered, and then but two, at "the great carrying place."

The men being unskilled in the management of bateaux, they had been jammed against rocks and leaked badly. A large amount of provisions, especially hard bread, was damaged. Seven days were consumed in getting around the falls and repairing the bateaux. When he had seen the last bateau reloaded and under way, Arnold betook himself again to his canoe, and was rapidly paddled past the rear division, made the portage at Carritunk Falls, and overtook the others in two days at "the great carrying place," twelve miles below the junction of Dead River with the Kennebec. The command was in the best of spirits, had tested its leader, and was enthusiastic in his support, loudly cheering when he passed, and as sanguine of its ability to capture the strongest fortress in America as he. Although greatly fatigued, it had been as successful as could have been expected. Steele had reported "the great carrying place" the most difficult part of the route. High and rocky hills, "and mountains in whose jaws destruction grinned," deep ravines and swamps succeeded each other.

Over and through these they carried, pushed and dragged their bateaux, sometimes up to their arms in water and mud, to the first pond, over which they floated. Arnold there mustered and inspected his command, carefully examined arms, ammunition, stores and supplies. He found rations for twenty days. One man had died and a few deserted. Finding many disabled from sickness, exposure and over-exertion, he built a "block-house," called by his men "Arnold's Hospital," where he left all unable to go forward. At the pond the men caught large quantities of trout, and occasionally hunters brought in an elk or deer. While there he wrote Washington: "Your Excellency may possibly think we have been tardy in our march, but when you consider the badness and the weight of the bateaux, the large quantity of provisions we have been obliged to force up against a very rapid stream, where you would have taken the men for amphibious animals, as they were a great part of the time under water: add to this the great fatigue in portage, you will think I have pushed the men as fast as possibly could be done." He crossed the second pond October 13th, with 950 men, made another "carry," push and haul, to the

third pond and portage to Dead River. The weather was good, and Dead River flowed so gently Arnold expected to reach Lake Megantic in ten days, and so informed Washington. He sent two Indians, one with letters to friends in Quebec and the other to General Schuyler, informing him of his progress and expectations, and asking him as to affairs with him. The Indians betrayed their trust, as the letters never reached the parties addressed, and Æneas, one of the Indians, was afterward known to be in Quebec.

Part of each division managed the bateaux, while the rest marched along the bank of the river. At night each division camped by itself. As they moved up the placid stream, passing around a bend, a high mountain towered in the distance, its top covered with snow. It was called Mount Bigelow, for the reason that the Major climbed to its top to view the surrounding country with hope of seeing Quebec. At its foot the command encamped for three days, and where it camped is the pretty little hamlet Flagstaff. From there Arnold sent Greene to the rear, with ninety men, to bring up supplies, and moved forward in a cold driving rain, which wet the men to their skins and soaked the supplies and baggage. It poured in torrents. On the night of October 22-23, a flood came roaring down the valley and the men hardly saved their little camp-equipage and reached their bateaux before the plain was under water. Seven bateaux upset and their freight was lost. The river rose eight feet in nine hours.

Only twelve days' rations remained, and the command was thirty miles from Lake Megantic. A desperate situation, in a pathless wilderness, rations short and poor, the cold wintry wind chilling their blood. Not a man flinched, though all realized they were going to and not from the enemy. On the 17th, Arnold had sent his sick and feeble back to the block-house and written Colonel Enos from "Dead River, twenty miles above the portage,"—"I find Colonel Greene's detachment very short of provisions. I have ordered Major Bigelow, with thirty-one men out of each company, to return and meet your division, and bring up such provisions as you can spare, to be divided equally among the three. This will lighten the rear, and they will be able to make greater dispatch. I make no doubt you will hurry on as fast as possible." On the 24th he wrote Enos again: "I have been delayed by the extreme rains and freshets; have provisions for twelve or fifteen days," and directs him to press forward with as many of his best men as he can furnish fifteen days' rations, and send the rest, sick and well, back to the block-house. He concludes: "I make no doubt you will join with me in this matter, as it may be the means of saving the whole detachment and executing our plan, as fifteen days

will doubtless bring us to Canada. I make no doubt you will make all possible expedition."

At the same time he wrote Greene: "Send back all the sick and proceed with the best men. *Pray hurry as fast as possible.*" Enos outrageously disobeyed orders and returned to Cambridge with his entire division, where, as his commission would expire at the end of the year, he was hastily court-martialed and acquitted on the ground of a want of provisions. The provisions that served three companies to the Kennebec would have answered part of them for that purpose and another part fifteen days in marching forward. The court-martial acted without knowledge of the case, more than learned from officers and men who marched back at his command. It had no word of advice from Arnold, who would have depicted the cowardice and shame of Enos' conduct. He was compelled to leave the army. In the mean time Arnold pressed forward. The rain turned to snow, the water to ice, and the hardy men broke it, as they waded and pushed the bateaux through the small ponds and marshes to the head waters of Dead River.

They "carried" around seventeen falls on Dead River, and at last, marching in snow several inches deep, reached the "divide" which separates Maine from Canada waters. Four miles more of "carry" brought them to a small stream down which they pushed their bateaux to Lake Megantic, arriving October 27th. From there Arnold wrote Washington an account of the difficulties he had experienced; that he had sent the sick and weak to the rear, and adds: "I am determined to set out immediately to Sartigan (the first French settlement), and procure a supply of provisions and send back to the detachment." In closing, he says: "I have been deceived by every account of our route, which is longer, and has been attended by a thousand difficulties I never apprehended, but if crowned with success, I shall think it but trifling." Unaware of Enos' conduct, he wrote him: "I hope soon to see you in Quebec." Washington had by this time become very anxious about Arnold, and the day before Arnold wrote him, had written Schuyler: "My anxiety extends to poor Arnold, whose fate depends upon the issue of your campaign," and again: "I am alarmed for Arnold, whose expedition is built upon yours, and who will infallibly perish if the invasion and entry into Canada is abandoned by your successor." A man by the name of Jakins, sent to ascertain the sentiment of the French settlers on the Chaudière, having returned and made a favorable report, Arnold wrote "To the field-officers and the captains and to be sent on, that all may see it," the information that the French were rejoicing at his coming and

would supply ample provisions. The men at the rear were suffering severely from exposure, fatigue and want of food. Many, after vainly struggling to march on, sank exhausted, stiffening with cold and death.

On Dead River, McLelland, the Lieutenant of Hendrick's company, contracted a cold, which greatly inflamed his lungs. The men of his company, with whom he was popular, carried him across the mountain on a litter, Hendricks assisting.

The writer knows the mountains of the "divide" are hard to climb under the most favorable circumstances, over a well-made trail and with only a sportsman's knapsack, gun and rod. The order of march by companies was abandoned, and all were urged to push forward, toward the French settlements, as rapidly as possible. Captain Hanchet, with fifty-five men, was ordered to march along the shore of the lake, while Arnold, with Captain Oswald and Lieutenants Steele and Church and thirteen men, embarked in five bateaux to go to the French settlements and send back provisions. He made twenty miles in two hours, so swiftly did the Chaudière run. The river was rocky and dangerous, and they were soon in trouble, the water boiling and foaming around. Lashing baggage and provisions to the bateaux, they were rushed along until they heard a fearful roar of water and were soon in the dreadful rapids. Three bateaux were dashed in pieces against the rocks and their loads lost, but no lives. Six men had a hard struggle and were rescued with difficulty. The men in the other bateaux managed to run ashore and aided those whose lives were in danger. Had this disaster not occurred, they might have gone over the large fall, toward which they were unconsciously hurrying, and been lost. Seventy miles of falls and rapids succeeded each other before Sartigan, four miles below the mouth of the Des Loupis was reached, October 30th.

Before sunrise the next morning, Canadians and Indians were *en route* to the command, now in a state of starvation, with provisions, flour and cattle. General Dearborn, who was a captain in the expedition, says in a letter to Rev. William Allen, President of Bowdoin College: "My dog was very large and a great favorite. I gave him up to several men of Captain Goodrich's company. They carried him to their company and killed and divided him among those who were suffering most severely from hunger. They ate every part of him, not excepting the entrails." Even the bones were pounded up to make broth.

The main command fared worse than Arnold's small detachment on the Chaudière, losing all its bateaux, provisions and stores. It was in a most deplorable condition, according to Henry, who says: "Coming to a low,

sandy beach of the Chaudière, for we sometimes had such, some of our companions were observed to dart from the file, and with their nails tear out of the sands roots which they esteemed eatable, and eat them raw, even without washing. The knowing ones sprang; half a dozen followed; he who obtained the root ate it instantly." They washed their moosehide moccasins in the river, carefully scraping away the dirt and sand, and by boiling them endeavored to make a mucilage without avail. The poor fellows chewed the hide, but it was hide still. They had not tasted food in forty-eight hours and would soon have perished of starvation. Disconsolate and weary they passed the night, having killed and eaten in a stew the last of the two dogs that accompanied the command. Old buckskin breeches were broiled, then boiled and eaten. Says Henry: "When we saw the cattle coming up the river that Arnold had sent, it was the joyfullest sight I ever beheld, and some could not refrain from tears." In a few more days the command was at Sartigan, where it was joined by about forty Norridgewock Indians under Natanis and Sebatis, his brother. Down the valley of the Chaudière they were blessed with good things to eat and friendly people. On the 10th of November, all that was left of eleven hundred men arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec. For thirty-two days of the long march not a human being had been met.

Had an invasion from Hades been announced to the British commander, he could not have been more astonished than when the Indian deserter Æneas first reported a *Rebel* force coming down the Chaudière. Not many days after he received the information, the rebel flag was seen on Point Levi, and before that surprise had been recovered from, Arnold's *immense* army, as it had suddenly become, was drawn up in line of battle before the city walls. Wrote a gentleman in Quebec: "There are about 500 provincials arrived at Point Levi, by the way of the Chaudière, across the woods. Surely a miracle must have been wrought in their favour. It is an undertaking above the common race of men, in this debauched age. They have travelled through woods and bogs, and over precipices, for the space of 120 miles, attended with every inconvenience and difficulty, to be surmounted only by men of indefatigable zeal and industry."

Washington had not been mistaken in the confidence placed in Arnold's energy, and having heard of the capture of Montreal, was anticipating equal success in the expedition against Quebec. To Schuyler he wrote: "The merit of this gentleman is certainly great, and I heartily wish that fortune may distinguish him as one of her favorites. I am convinced that he will do every thing that prudence and valor shall suggest to add to the success of our arms, and for reducing Quebec to our possession. Should

he not be able to accomplish so desirable a work with the forces he has, I flatter myself that it will be effected when General Montgomery joins him, and our conquest of Canada will be complete."

While awaiting the arrival of his entire command, Arnold employed his men making scaling-ladders and collecting canoes. On the night of the 13th of November, with between thirty and forty canoes, he crossed the St. Lawrence, and before four o'clock next morning landed at Wolfe's Cove, unperceived, a mile and a half above Cape Diamond. He led his men up the rocky defile once scaled by the gallant Wolfe, and by daybreak planted his banner upon the Heights of Abraham. He would have stormed the Gate of St. John and captured the city, had he not made the great mistake of stopping to advise with his officers—or, calling a council of war—for strange as it reads, it was afterward ascertained that the gate was open and undefended, notwithstanding the authorities had timely notice of his approach and had known of his presence at Point Levi for three days.

While the council hesitated and debated, his immediate presence became known to the Lieutenant-Governor and the opportunity passed. The cry was raised and shouted throughout the city: "The enemy are on the Heights of Abraham!" "The Gate of St. John is open!"

The city had been re-inforced by 270 men, and the crews of two ships of war and the captains and crews of a number of merchant vessels detained for its defense. Arnold, in his haste, had carelessly left his scaling-ladders at Wolfe's Cove. Thus his expedition was a failure. He drew up his force in front of the gate and sent a demand for the surrender of the city, which was not received. His men cheered and did all they could to provoke a sortie without avail. His hope was, if he could draw the whole or any part of the forces outside the city, his friends inside would throw open the gates and give him the opportunity to march in. Bancroft says: "Wolfe had come, commanding the river with a fleet; they, in frail bark canoes, hardly capable of holding a fourth of their number at a time; Wolfe, with a well-appointed army of thousands; they with less than 600 effective men, or a total of about 700, and those in rags, barefooted, and worn down with fatigue; Wolfe with artillery, they with muskets only, and those muskets so damaged that 100 were unfit for service; Wolfe with unlimited stores of ammunition, they with spoiled cartridges and a very little damaged powder."

Arnold says: "The enemy being apprised of our coming, we found it impracticable to attack them without too great risk." He encamped near the city three days, guarding all approaches and preventing entrance of any, and all stores and supplies. His only hope, the rising of his friends

in the city, which he had confidently expected, was in vain. Finding, by inspection, he had not more than five rounds of ammunition per man, and not deeming it prudent to take the risk of a battle with so small a supply, on the 19th he retired to Point aux Trembles, eight leagues above Quebec, to await the arrival of Montgomery. Washington wrote him: "It is not in the power of any man to command success; but you have done more—you have deserved it."

The final assault on Quebec by the joint forces of Montgomery and Arnold—the death of Montgomery—the "forlorn hope" led by Arnold, in which he was wounded, and many subsequent events of surpassing interest, do not come within the province of this article. It has been the aim of the writer simply to accompany Arnold on his remarkable journey through the Maine forests to Canada and Quebec—a journey conducted with great ability, perseverance, and tenacity of purpose. His men were in want of everything but stout hearts, and the expedition has been compared to that of Napoleon crossing the Alps and his retreat from Moscow.

Edm Howard Mills.

EARLY VIRGINIA CLAIMS IN PENNSYLVANIA

The early inhabitants of Pennsylvania seem to have been doomed to trouble. Beside the Connecticut claims, which took in almost the entire northern half of the province, Virginia laid claim to a large portion of the western part. The origin of this claim dates very far back in the history of the country.

The charter of 1607 granted to the London Company all the territory in America lying between the 34th and 38th degrees of north latitude.* In 1609 the charter was amended and enlarged, so that it comprised a region stretching two hundred miles north and the same distance south of Point Comfort, and extending "up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest." In 1623 the London Company was dissolved by a decree of the King's Bench, and the territory above described, except where grants had been made to private individuals, reverted to the Crown. But the Virginians never fully accepted this decision. Penn's grant was respected; but any other territory within the limits of their charter they continued to claim, notwithstanding the action of the King's Bench. To explore and occupy this vast domain was one of the most fascinating objects to the early Virginians.† It was to vindicate their claim to the valley of the Ohio that the youthful Major Washington was sent to the French posts in 1753. The authorities of Pennsylvania, however, now began to contend that the claims of Virginia overlapped the charter granted to William Penn, and some correspondence on the subject took place between Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and Gov. Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in the years 1752 and 1753.

In the early part of this latter year, the Virginians undertook to secure possession of the country about the Forks of the Ohio against the common enemy, the French, by building a fort on the point of land where the city of Pittsburgh now stands; but the latter, under Contrecoeur, descended the Allegheny, drove them away from the unfinished work, and themselves built a stronghold at the same place, which they called Fort Duquesne. The disputed territory remained in the hands of the French until the fall of Fort Duquesne, in the latter part of the year 1758. No revival of the dispute took place until January, 1774, when one Dr. John Conolly, whom

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., p. 120.

† See "The Knights of the Horseshoe," by Dr. Wm. A. Caruthers

Bancroft describes as "a physician, land-jobber and subservient political intriguer," came from Virginia with authority from Lord Dunmore, the governor of that colony, and took possession of Fort Pitt, which had been dismantled by the British government, and named it Fort Dunmore. He also issued a call to the public to assemble as a militia at Redstone.* For this conduct he was apprehended by Arthur St. Clair, a magistrate of Westmoreland county, afterward a distinguished officer of the Revolutionary and Indian wars, and thrown into jail at Hannastown. He was not held in durance long, however, but was released on bail and returned to Virginia. Here he was appointed by Dunmore a justice of Augusta county, which the Virginians contended embraced the territory in debate, and shortly returned to Pittsburgh with a tolerably strong force. He captured the court at Hannastown, and at Pittsburgh, on the 9th of April, 1744, he arrested the justices Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane, and sent them prisoners to Staunton, Virginia.†

Conolly's high-handed proceedings called out a letter from Gov. John Penn to Lord Dunmore, in which he points attention to the performances of Conolly, and after complimenting his lordship by assuring him that he understands his character too well to admit the least idea that he "would countenance a measure injurious to the rights of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or which might have a tendency to raise disturbances within the Province," he proceeds to describe the boundaries of Pennsylvania. "The western extent of the Province of Pennsylvania," he says, "by the royal grant is five degrees of longitude from the river Delaware, which is its eastern boundary." From the 233d milestone on the line run by Mason and Dixon, he continues, "a north line hath been since carefully run and measured to the Ohio, and from thence up to Fort Pitt," etc. From the various data, he says, "the most exact calculations have been made by Dr. Smith, provost of our college, Mr. Rittenhouse and our Surveyor-General, in order to ascertain the difference of longitude between Delaware and Pittsburg, who all agree that the latter is near six miles eastward of the western extent of the Province." He adds that if his lordship should still entertain any doubt respecting the matter, he hopes he will "defer the appointing of officers, and exercising government in that neighborhood, and suffer the people to remain in the quiet and undisturbed possession of the lands they hold under this Province," until some temporary line of jurisdiction can be agreed on, or until the "affair can be settled by His Majesty in Council." ‡

* Colonial Records of Penn., Vol. X., p. 141.

† Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 169.

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 149.

To this reasonable letter Dunmore made answer March 3, 1774, in which he contravenes the opinion of Gov. Penn with respect to the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and adds, "In conformity to these sentiments, you will easily see I cannot possibly, in compliance with your request, either revoke the commissions and appointments already made, or defer the appointment of such other officers as I may find necessary for the good government of that part of the country, which we cannot but consider to be within the Dominion of Virginia, until His Majesty shall declare the contrary." His lordship also resents the arrest and commitment of Conolly, and demands the dismissal of St. Clair, "who had the audacity, without any authority, to commit a magistrate acting in the legal discharge of his trust;" unless, indeed, Mr. St. Clair can prevail by proper "submission," on Mr. Conolly, "to demand his pardon of me."* To this, on the 31st of March, Gov. Penn replies in a long letter, in which he recapitulates the history of the claim, etc., from the beginning. He declines, however, to dismiss Mr. St. Clair from his office; and as it does not appear that the latter ever attempted to make any "submission" to Mr. Conolly, it is likely he died at last without the benefit of Gov. Dunmore's "pardon."

On the 7th of May, James Tilghman and Andrew Allen were appointed commissioners on the part of Pennsylvania to settle the question in dispute, and on the 19th of the same month they reached Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. At a conference with Gov. Dunmore, he requested them to present their proposition "in writing," which they did on the 23d. The substance of the paper which they submitted was, that a survey of the Delaware River should be made as soon as convenient, by surveyors appointed jointly by the two colonies, from the mouth of Christiana Creek, or near it, where Mason and Dixon's line intersected the Delaware, to a point on the river in the same latitude as Pittsburgh, "and as much farther as may be needful for the present purpose." That Mason and Dixon's line should be continued to the end of five degrees from the Delaware, and that from the end of that line a line or lines should be run corresponding in direction to the courses of the Delaware, and drawn at every point at the distance of five degrees of longitude from that river; and that Mason and Dixon's line thus protracted, with the said line or lines "similar to the courses of the Delaware," should be accepted by both parties as the line of jurisdiction between Virginia and Pennsylvania, until the boundaries of the latter province should be run and finally settled by "royal authority."† This proposition would have made the western boundary of Pennsylvania of the same form as the eastern.

* Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 156.

† Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 182.

In reply to this, Dunmore, the next day, gave it as his view, that it could not possibly have been the intent of the Crown that the western boundary of Pennsylvania "should have the very inconvenient, and so difficult to be ascertained shape, as it would have, if it were to correspond with the course of the river Delaware." He then proceeds to describe the boundaries of Pennsylvania as he understands them; namely, on the north by a straight line from the Delaware on the 42d parallel westward five degrees; on the south by a straight line westward from the circle drawn at the distance of twelve miles from Newcastle to a meridian line which should pass through the western extremity of the northern boundary line; that meridian line being, as he says, "the limits of longitude mentioned in the royal grant, and no other, as it appears to me."* It is a fact worthy of remark that Gov. Penn's proposition gave to Virginia nearly all that she claimed, while Dunmore's gave to Pennsylvania far more than she demanded; the boundary lines as he defined them being almost if not quite identical with those at present established.

Some further discussion of the subject passed between the commissioners and Gov. Dunmore, but no agreement could be reached. With respect to Fort Pitt, Dunmore absolutely refused to relinquish his authority over that place "without his Majesty's orders," and as the end of the controversy he regretted that he could do nothing "to contribute to re-establish the peace and harmony of both colonies," and to evince his good intentions as well towards the one as the other.†

Meanwhile Conolly's conduct was outrageous. He not only oppressed the people along the border, but stirred up a war with the Indians,‡ who committed great barbarities. Gov. Penn did all he could to conciliate the Indians, but to little purpose. On the 28th of June he wrote to Lord Dunmore deprecating an Indian war, and begging that his lordship would join with him in endeavoring to "prevent the further progress of hostilities." He also complains bitterly of the "behavior of Doctor Conolly," who, among other acts of outrage and lawlessness, "seized upon the property of the people without reserve, and treats the persons of the magistrates with the utmost insolence and disrespect," and is about sending out "parties against the Indians, with orders to destroy all they meet with, whether friend or foe."§ The records of the time are full of accounts of the "great confusion and distress" of the inhabitants of Westmoreland county. In June, John Montgomery writes from Carlisle that he had just returned from Westmoreland county, and that many families were return-

* Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 184.

† Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 190.

‡ Penna. Archives, Vol. IV., p. 528.

§ Col. Rec., Vol. X., p. 193.

ing to the eastern side of the mountains, while others were about "building forts in order to make a stand."* About the same time Æneas Mackay writes from Pittsburgh of "the deplorable state of affairs" in that region, and says, "We are robbed, insulted, and dragooned by Conolly and his militia in this place and its environs." Further, he says, "We don't know what day or hour we will be attacked by our savage and provoked enemy the Indians, who have already massacred sixteen persons to our certain knowledge."† Against these evils the law could furnish no protection. In February, 1775, the magistrates addressed a statement to Gov. Penn, in which they say: "Our difficulties on account of the Conolly party are now grown to an extreme. * * * Any person applying for justice to us, may be assured to be arrested by them. James Smith, Captain, was taken and bound over to the Virginia Court, for only applying to the laws of Pennsylvania for to have a banditti of villains punished for pulling down his house."‡ It was in the course of the war incited by Dunmore and Conolly that the family of Logan, "the friend of the white man," were killed at Captina and Yellow Creek.§

As the difficulties between the colonies and the mother country developed, Dunmore and his lieutenant in mischief took strong sides against the former. In April, 1775, Dunmore threatened to free the slaves, and turn them against their masters. This threat caused great horror and alarm throughout the South, but could not stay the progress of events, and he himself on the night of June 7th, 1775, was compelled to seek safety on board the "Fowey," an English man-of-war, at York, and "thus left the Ancient Dominion in the undisputed possession of its own inhabitants."|| Conolly soon joined Dunmore in his place of refuge. The further history of this worthy pair is not connected with our subject, and we cheerfully dismiss them from our page.

In December, 1776, the legislature of Virginia proposed a line of demarcation a little different from either of those that had been already suggested. Their proposition was to extend the boundary of Virginia northward from the western extremity of the line run by Mason and Dixon to the 40th parallel of north latitude, then due west to the curved line proposed by Governor Penn. This was not accepted by the Pennsylvanians. In the meantime matters continued in the same unsettled state as before; —the inhabitants of Westmoreland county were still distracted by the controversy, and the common cause of the colonies against Great Britain was

* Penna. Archives, Vol. IV., p. 505.

† Penna. Archives, Vol. IV., p. 517

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. x., p. 234.

§ Doddridge's Notes, p. 232

|| Bancroft's Hist U. S., Vol. VII., p. 386.

"injured by this jangling."* As the years went by, the matter pressed more and more upon the authorities, and it became necessary to do something. Finally, in the early part of 1779, George Bryan, John Ewing, and David Rittenhouse, on the part of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison and Robert Andrews, on the part of Virginia, were appointed commissioners to agree upon a boundary between the States. They met at Baltimore on the 31st of August, 1779, and after a thorough consideration of the subject of debate, they agreed as follows: "To extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, from the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian, drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of said State, be the western boundary of said State forever."† This agreement, with some conditions which it is not necessary to specify here, was ratified and confirmed by the legislature of Virginia, June 23, 1780, and by that of Pennsylvania, September 23, 1780.‡

In 1782, commissioners appointed by the two States interested ran the lines accordingly, but of course it was objected to by some of the Virginians, who claimed that it was only a temporary line. It was determined then to locate the lines permanently, and for this purpose, in 1783, the following commissioners were appointed: David Rittenhouse, John Lukens, John Ewing, and Captain Hutchins, on the part of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison, Andrew Ellicott, Robert Andrews, and T. Page, on the part of Virginia. The lines were again run, and clearly and definitely marked on the ground, by cutting vistas through the woods, and setting up stone pillars at regular intervals. This work was accomplished in 1784, and ended all dispute in the matter.

J. I. Chapman.

* Penna. Archives, Vol. VII., p. 79.

† Col. Rec., Vol. XII., p. 213.

‡ Penna. Archives, Vol. VIII., pp. 352, 570.

THE CHARACTER OF ANDREW JACKSON

ILLUSTRATED THROUGH PRIVATE LETTERS

The time has not yet come for a just and proper appreciation of the character of Andrew Jackson, as many of his contemporaries, who sided with or against him are still living, although advanced in years. The flames of political warfare, through which he strode so fearlessly, are extinguished, but the ashes which they have left are not yet cold. No great actor on the human stage can be safely tried before a tribunal of the men of his time, who may, however, be allowed to furnish the evidence by which, when sifted and measured, he is ultimately to be judged. Posterity alone is the competent authority to assign him his permanent place in the annals of our race. It is profitable at this time to trace some of the features of his moral and intellectual character, from a series of private letters with which I have been intrusted, written by him to one who had been consigned to his guardianship, and who cherished his memory with the deepest affection and the most enthusiastic admiration. In nothing does a man reveal himself more unguardedly and truthfully, and exhibit more clearly his genuine nature than in such correspondence—where he can forget to protect his breast with that cloak, and may be with that armor, which circumstances make it necessary for him to do in his intercourse with the world. These are the best means by which many historical characters (that would forever have remained dark enigmas, or been partially misrepresented) have been fully illustrated. William, the champion of England's liberties, would still have been for us the same cold-blooded, soul-lacking impersonation of stern ambition, if Macaulay had not shown, with that great man's correspondence in hand, that he who seemed to have no more feeling than the steel cuirass which he wore on the battlefield, had within his stubborn heart the softness and tenderness of a woman. Thus these letters of General Jackson may exhibit that personage in a light in which many may never have expected to see him. It has frequently been asserted that General Jackson was narrow-minded and easily prejudiced against men and things. On the contrary, we read in a letter dated at the Hermitage, 8th January, 1821 :

" Dear —,

" Yours of the 19th ult has just reached me, which advises me of your return from Boston to New York, after taking a full recognizance and sur-

vey of the harbor of Boston. The experience of the hospitality of the good people of Boston ought hereafter to prevent you from forming prejudices against any nation or people upon vague report. Although there are *many* anecdotes told upon the Yankees, you will find the people of New England, like all other people, a mixture of good and bad, hospitable and inhospitable, polished and unpolished ; but, as a people, moral and humane."

The following letter is addressed to his ward, an officer in the United States army, who, smarting under some temporary disappointment and burning with martial desire to add new luster to an ancestral name already celebrated in the annals of war, had consulted General Jackson on the propriety of seeking a wider field of action by entering the Russian service. The sage and warrior then resting in the shades of the Hermitage, writes :

" January 8, 1822.

" It has been with the greatest pleasure, my young friend, that I have tendered you that advice and counsel which my experience has enabled me to give, and especially when I have believed that I could contribute to your future welfare by impressing upon your mind the importance of morality, and by directing your attention to such objects as were most likely to eventuate in your permanent interest. I have done so with the greatest cheerfulness and an eye single to your good. I trust, then, that you will view me when opposing your determination to join the Russian service and abandon that of your country as influenced by no sinister motive, but as alive only to those prospects which may determine your reputation and the character to which you may attain as a soldier and as a citizen. . . . You say that you have spent the best of your life in a profession which offers no inducements in your own country. Let me ask you what is it in the profession of arms in your country that is inconsistent with the character which awaits an officer devoted to its service—prepared by science for distinction in that service, and competent to share in its battles and dangers? What is it in the character of your country that is unworthy of your efforts to sustain it? What in its national feeling that cannot claim your participation? Where is the country, besides your own, whose glory is the protection of liberty and those equal rights which have long since been lost in the despotism and corruption of every European government? Where is that love of country which, living even with the chained and shackled peasantry of a monarch, despises all control? And would you renounce this sacred tie for the glory to be won in the uncertain career of a foreign emperor? Can you sacrifice the feelings which

should characterize an American officer to the illusions which support royalty and conceal its corruption? I hope you could not. There are many objections, Edward, to your adopting the course which you have named, but which I shall not mention, believing that you will unhesitatingly abandon a scheme which you have formed without reflection. It is true that the blind policy of the last Congress has limited the prospects of reputation and distinction in our army, but things will not be always as they are. The policy must change; and, independent of this, what greater incentive do you want than the persuasion that by improving the advantages which you now possess, you will be prepared to enter with distinction into the service of your country, when it shall need and shall ask for your service and talents. Continue your studies, and your proficiency shall be rewarded. Be industrious, and you will not feel the miseries of idleness."

This last phrase does not savor of the cock-fighting, horse-racing idler. General Jackson was represented to be by some of his adversaries. A lofty spirit breathes throughout the whole epistle! And still more remarkable is the moderation and the almost apologetic tone with which one who was believed to be the very incarnation of haughtiness and despotism, gives his views and opinions to one so much his inferior in age and position, and seeks in argument to change the hasty resolution of a ward while possessing the right to exercise the authority of a father. On the 3d of March, 1823, he wrote to the same young officer:

"I am happy to hear that your health is restored, and that justice has been done you at last by the chief of the Engineer Department. Never make enemies that you can avoid, and never permit injury from any source without proper resentment."

"Never make enemies that you can avoid," sounds like the voice of wisdom, and not like that of one who had the reputation, not only of cherishing a reckless indifference to provoking enmities, but even of entertaining a natural propensity to rush into strifes, as the eagle is said to utter its most joyous shriek when the lightning plays round its head and the howling wind rocks its nest. "Never permit injury from any source without a proper resentment," reminds one of Polonius' celebrated advice to his son in Hamlet:

"Beware
Of entering into a quarrel: but, being in
Bear it that the opposer may beware of thee."

This calm recommendation to his ward is certainly no indication of the rash and fiery temper which was attributed to the illustrious chieftain,

and for which he incurred so much censure. It is no sudden, impetuous outburst, but it seems to be a cool and practical appreciation of the course which, in this world, socially organized as it is, a man is frequently compelled to pursue in self-defense and as a matter of policy, even when inclination would lead to a different path. When struck on the right cheek to turn the left to the aggressor in invitation of another blow may be the very perfection of human and Christian excellence, but it is doubtful whether in the general disregard of evangelical precepts by the mass of mankind, existence would be safe and tolerable on such terms of submission, abnegation and meekness. The unresisting martyr would, probably, without a special interposition of Providence, be soon torn to pieces by the wild beasts to which he would be delivered.

"You are entering life on the military stage," continues Jackson, "and although we are now blessed with peace it is doubtful from the collecting cloud in Europe, how long we may enjoy that blessing. It is in the scenes of military life that you can judge properly of men. I cannot recommend to you a better book than the history of Sir William Wallace for your guide, and the example of the immortal Washington."

At the very moment when General Jackson was writing these generous recommendations to the youth for whom he had an almost paternal affection, half of the papers of the Union were accusing him of being a blood-thirsty villain, who had perpetrated the most shameful deeds, and whose tyrannical career of enormities would, if not checked, luxuriantly expand into a wider range. "In the history of Wallace," he further writes, "you will find human nature fully displayed, with all its envy, hatred and treachery. Adopt his virtues and shun the vices of his enemies; for let me assure you, men are not now better than they were in the days of Wallace, and by studying human nature you may come to avoid its treachery. Be not too suspicious, but never take a man to your bosom as confidant, until you are certain that he merits it. Pursue this course, and you will be able to avoid many disagreeable occurrences, and it never will be in the power of the base betrayer to injure you. These remarks have occurred to me to be proper to make to you, being advised by your letter that you will be in the city of Washington for six months."

All must acknowledge that this dauntless man of the sword, notwithstanding the fool-hardy temerity with which he was reproached through prejudice or misconception, expresses here such sentiments as the cautious pen of the meditative and phlegmatic Franklin himself would not have hesitated to lay down as prudential rules of conduct in all the departments of life. In the same letter he says: "I have declined the mission to

Mexico. I could be of no benefit to my country there, and in the present state of revolution, a minister from the United States to present credentials to the tyrant Iturbide might strengthen him on his tottering throne, and aid him in riveting the chains of despotism upon the Mexican people. I can never do an act to aid tyranny and oppression. I have therefore declined. If it is true that Spain is about to cede Cuba to England, good policy points to the course the United States ought to adopt. There cannot be an American who does not see that if Great Britain obtains the Gibraltar of the Gulf as she holds the Gibraltar of the Mediterranean, she controls the commerce of the world and embargoes the mouth of the Mississippi. The wisdom and energy of America must prevent this, or we are involved in a perpetual war, until Great Britain is dispossessed of it."

Few men have had clearer views of the wants, feelings and interests of America than General Jackson, and the people of the United States are convinced of the truth of what he asserted in 1823—that Cuba is the "Gibraltar of the Gulf," and can "embargo the mouth of the Mississippi." It is believed that all the statesmen of the Union, forgetting their sectional prejudices, would agree on the course to be pursued, should the emergency alluded to by General Jackson ever arise. On the 1st of May, 1823, he wrote the following to his ward, which should be printed in letters of gold and hung up in the office of every public officer, if it were possible that good could flow from it:

"I am much pleased that you have acquired such a correct opinion of human nature. In your passage through life it will be of great advantage to you, and preserve you from many difficulties that without this knowledge youths are apt to fall into. It is to be deplored that men in office are apt to assume an air of mystery in discharge of their public duties. In our government mystery does not belong to it; an open, candid, virtuous course ought to be pursued by all its functionaries—orders given in clear and positive language, easily to be understood; in words incapable of double meaning, and in all answers to necessary inquiries, positive and candid. I have never known an occasion where candor and truth were not proper. A case in our government cannot exist where it ought not to be used; if it is proper to speak at all, it should be with candor and truth. Adopt this for your guide, let others do as they may, and you will be always right. Occasions may occur where prudence would dictate silence, but if you speak at all, let it be with candor and truth."

The reputed stern inflexibility of General Jackson's temper would cause the impression that he would not easily have been induced to adopt

for himself, or recommend to others, any compromise either in public or private affairs. But that such a supposition would not be correct, at least so far as relates to private affairs, is demonstrated by the following observations made by him in connection with a transaction to which he advised his ward to submit, rather than engage in a law-suit :

“Without great attention, law is expensive, and success nowadays cannot be counted on ; before you engage in a suit investigate the subject well, and know whether you can give your attention to it. Far better to abandon the property altogether than to run the risk of bringing a suit, and be cast.”

The intense interest taken by General Jackson in the struggle of oppressed freedom all over the world is finely illustrated in a passage of a letter dated at Washington, 20th of January, 1824, and addressed to his young friend. It is not a mere empty parade of love for liberal institutions, but the warm outpouring of a generous conviction, the unbosoming of heart to heart within the secret precincts of intimacy and confiding friendship. The general says :

“It cannot but be gratifying to me, dear Edward, to see this day (the 8th of January) commemorated by the American people, and particularly for the praiseworthy object of raising funds to aid the oppressed and gallant Greeks. It must be gratifying to every bosom that cherishes as it ought warm feelings for the liberty of mankind, and a just abhorrence of the cruelties that have been inflicted on the oppressed Greeks and the patriots of Spain. It will have another good effect. It will keep in the recollection of this nation what gallant men can do when united, and act as a stimulant to others to brave deeds, should our country again be invaded by a foreign enemy.”

A sure criterion to judge of a man's heart is the degree of admiration which he feels for those great and virtuous beings who have endeared themselves to the whole human race, and whose memories are embalmed in those immortal sepulchers prepared for them by history, where they repose in state, exposed to the fond gaze of successive generations. On the day he wrote the letter from which the preceding quotation, he had been presented with the pistols that had been given by Lafayette to Washington. He writes thus :

“I view it as the highest honor that could be paid to me, to be considered worthy by the representatives of the Father of his Country, to be a fit repository for the implements used by him in the procurement and establishment of our national independence and liberty. It is more gratifying to my feelings than all the honors my country has hitherto bestowed upon me.”

Those who have believed General Jackson to have been utterly without Christian faith will be happy to be undeceived by reading a letter of condolence which, so far back as the 12th of December, 1824, he writes from Washington city. If not a Christian, how could the stern warrior have penned these touching lines in his desire to soothe the afflictions of one he loved?

"Your letter, my dear Edward, of the 7th ins^t has come to hand, announcing the death of my young friend and your much lamented brother. Mrs. Jackson and myself tender to you what we sensibly feel—our sincere condolence on this melancholy occasion. When death comes, he respects neither age nor merit; he sweeps from this earthly existence the sick and the strong, the rich and the poor, and should teach us to live to be prepared for death. Our deceased friend was a youth of great promise, snatched from us at an interesting period of life and when we least expected it, thereby showing us the great uncertainty of all earthly things; but we have a hope that he is removed from all the troubles of this world to a blissful state of immortality in the next; and we are taught by the Scripture "to mourn not for the dead but for the living," He is gone; our tears cannot restore him; and let us be consoled in the hope that he is at rest and happy in the arms of our sacrificed Saviour. Another consolation may be derived from the letter you have enclosed me, stating that whatever could be done during his illness for his relief and preservation was cheerfully extended. Be therefore consoled; you have many sincere friends and some dear relatives; and although you have experienced the loss of many, still your misfortunes are not greater than those which befall others. You should remember, too, that to be reconciled with our lot is a duty we owe not less to ourselves than to that God to whose Providence we are all committed. Against His will it is vain to repine, however trying the affliction or great the burden; while a calm submission to that will makes human fortitude triumph over the grave, and conducts us to those happy regions in which we love to believe our young friend immortal, at the same time we are aided in preparation to overtake him there."

Whenever in this private correspondence with his ward he glances at public affairs, he reveals that manliness, unwavering love of justice, and keen appreciation of men and things, which distinguished him in his military and civil career. An extract from a letter written at the Hermitage, July 25, 1825, will be read with interest.

"From your letter, dear Edward, I presume your Southern tour has afforded you some amusement and much information. The scenes in Georgia give you a view of human nature under the influence of party

excitement and selfish political aspirations. The world had formed an exalted opinion of Governor Troup's talents, but I believe his late communications have shorn him of his character of high talents in public estimation and of decorous deportment. His whole conduct of late has afforded evidence of derangement from some cause. He certainly never could have obtained the high standing for talents he had without possessing some merit, which his late communications appear to be entirely destitute of. Nobody did believe that the Indians had any intention of commencing hostilities on the whites. The whole excitement was produced by designing white men, to draw the public attention from the means used in obtaining this fictitious treaty signed by one or two chiefs, and the rest self-created for the purpose of multiplying signers to the instrument. I am sure that, with the evidence now before the nation, the Senate would not have ratified the treaty. What will be the course that will be taken, will much depend on the information communicated to Congress by the President, procured through his special agent sent to the nation for the purpose of investigation. When it was ratified, I was not in the Senate, being confined to my room by the severe indisposition of Mrs. Jackson. Had I been present, seeing none of the old chiefs' names to it but McIntosh, I should have moved its postponement and called for information from the President."

The belief entertained by many, that General Jackson was so self-willed and so wedded to his own arbitrary opinions that he was at all times regardless of the views entertained by others, and that he obstinately pursued his own headlong course without caring for approbation or blame, is discountenanced by the following passage of a letter to a mere youth, his pupil, to whose judgment, however valuable in itself, he might have been pardoned for not attaching much importance, if we consider his superiority in age, experience, and station in life. Here is, however, his language in 1825 :

"I am happy to find that you approve of my retiring from political life. My judgment said it was proper to do so. I have always thought it wrong to recommend maxims to others that I did not practice on myself. I am getting too old to abandon a course I have practiced upon through a long life. My judgment approved and dictated the course I have taken. It is a great pleasure to me that it is approved by the virtuous and the good. I feel regardless of what my political enemies may say on the subject. They would rejoice if I was to do an act injurious to those republican maxims I have always advocated."

On the 24th of January, 1826, he writes :

"There never ought to be confidence reposed in political men who are in pursuit of popularity, particularly when they have given evidence of abandonment of principle, which they have bartered for self-aggrandizement."

We judge from passing events that the common practice now differs widely from the Roman-like and sage doctrine expressed by General Jackson.

It seems that the young man whose estate General Jackson had administered, on taking possession of it when of age, and on examining the accounts thereto appertaining, had not found the customary charges which administrators bring in for their services, and had expostulated with General Jackson for the omission. The answer is worthy of the man, it bears date May 28, 1826.

"I have no charge," he says, "against your estate; I never charged an orphan one cent for either time or expense, and I am sure I will not begin with you."

It has been set down, if not doctrinally, at least practically, that he who should refuse to electioneer and to stoop to the usual methods resorted to by aspirants to political distinction, cannot be safely supported by any party as a candidate for office. General Jackson's views on the subject appear in the following extract, dated June 22, 1826:

"I cannot say whether it will be in my power, with Mrs. Jackson, to visit the Harrodsburgh Springs. I have great hesitancy in going into Kentucky now. There is much excitement there at present on their local policy, and my enemies might not only say that I went there to influence their elections, but that I was on an electioneering tour. These considerations have hitherto prevented me from visiting the springs in Kentucky and in the North, and will prevent me, so long as my name is before the nation for public office. Let others do as they may, for myself, if brought into office it must be by the uninfluenced voice of the people. It must be on the pure principle of our Government—that the people have a right to govern."

As a proof of the religious vein which pervaded the whole stratum of General Jackson's character, and which I wish to establish firmly, as it is perhaps that part of it which may be the most contested in consequence of long standing prejudices and misconceptions, I quote the following passage from a letter written on the 22d of December, 1826:

"We, Mrs. Jackson and myself, with pious hearts and great good feeling, present our blessings to the child. As this son advances in years, may his intellect and virtue strengthen with his strength, and expand until

he becomes the admiration of his day, and the comfort and stay of his parents in their declining years."

Again the same piety shows itself, when on the 19th of September, 1828, he pens these lines :

"We have a very doleful prospect here; we have not had rain to wet the earth one inch for three months—every vegetable burnt up—our cattle starving—the springs in many places dried up and no prospect of rain—the earth so parched that we can sow no fall crop—no turnips, potatoes or cabbages—and our crops of cotton and corn, not half crop. Still I trust in a kind Providence who doeth all things well, that he will not scourge us with famine."

On the 18th of September, 1828, he says:

"I have met with a great bereavement. I have lost my friend, Col. Earle, who died on the 16th inst, with a few days' sickness. He was my steadfast friend, my traveling companion; he was pure, upright, and an honest man; but a kind Providence has removed him from me to a happier clime than this. I will soon follow him, when I hope to meet with him in the realms of bliss, where the wicked cease to trouble and the weary are at rest."

The same Christian resignation and confidence is exhibited in a letter of the 4th of October, 1843:

"I thank you and your amiable family for the interest you take in my health and life. A kind and benevolent Providence has thus far prolonged my existence here below, regardless of the wishes of my enemies. How much longer it may be His gracious will to prolong my days, God knoweth. I await patiently His will, always ready to say: 'The Lord's will be done!'" And again, on the 20th of December, 1844, he says: "My own health is not improved. I am suffering under great debility and shortness of breath, but submitting to the Lord's will with calmness and resignation."

It is not expected through these letters to give a complete portrait of General Jackson, but rather to present for the use of the future historian some of the distinguishing traits of his character, and correct many erroneous impressions. He had unlimited confidence in the good and safe instincts of the people; while his indomitable energy in the field and in the cabinet, and his thorough honesty of purpose, which was proof against all temptation, never permitted him to hesitate or to halt in his grand march. His intellect was of a sound texture; he was gifted with quick perception and decision, with superior discrimination and judgment; but there was in it neither amplitude nor brilliancy. It was irresistible like the

club of Hercules within arm's length, but it would not have flashed through the air, between heaven and earth, like Apollo's shaft, and struck its aim on the very verge of the horizon. The grasp of his mind, as far as it could reach, was sure and overpowering ; but that mind, improved only by a very limited education, had been left chiefly to its natural resources, and cannot be supposed, in consequence of this untoward circumstance, to have obtained that degree of development of which it was capable. Therefore, exalted as his place is in the history of his country, it is not to be wondered at if he is not placed, intellectually, on the same level with some of his illustrious contemporaries and rivals. In other respects, he towered above the host during his long career. He possessed that kind of courage which, in the opinion of Napoleon the Great, is the most rare of all—that courage which consists in calmly taking a determination in the solitude of the closet and in steadfastly adhering to it, be the consequences what they may. His belief in the moral and intellectual rectitude of the people and in their capacity for self-government, was as intense as that of the most devout worshiper in the object of his adoration. It was with him a sort of religion. Thus his love of popular government was the ruling passion of his life—strong even in death ; and his conviction of its being the best for all mankind, and the one destined to be ultimately the most durable, was so deeply inlaid that it became, as it were, a component part of his nature. His integrity was so pure and his patriotism so vivid that they diffused a peculiar illumination through his mind, and supplied in him the place of genius. To those two sources he is indebted for his best inspirations and for the grandeur of his career. They threw around him an almost visible halo which struck the people with admiration and awe, and which inspired them with implicit faith in him whom they had surnamed "Old Hickory," as expressive of the rugged and solid substance of which they thought he was made. It invested him with all the powers of a dictator, and he repaid the unbounded confidence of the many-headed sovereign with absolute fealty and devotion. But he never courted popularity. Before resolving or acting, he never bent his ear to the ground to listen to its pulsations, or to that low rumbling which, running over its surface, indicates to time-serving and cunning politicians which way is the march of the people, and enables them to turn in that direction, and place themselves, if possible, at the head of the moving mass. But, erect and lofty, he looked forward to discover the landmarks and beacons of right and truth, and toward them he strode fearlessly, without previously ascertaining the number of his followers. Whatever were the errors of which he was susceptible, it was impossible, morally and intellectually organized as

we know him to have been, that he should ever have stooped to deception, trickery and flattery. His indignation was fiercely excited by the bare shadow of meanness and treachery. That candor and truth which he so earnestly recommended in his letters, he observed and practiced himself. If we can easily imagine emergencies when General Jackson might have remained silent from policy, still it is impossible for one who has the slightest insight into his character, even to suppose that his stern and inflexible honesty could ever have been brought to compromise with truth—the more so because what was the organic disposition of his temper had been strengthened by an influence which so very few knew to exist in one to whom many attributed all the evil propensities of the frequenter of the cock-pit and of the horse-race. I mean his sincere Christian faith and his reliance on the incessant interference or interposition of that Power to which he so often alludes in his letters, and which, even in his secret trials and afflictions, he calls “a kind and benevolent Providence.”

As a member of the committee appointed by the Legislature to superintend the erection of a suitable monument to General Jackson in one of the public squares of New Orleans, the author of this article cheerfully discharged the duties imposed on him, and has the satisfaction to see the equestrian statue of the hero, proudly standing on the very spot where he marshaled the patriotic band of citizen soldiers, who, under his leadership, triumphed over the veterans of England. Thus has nobly been exhibited the gratitude of the State which owed so much to his prowess.

Charles Gayarré

ANDRÉ'S LANDING-PLACE AT HAVERSTRAW

A MOOTED QUESTION SETTLED

Among the localities made memorable by events in our Revolutionary history and worthy of being identified and marked, may be mentioned the place where Major John André, the spy, landed for the purpose of communicating with Benedict Arnold. All other places visited by André during the fatal journey, which began when he left the deck of the *Vulture* and ended when he was laid to rest on the hill-side at Tappan, have long been established beyond the shadow of a doubt. As this point seems the only one upon which any uncertainty rests, I have recently examined the evidence in regard to it, and have made the accompanying map from an actual survey for the benefit of the readers of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. According to the statement of Joshua Hett Smith in his "Narrative of Events leading to the Death of Major André," two parties left his house at Haverstraw Heights on the evening of September 21, 1780. One of these, consisting of himself and two boatmen, rowed from Crom Island, around Grassy Point, thence down the Hudson to the *Vulture*, where they received Major André under the assumed name of "Mr. Anderson," and conveyed him to the place of rendezvous. The other party consisted of General Arnold and one of Smith's servants, who proceeded on horseback through Haverstraw, about five miles, to the place previously agreed upon for their interview. The following is Smith's account of the affair:

"Mr. Anderson being ready, we left the ship, and were rowed in a short time to the western shore, to the place which Gen. Arnold had appointed for the interview. This was at the foot of a mountain called the Long Clove, near the low-water mark, whither my servant had conducted Gen. Arnold on horseback, he being still lame from his wounds. * * * On my approach to the place of appointment, I found Gen. Arnold ready to receive me, hid among firs. * * * He appeared much agitated and expressed chagrin at the disappointment of not seeing Col. Robinson. He desired me however to conduct 'Mr. Anderson' to him, which being done, he requested me to remain with the hands at the boat. I went as directed but felt greatly mortified at not being present at the interview; * * * at length they continued such time in conference, that I deemed it expedient to inform them of the approaching dawn of day. Shortly

afterward both came down to the boat, and Gen. Arnold solicited me to return with 'Mr. Anderson' to the *Vulture*." *

To the south of Haverstraw there are two narrow valleys or passes, crossing the range of mountains which extend along the river. The one farthest north or northwest, has always borne the name of the "Short Clove," while the other has been designated as the "Long Clove." The mountainous elevation between these two valleys has always been called the "Long Clove Mountain," and is the one referred to by Smith. We may state that the high mountain south of the Long Clove, and extending along the river to Nyack, was known to the Dutch settlers as "Verdrietig Hook." The valley thus known as the Long Clove was, previous to the Revolution, and for many years after, the only means of communication between the fertile country back of the mountains, and the landings on the river shore. The public road from Haverstraw runs for a long distance almost parallel with the river, and some distance from it, on the slope of the mountain, and when near the entrance to the "Long Clove," it turns abruptly, and passing through the valley, resumes its southerly direction on the westerly side of the mountains. The place where the road began to turn was the farthest point to which a person could possibly travel on horseback, and the nearest approach which could be made to the *Vulture*, which lay off "Teller's Point." Still farther south, and beyond this point, the steepness of the river bank, covered as it was, and is now, by bowlders, would make it almost impossible for a person to travel there on foot, even in the daytime. This place was also sufficiently distant from the nearest dwellings, which were then at Kier's Dock, where is now the first brick yard.

As the "Long Clove" was the most convenient route by which the inhabitants of a large district west of the mountains could reach the river, we may well suppose that at the foot of this pass a landing-place would be made where communication might be had with vessels passing to and from New York. Traces of an old dock, and of an ancient road made for the purpose of reaching it, are still to be seen, and are represented on the accompanying map. This dock, which existed before the recollection of the oldest inhabitant, was used as a shipping-place for wood, etc., before "Snedeker's Landing" and the quarry dock were built. The most reliable tradition fixes this old dock as the landing-place of André. It is true that Smith does not mention a dock or a road up the hill, but that they must have landed at such a spot is evident from the following considerations: Smith and Arnold had appointed a place of rendezvous. This had to be

* See Smith's "Narrative," pp. 30, 31.

so definite that no time might be lost, and no shouting or signals needed which might betray them (and, in fact, when Smith arrived at the point he found Arnold waiting to receive him and his companions). Yet the natural features of the shore in this vicinity for the distance of a mile are so uniform that it would have been extremely difficult to designate any spot, unless marked, as this one was, by improvements from human hands. The bank along that mile of river shore is about fifty feet high, and so steep and covered with rocks that it is no easy matter to scramble up it even in the daytime, yet it is evident, from Smith's narration, that there was much passing during the night up and down the bank. First Smith goes up to inform Arnold, who was "hid among firs," of André's arrival; he then went down and conducted André up to Arnold, and again returned to the boat. When he desired to warn them of the approach of day, he again ascends the bank and again returns. Shortly after, André and Arnold both come down, and upon the refusal of the boatmen to return to the *Vulture*, they re-ascend the hill to the road, where, mounting their horses, they departed for Smith's house, beyond Haverstraw. That their pathway up and down was the road marked on our map as "ancient and long disused," I have not the slightest doubt. The grove of ever-green trees among which Arnold was hidden, was doubtless situated just south of the junction of the "disused way" with the main road, which ran through the "Long Clove." The dock was perhaps rebuilt and enlarged after the Revolution. An attempt has been made to represent in the sketch the stones and timbers remaining. About fifteen feet of the wall of the south side of the dock is still nearly perfect. Two large boulders outside and under water, probably supported the end of the rude pier. A large granite boulder has rolled down from the bank and rests near the center of the dock, and would be very suitable for an inscription which would make it a lasting monument. The place is exactly 300 feet south of the stone house near the quarry; it can be easily found without a guide, and is best seen at low water.

Lavalette Wilson

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE CLINTON

From the Collection of William L. Stone.

Manour Livingston 13th March 1778

Sir

Your Excellency's Dispatches of the 25th of February did not reach me till I was proceeding to attend the Treaty with the Six Nations. The scene in which we have been employed, as well as the want of a direct Conveyance, have deprived me of an earlier opportunity of returning an answer.

I think I informed your Excellency that I set out with the Marquiss de Lafayette from this place the 15th of February from Albany: his instructions referring him to me for information; I had sufficient Reason to believe that the Enterprise which he was to conduct could not go forward; Unwilling however that the most remote discouragement should be ascribed to our State, I resolved to leave him to judge from his own observation and totally unprejudiced & uninfluenced. He soon discovered the want of almost every necessary of which he had been led to expect an abundant Supply.

The number of men was greatly deficient. They were destitute of warm Clothing. Their pay in arrear, and both the officers & privates visibly averse to the expedition. If the Army had been in the best condition and highest spirits, a sufficient number of Teams (1300 being thought necessary) could not have been collected in season; and to increase the difficulties, Forage it was impracticable to procure, the Irruption of the enemy last summer having prevented the harvest in the Northern and North Eastern parts of this State excepting Provisions, ammunition and the Corps of Militia to be raised in this state, nothing was ready; and the opinion of the General officers as well as the publick at large, weighed strongly opposed to the probability of success had every one of these impediments been removed.

The Marquiss who attentively examined every circumstance saw with inexpressible chagreen, the obstacles which clouded his prospects of Glory, and, after having flattered himself with sanguine Hopes of performing a distinguished service to this country, was obliged to relinquish the Enterprise without an attempt to accomplish it. He has, it must be confessed, some Reason to be vexed and disgusted, advised, as he was, to announce to his Court the confidence reposed in him by being elevated to the command of such an expedition; and not in the least sus-

pecting that General Gates could be deceived in the circumstances of a department which he had just left, and which could have undergone no material alteration.

The Plan of Congress, when I was last upon the Floor was by a sudden Irruption with 3 or 400 Volunteers, to attempt to burn the Enemy's shipping at St. John's and to offer a very considerable Bounty in case of success. The command to be given to General Starke who was supposed to be very popular in New Hampshire the western frontiers of the Massachusetts & the Grants and in every other respect qualified for the undertaking. The adventurous spirit of the Inhabitants in those parts, the danger to which they must be exposed while the British vessels command the Lakes and the prospect of a Great Reward if they should succeed in the attempt, were thought sufficient considerations to justify the proposition. To me it was given in charge by Congress, to confer with General Starke & deliver him his instructions and explain their views. This occasioned my repairing to Albany as soon as I could give him notice to meet me. At first he seemed sanguine that the scheme would be acceptable and vigourously supported by those over whom he had an immediate influence ; but on examination it was found that a Reward which depended only on a prosperous Issue was too slender a Motive for the undertaking. A proposal was therefore made to Congress to allow the Volunteers pay at all events, & the Bounty in case of success. But on General Gates' arrival at Congress the Plan was enlarged into its present Form, and the Command conferred on the Marquiss. Imagining it would be agreeable to you to have a full view of this transaction I have been thus circumstantial. I should have mentioned it to your Excellency when I had the pleasure of seeing you, the original Plan, but as it depended on secrecy I was enjoined to communicate it only to General Starke. Altho' we proposed to hold the Treaty with the Six Nations between the 15th & 20th of February it was not till the 27th that we had notice of their assembling, We repaired to John's town the 28th but they were so tedious in their movements that the business was not opened until Monday the 9th Instant. The number of Indians was something above 700 consisting of Oneidas, Tuscarores, Onondagoes, a few Mohawks, and three or four Cayugaes but not a single Seneca attended. The latter had the Insolence even to effect their surprize that while our Tomahawks stuck in their heads, their wounds were bleeding and their eyes streaming with tears for the Loss of their friends at the German flatts, we should think of inviting them to a treaty !

The Speech from Congress was in a Tone becoming the Dignity of Congress and the Spirit and Power of the United States. The glorious and upright conduct of these States towards the Six Nations and their Ingratitude, Cruelty and Treachery were pointed out, and satisfaction peremptorily commanded. The faithful Oneidas & Tuscaroroës were excepted and distinguished. They were applauded for their Integrity and Firmness, and assured of our Friendship and Protection.

An Onondagoe Chief spoke for the guilty tribes. He exculpated himself & the Sachèm's, threw the Blame on the Headstrong Warriors who no longer would listen

to advice, laid a proper stress on the example of our own internal divisions and Oppositions and printed in Strong Terms the influence of the Bribery and artifices employed by Butler and the other creatures of the Crown.

An Oneida Chief answered for that Nation and the Tuscaroroes with a spirit and Dignity which would not have disgraced a Roman Senator. He pathetically lamented the degeneracy of the unfriendly Tribes, predicted their final destruction and declared the unalterable resolution of the Oneidas & Tuscaroroes, at every Hazard to hold fast the Covenant Chain with the United States and with them to be buried in the same grave ; or to enjoy the Fruits of Victory and Peace. He fully evinced the sincerity of the professions by desiring that we would erect a Fortress in their Country and furnish a small Garrison to assist in their defence. This being promised on our part, he concluded with a solemn assurance that those two Nations would at all times be ready to co-operate with us against all our Enemies. In a private manner they warned us against the Onondagoes who they looked upon as our Enemies notwithstanding their seeming contrition for their past Conduct and affirmed that there was not the least doubt but that they, the Senecas & Cayugoes would renew their Hostilities early in the Spring, and that Butler would take possession of Oswego and get it fortified. For which events they entreated us to be prepared. In our reply we applauded again the courage and Fidelity of the Oneidas & Tuscaroroes. The other Nations we observed were not sufficiently represented to Justify our Treating with them.

We directed therefore that a council of their confederacy should be assembled at Onondago as soon as possible, that our demand of satisfaction should be there publicly made, and from the hostile nations and an Explicite answer returned, that they should be reminded of our upright and their own treacherous Behaviour. That our Cause was just, that the hand of the United States could reach the remotest corner of the Country of the Senecas and that we trusted the Good Spirit whom we served would enable us to punish all our Enemies and put it out of their power to do us further Injury. The Inhabitants of the Country who attended in great numbers were highly satisfied with the manner in which the Treaty was conducted. I think it will probably have a considerable influence on the Onondagoes upwards of an hundred of whom were present. They are much intermarried with the Oneidas and will be apt to follow their example, at Least that tribe will be divided. But from the Senecas & Cayugas & the greatest part of the Mohawks nothing but revenge for their lost Friends and tarnished Glory is to be expected, especially while our Enemies are so plentifully supplied with the means of corruption, and we cannot furnish our best friends with the necessaries of Life even in the course of Trade. I hope the facts I have suggested which passed under my own observation will be sufficient to give your Excellency a competent Knowledge of the Temper and disposition of the Six nations and to enable you to take seasonable measures for the defence of our Frontier Inhabitants, at least so far as may depend on the Exertion of our internal strength. I have conversed with the Marquiss who

was at the Treaty, on this subject. He has already ordered Troops to Schoharie and Cherry Valley and directed an Engineer to lay out a fort in the Oneida Country, sure I am that nothing in his power will be wanting for the security of every part of this State. As I was on my journey to John's Town when I was honoured with the Receipt of your dispatches, it was too late for your Excellency to execute your Trust respecting the appointment of an additional commissioner for Indian Affairs. Before I left Congress it was pressed upon me to accept the office. I declined it, and on my promise to assist the Commissioner at the proposed Treaty if necessary the matter rested for that time. When I met the Commissioner at Albany the beginning of January to fix the Treaty it appeared that there was no prospect of General Wolcot's and no certainty of General Schuyler's attendance. We concluded therefore to recommend it to Congress to append additional commissioners which occasioned the power committed to you. The reason which induced me to decline the office of commissioner when my acceptance was requested by Congress is this. The Jurisdiction of this State over the Country of the Six Nations is unquestionable as well as ancient. On it depends the legality of all our settlers in the Mohawk Country. Apprehension that the interference of Congress might one time or other cross the rights or the Interest of the State, and that as a Trustee for Congress I might be embarrassed and restrained in supporting our separate and exclusive Jurisdiction, I did not see my way clear to engage in it, as far as I can judge there is some weight in the objection. I am however not the less obliged to your Excellency for the Testimonial of your good opinion in offering me the appointment. When I pay my Respects I shall take the opportunity of conversing further upon it.

Having now, sir, finished the Duties enjoined me by Congress on my Recess in which to this time I have been employed, I from this Day consider myself as entering on that Respite from publick business with which thro' your interposition the Legislature have been pleased to indulge me.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect, Sir your Excellency's most Obedient Humble servant

Ja^s Duane

MINOR TOPICS

Letter from C. S. Bushnell

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

In the January number of your valuable Magazine appears a well-written article on the Building of the *Monitor*, by Rev. Francis B. Wheeler, D.D., giving much important information concerning the origin of this remarkable war vessel. But there are points of interest not fully presented, probably from lack of accurate information. The Messrs. Winslow and Griswold are entitled to so much honor and credit for the part they performed that it would be unjust to them to allow any erroneous impression to go down to posterity detracting from the credit and honor due to the great inventor, Captain John Ericsson, or Admiral Smith, Admiral Paulding, Secretary William H. Seward, and others, for their efforts to secure the construction of the experimental boat, the wonder of the age.

The first move Messrs. Winslow, Griswold and myself made, after I invited them to join Captain Ericsson and myself in offering to construct the *Monitor* on equal terms to each of us, was to call on Secretary Seward, who gave us most important assistance in accompanying us to the Executive Mansion and presenting us to President Lincoln, with the strongest assurances of his confidence in our project. Mr. Lincoln was much impressed with the novelty and simplicity of the plan of the vessel, and made the remarks and the appointment as stated by Mr. Wheeler. He met us promptly at eleven the next morning at the Navy Department, and told the story as stated, but did not draw or order a contract to be entered into, as he said that he was powerless under the act of Congress authorizing the Board to approve but three plans out of all that should be presented for adoption. Notwithstanding his manifest approval of our scheme, and the fact that Admirals Paulding and Smith most unhesitatingly declared their willingness to give us a contract, if Captain Davis, the third member of the Board, would unite with them in recommending the same to Secretary Welles—we found it utterly impossible to obtain the unanimous consent of the Board; so that we were compelled to leave Washington sadly disappointed, and, so far as we could see, without hope. But we were made glad again when Captain Ericsson consented to go to Washington in person and meet Secretary Welles and the Board; this he did, and in the Secretary's room, with matchless eloquence and magnetism, explained the full merits of our contemplated fighting vessel. He carried the Board and Secretary Welles as if by storm, and then and there the Secretary of the Navy asked the approval of each member of the Board, which was given. Captain Ericsson so explained the proposed plan that they fully comprehended its importance. Secretary Welles gave Captain Ericsson a verbal order to construct the vessel, and requested him to have me come

down the following week and get the contract executed in detail. On verbal order we commenced the construction of the little *Monitor*, ordering the machinery, iron and material immediately. The next week I went to Washington to secure the promised contract. In the mean time we had become obligated for a large part of the cost of the vessel. But croakers in and out of the Navy Department had been busy at work, and the enthusiasm inspired by Captain Ericsson's grand effort of the previous week had cooled. All the Board would do was to recommend the Secretary to give us the contract as ordered, provided we would execute it with an agreement that the vessel should prove a perfect success, and if she failed of perfect success, she failed as our own property. It is worthy of note here that she was practically our property when she made her gallant fight with the gigantic *Merrimac*, because she had not been accepted or paid for at the time, although we had received advances on account, as is the custom in all contract work. Just here is where Dr. Wheeler fails to give Messrs. Winslow and Griswold a tithe of the credit due them. They were wealthy and cautious business men, and to execute such a guarantee as I have named cost them a great struggle and much anxiety, as it did the late Daniel Drew of New York, and the Hon. N. D. Sperry of New Haven, our bondsmen on the contract, who signed the same without other consideration or reward save the satisfaction of aiding the Government to save its life.

C. S. BUSHNELL

NEW HAVEN, Conn., *January 8, 1885*

ORIGIN OF THE NAME "MONITOR"

[We copy the following interesting item from the New York *Evening Post* of January 10, 1885.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST :

SIR : The MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY for this month contains an article by the Rev. Francis B. Wheeler on the "Building of the *Monitor*," but it does not say how the vessel came by its name or who suggested it. Can you or your readers inform me ?

NAVAL OFFICER

NEW YORK, *January 7*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST :

SIR : The Navy Department at Washington having, shortly before the launch, requested me to suggest an appropriate name for the impregnable turreted steam battery, I addressed a letter to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, saying : "The impregnable and aggressive character of this structure will admonish the leaders of

the Southern rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers will no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. The iron-clad intruder will thus prove a severe monitor to those leaders. But there are other leaders who will also be startled and admonished by the booming of the guns from the impregnable iron turret. 'Downing Street' will hardly view with indifference this last 'Yankee notion'—this monitor. To the Lords of the Admiralty the new craft will be a monitor, suggesting doubts as to the propriety of completing those four steel ships at \$3,500,000 apiece. On these and many similar grounds I propose to name the new battery *Monitor*."

J. ERICSSON

NEW YORK, *January 9*

THE RIVER TIBER IN WASHINGTON.

In one of Thomas Moore's epistles in verse, written from Washington, not far from the year 1803, and addressed to Thomas Hume, Esq., M.D., the oft-quoted line appears :

"And what was Goose Creek once is Tiber now."

The correctness of this allusion of the poet and the existence of such a stream having recently been disputed, Colonel B. S. Ewell, President of the College of William and Mary, writes to Daniel C. Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University, as follows :

"There was a small stream crossing the Pennsylvania Avenue, a short distance west of the Capitol, at the time when Moore came to this country. In my early days there were four rows of Lombardy poplars in the avenue, between the Capitol and the President's house—one between each pavement and the carriage way, making two ; then one about twenty-five feet from each of the first rows, making four ; and between the middle rows was a graveled road-bed for wet weather, and between each of the side roads a summer dirt road. Where the graveled part—the center—of the avenue crossed the Tiber, was a plain wooden bridge, which was on one occasion within my recollection carried off by a flood. Where each of the summer roads crossed was a ford, both of which I have driven across hundreds, literally, of times, and it was my delight in those days to cross one of them, that on the south side, when the tide was high, and the water comparatively deep, whenever I had young ladies in the vehicle, for the worthy purpose of making them scream and beg, which they did while crossing, scolding vociferously as soon as the carriage reached 'terra firma.' Of all this I am sure—so Moore was right when he said, 'And what was Goose Creek once is Tiber now,' the 'now' being the date of his writing.

"Where the 'Tiber' was then there is at this day an arch concealing it (the stream), which indeed seems to have much diminished in volume."

B. S. E.

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., *Dec. 9, 1884*

OLDER THAN THE MOUND BUILDERS

The burying-ground of an ancient race has just been discovered in South-west Virginia. The skeletons are, for the most part, crumbled to dust ; yet they can be counted in astounding numbers over the areas of the plantation, showing it to be the cemetery of a nation. A remarkable fact is made known in the search—one of two-fold importance. For, on the one hand, by it the bodies, howsoever decayed, can be easily located. It was found that the human frame after death—even in its particles of dust—remains a conductor of electricity. In the *case of no other animate* creature is this true. And so the bodies are distinguished.

But of these nameless men and women. Their lives are unchronicled, and unlettered their tombs ; their biography is written only in their death. But they are children of promise, about to awaken an interest heretofore unknown. Their burial reveals two customs which alone must place them in historical date, as in enlightenment, far beyond any nation of America as yet brought to public attention ; and we dream of the "Lost Arts" and "Ten Tribes" once more. First, they are buried in rectangles—two hundred of them side by side are lying east and west, one hundred of them north and south : thus giving the vast majority their resting-places toward the east. In this they are *Christian*. May they not be kin to Solomon the Magnificent, and their cemetery planned from the court of the temple ? Are they merely Indians ? The direction of their burial might so allow it. But one other circumstance remains. Whereas the skull does not class them as "red-men," they are buried with hands folded across the breast (as no pagans are), plainly awaiting the day when the divinity shall reinhabit the forsaken shrine. And so they slumber on—beneath the tread of men, the trampling of the war-horse and the trail of roaming beasts. Had they been contemporary with any known tribes, their vivid faith and marked customs must have left their impress upon the nomads coming into contact with them. Would science, lynx-eyed, have overlooked the traces of their intercourse ?

They are clearly older than Nahnas, Aztecs, Toltecs, Cliff-dwellers, or Mound-builders. They are children of a higher faith and purer life. The Mexicans, if descendants, are so far removed from them, so enormous is the lapse of time. that the definite faith and history committed to them (by these primal men and women ?) have, in the descent, become the incongruous myths and superstitions that make us wonder whether, at any time in their history, the builders of Ohio mounds and Mexican temples were taught the stories of Babel and the flood.

These new beings may have learned *directly* those accounts that inspired their souls in death. Indeed, their faith being so evident, it is easily probable that they once peopled the "old world," proving how "God hath made of one (*blood*) all nations of men."

G. P. WATSON

ROANOKE, Va.

SOME RECENT SCHOOL BOOKS

In 1872, Dr. S. A. Green, in the *American Educational Monthly*, described some errors in our school histories. Since then Colonel Higginson has given us "The Young Folks' History;" Mr. Arthur Gilman has turned out his "American People;" Mr. Horace E. Scudder has produced "A History of the United States;" and Mr. Tillinghast, in his translation and enlargement of Carl Ploetz's "Auszug," has endeavored to do for our country what the German teacher so admirably did for his. These books are undoubtedly a vast improvement upon the past generation of text-books which the learned doctor so gently criticised. Perhaps there is no better way of showing this than by applying his canons of criticism to the new candidates for favor.

In the first place, Dr. Green declared that in the old books too much space had been given to battles and wars. This has been reformed. In Mr. Scudder's book least of all. Why, by the way, did he write De Kalb, Kalb, and not write La Fayette, Fayette? Colonel Higginson devoted the larger portion of his volume to times of peace, which, as the proverb says, have few historians. But then, as Colonel Higginson points out, "this may be more the fault of the historians than of the times." Mr. Gilman not only paid no attention to detail in the matter of wars and battles, but he carefully avoided illustrations of carnage and human suffering. In this both Mr. Scudder and Colonel Higginson (in his last edition) might have followed him. Then we should have been spared the pictures of the "embattled farmers" firing at the fleeing British from behind stone walls. Pictures that convey no very exalted idea of the heroism of the "fathers" to the youthful intellect.

To the historical mind of Dr. Green—and we agree with him—the essential points of a good history for the school-room are: "A careful selection of important events and their narration in a direct, simple, but not childish style." "The story," he adds, "should be told in an interesting manner, but concisely, and should be strictly accurate." Colonel Higginson, it is needless to say, has left nothing to be desired in the matter of style, and when necessary he is wonderfully concise. Mr. Gilman and Mr. Scudder come not far behind, except that Mr. Scudder is not always concise, and is often not clear, and Mr. Tillinghast has done as well as the nature of his work would permit. All of the first three are interesting. But are they accurate? Have the old errors been repeated?

Nearly all of the old books gave 1620 as the date of the introduction of negro slavery into the British North American colonies. Every one of our new books has this date right. But as to Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as Dr. Green points out, "never came to or saw any part of what is now the United States," Mr. Gilman speaks of Gosnold as "one of those who had accompanied Raleigh to Virginia." Colonel Higginson, although he does not say in so many words that Raleigh ever was here, yet he gives one to understand that such was the case, in the following

unguarded statement: "They [potatoes and tobacco] are both said to have been made known through Sir Walter Raleigh; and it is said that when, after one of his voyages, he sat smoking," etc. Dr. Green pointed out many other errors, but as they have nearly all been corrected in these new books, they need not detain us here.

Let us now strike out for ourselves and see how these later historical writers have described two of the most wrongly described events in American history: the Landing of the Pilgrims, and the Signing of the Declaration of Independence.

On the 21st day of December, in the year of our Lord 1620, one or more of an exploring party that had left the *Mayflower* safe at anchor in or near Provincetown harbor, set foot on *terra firma* inside Plymouth harbor. This event our pious grandfathers began some time in the last century to celebrate as the "Landing of the Pilgrims." Unfortunately, the founders of "Forefathers' Day" made some mistake in their mathematical calculations, and celebrated the 22d, a day on which the movements of the forefathers are absolutely unknown, instead of the 21st, as they had intended. These are the plain unvarnished facts. How are they served up for the instruction of youth? Colonel Higginson says: "They [the pilgrims] fixed on this as a good place for their settlement, and on the 21st of December, 1620, they landed. A young girl named Mary Chilton is said to have been the very first to step on Plymouth Rock. But, before landing, they had held a meeting in the cabin of the *Mayflower*." As to Mary Chilton we do not deny that she was the first to step on the "Rock," but she didn't do it on the 21st of December, 1620, unless she could take a stride of more than twenty-four miles in length. Mr. Scudder's account is too long to quote entire, but here is a fair, un-garbled extract: "Parties were sent out to explore the coast and the bay. The reports which they brought back led the whole company to return to the *Mayflower* and sail along the inside of the bay to a sheltered harbor, where they cast anchor. * * * Plymouth, therefore, was the name which they gave to the settlement now formed. * * * A large rock * * * is pointed out as the spot upon which they are said to have landed. For more than a hundred years people have observed the twenty-second day of December as the Landing of the Pilgrims; of late the twenty-first has been the day. The year of the landing was 1620." If this should convey any impression to the childish mind it would be that the *Mayflower* was inside Plymouth harbor on the day of the "landing." She arrived just five days later. Mr. Gilman has given the facts correctly enough, but Mr. Tillinghast has outdone even Dr. Green's victims, as the following note to the first edition of "Ploetz" will show. He says: "It is difficult to decide on the actual day of landing, as larger and smaller bands were coming and going from the ship for several days. The conventional date, Dec. 11, O. S., or Dec. 21 (22), N. S., has been much disputed." Some one pointed out the absurdity of this statement, which appeared in the second edition, as follows: "The date is disputed; that of the whole body can hardly be

ascertained ; the landing of the first exploring party seems to have taken place on Dec. 11, O. S., or Dec. 21 (22), N. S. (confusion here also)."

A vastly more important event in our history was the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Here are the facts—The Declaration was adopted on the 4th of July, 1776. It was published with the authentication of the president and secretary. For some reason, not now known, it seemed desirable that the Declaration should be signed by all the members of Congress. This determination was taken on July 19, of the same year, when a copy was ordered to be fairly engraved on parchment. This copy was signed on August 2, by fifty-four of the fifty-six persons whose names are now appended to it. Matthew Thornton, of New Hampshire, took his seat on the following November, and obtained permission to sign it ; and in 1781, the fifty-sixth signer—Thomas McKean, of Delaware—was given leave to affix his name to the precious document. Colonel Higginson, with his inimitable elegance of precision, says : "It was adopted July 4, 1776, though it was not signed until some weeks later." Mr. Tillinghast, too, makes no mistakes. Mr. Gilman gives a sufficiently correct account of its adoption ; but also gives one to believe that the determination that all should sign it was then taken. In a "Chronological Table" on page 237 of Mr. Scudder's book, we find these ominous words : "Declaration of Independence signed July 4, 1776." In order to make sure we turned to the text, and here is what was discovered : "The Declaration was signed by John Hancock, of Massachusetts, President of Congress, and by fifty-five delegates from the thirteen colonies. Every man who signed it knew that if independence was not secured he was in peril of being hung as a rebel and traitor. * * * A great crowd was gathered before the State House in Philadelphia * * *. From the balcony the Declaration of Independence was read. * * * The 4th of July has ever since been celebrated as the birthday of the nation."

Thus there has been considerable improvement since 1872, but, as may be seen, there is still room for amendment so far as accuracy is concerned. And what is not as strictly accurate as the knowledge of the time permits, is surely not history, however clear, readable and attractive it may be.

EDWARD CHANNING

HARVARD COLLEGE, *Jan.* 13, 1885

ALEXANDER WILLIAM DONIPHAN

In 1790, two years before Kentucky was severed from Virginia and admitted into the Union as a separate State, Joseph Doniphan and his wife migrated thither from Eastern Virginia and made for themselves a home in Mason County, on the

banks of the Ohio, and there, on the 9th of July, 1808, was born Alexander William, the youngest of their ten children.

Joseph Doniphan died in 1813, and the boy fell to the sole care of his mother. In due time he was sent to the school of Richard Keene, a scholarly but eccentric Irishman, who prepared him for Augusta College, where, under the teachings of those eminent divines, Dr. Darbin and Dr. Bascom, he learned rapidly, and graduated with distinction at the age of eighteen.

He devoted the next year to miscellaneous reading, and then began the study of law. On being admitted to the bar in 1830, he moved to Lexington, Missouri, and began the practice of his profession there. In 1833 he removed still farther west, to the village of Liberty, in Clay County, on the then verge of civilization, and there he continued to reside for thirty years, quickly winning for himself a foremost place among the lawyers of Missouri, by his eloquence, his forensic ability, and his exalted character.

These qualities, enhanced as they were by a singular charm of manner, made him very popular wherever he was known, and the pathway to political distinction and power lay temptingly before him; but office-holding had no attraction for Doniphan; the dull routine of legislation was always unspeakably irksome to him, and the devious ways of politicians he abhorred. It was, therefore, only during the exciting presidential canvass of 1836, and when the political storm of 1840 was sweeping over the country, and once again in the baleful year of 1854, when the borderland of Missouri was agitated by the passions provoked by the fierce conflict then waging between freedom and slavery for the possession of Kansas and the control of the Union—that bloody prelude to the War of the Rebellion—that he ever consented to be a candidate before the people for a political office. On each of these occasions he was chosen, almost without opposition, to represent the people of Clay County in the General Assembly of Missouri.

When Doniphan first went to Liberty, and for many years afterward, the neighboring post, Ft. Leavenworth, was an important military station, occupied by a considerable body of troops, whose officers were wont to make frequent visits to the hospitable homes of Clay County. Among these officers were Riley, Kearny, and Albert Sidney Johnston, with all of whom Doniphan formed friendly relations; and it is, perhaps, to this fact, that he owed the early development of that martial disposition, which afterwards made him so conspicuous a figure in the war with Mexico.

Men were indeed quick to recognize his soldierly qualities, and he was already a brigadier-general in command of the 1st brigade of the State militia, when, in 1838, the Governor of Missouri ordered out the militia of the western counties to drive the Mormons out of the State. In obedience to these orders, Doniphan marched with a part of his brigade to Far West, where the main body of the Mormons lay encamped under the command of Joe Smith, in person. The Mormon Prophet, seeing that resistance would be useless, acceded to Doniphan's terms,

which were that the Mormons should give up their arms, surrender their leaders for trial, and quit the State forever.

How ruthlessly these terms were enforced ; with what wanton cruelty the unhappy outcasts were driven from the land which they had subdued by their labors and made fruitful by their toil, and what terrible scenes were enacted, Missourians blush to relate. In none of this shameful work, however, did Doniphan take part, but soldier-like he used all his influence as a man, and all his skill as a lawyer, to protect not only the misguided followers of the Prophet, but the Prophet himself, whose counsel he was, from the fury of foes whose religious zeal and virtuous indignation were greatly intensified by a very human desire to possess themselves without cost of the cultivated fields, with which the hard-working Mormons had gardened the prairie wilderness of Western Missouri.

When, in 1846, war with Mexico was brought on by the annexation of Texas, the President of the United States at once decided, with statesmanlike prevision, to send into Northern Mexico a force competent to conquer and hold all that part of the Republic, while three armies under Wool, Taylor and Scott, were to approach the City of Mexico by converging lines, and there dictate the terms of peace.

To carry this decision into effect, the President called upon Missouri for volunteers, to rendezvous at Ft. Leavenworth, where Col. Stephen W. Kearny, who was already there with six companies of his regiment (the 1st Dragoons), would organize, and take command of the expedition.

The hardy and adventurous young men of the Missouri frontier responded so eagerly to their country's call, that within barely a month (on the 18th of June, 1846) the 1st Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers was organized at Ft. Leavenworth, with Doniphan as its colonel.

This regiment, together with two companies of Missouri Infantry, one company of Missouri Rangers, a battalion of Missouri Artillery, and six troops of United States Dragoons, aggregating 1,658 men, constituted "The Army of the West," under command of Col. Stephen W. Kearny, U. S. Army.

Orders to move were given without delay, and on the 26th of June the army took up its line of march. For nearly 900 miles it moved under a summer sun, first through a treeless desert, and then over lofty mountain ranges, and then dispersing the troops that had been gathered for the defence of Santa Fé, entered that ancient city and took peaceable possession of all New Mexico.

On the 25th of September, Gen. Kearny, having turned over the command of the U. S. forces in New Mexico to Col. Doniphan, himself set out for California with several companies of his dragoons. Before leaving, however, he ordered Doniphan, at the urgent request of the latter, to move with his own regiment, and such other troops as could be spared from New Mexico, to the city of Chihuahua, and report there to Gen. Wool, as soon as Col. Sterling Price, then on the march to New Mexico with another regiment of Missourians, should reach Santa Fé and relieve him (Doniphan).

Price reached Santa Fé early in October, but the movement to Chihuahua had been, meanwhile, unexpectedly delayed. For Gen. Kearny, having learned on his way to California that the Navajos (a warlike tribe on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains) were committing grievous depredations on the Mexican settlements in their vicinity, had sent back orders to Doniphan to reduce these savages to submission before moving southward.

As winter was fast approaching, Doniphan set out at once with a part of his regiment for the Navajo country. His line of march lay over an unknown and trackless mountain range, deep covered with snow. His men had neither winter clothing nor sufficient food; his horses and mules, ill-fed and unused to the hardships of such a march, gave out by the way, and half of them perished. But, in spite of all these difficulties, he accomplished successfully the object of the expedition, and returning to the valley of the Rio Grande, hastened the preparations for the march toward Central Mexico, where dangers were to be sought and honors to be won.

By the 12th of December his force was all concentrated at Valverde, and on the 14th it began its memorable march. It consisted of Doniphan's regiment, and one hundred and three men of Price's regiment; and was subsequently re-enforced by two batteries—125 men with ten pieces of artillery.

They had to pass, almost at the very outset, through a dreary desert, throughout whose dreadful length of ninety miles, neither wood nor water was to be found. The weather, too, was bitter cold, and the men suffered terribly from hunger, thirst and frost. But fatigue and suffering were alike forgotten when, as the little column was about going into camp on Christmas Day, the cry ran through their ranks that the enemy was advancing.

Doniphan quickly formed his line of battle, and awaited the attack. At this moment a Mexican officer, bearing a black flag, approached and summoned him to appear instantly before the Mexican General. "If you do not obey this order without delay," said he, "we will charge forthwith and give no quarter." "Charge and be damned," was Doniphan's prompt response.

In a few minutes the enemy advanced, opening fire when within four hundred yards of the Missourians. Doniphan had ordered his men to lie down and reserve their fire till the Mexicans were within sixty paces. The latter had already delivered four volleys, when the Missourians rose with a yell, and poured a deadly fire into their ranks. In thirty minutes the Mexicans were put to flight, leaving sixty-three dead upon the field, and one hundred and fifty wounded. Not a single Missourian was killed. Seven were wounded.

In this battle of the Bracito (so called after the name of the stream on whose banks it was fought), about five hundred Missourians were engaged, the rest of them not reaching the field till the enemy had fled. The Mexicans were about twelve hundred strong, a part of them regulars.

This victory so completely demoralized the Mexicans that they made no further

opposition to the American advance, and on the 27th of December Doniphan entered El Paso.

The Missourians were now far in the enemy's country, three hundred and fifty miles from Santa Fé, and more than twelve hundred from Ft. Leavenworth. Chihuahua was still two hundred and fifty distant, and between them and that city lay a wild and desolate region, through whose arid deserts and precipitous cañons they would have to toil, only to confront a greater danger, when upon emerging from them they would find themselves, all of a sudden, in the midst of a rich and populous country, where an army, many times more numerous, was already gathering to meet and drive them back into the desert, or utterly destroy them.

Little, however, did Doniphan or his men fear dangers, or difficulties of any kind. He had been ordered to Chihuahua, and he meant to go there, despite the fact that he had now learned that Gen. Wool, to whom he had been ordered to report at that city, had turned southward with his army to reinforce Taylor, against whom Santa Anna was marching with an overwhelming force. If Wool was not in Chihuahua, Chihuahua was nevertheless on the way to the spot where fighting was to be done, and that was the spot which Doniphan and his Missourians were eager to reach.

He therefore hastened to make ready for an advance, while waiting for the artillery which Price had been ordered to push forward to him. On the 8th of February (1847) everything was in readiness, and on that day the Missourians—954 officers and men—moved out of El Paso. On the 14th they entered a sandy desert through which they toiled sixty-five miles without finding a drop of water. A few days later they encountered another desert forty-five miles wide. Their sufferings were terrible, and many of their horses and mules and oxen died of exhaustion.

But all these difficulties were finally overcome, and on the 25th of February the little army saw before it the fertile fields in the midst of which the city of Chihuahua rose. After two days' rest it again advanced, but on Sunday (the 28th of February, 1847) Doniphan found himself, when within seventeen miles of the city, confronted by a largely superior force strongly posted and entrenched at the Pass of the Sacramento.

He attacked without delay, and, after three hours of the hardest fighting, routed the Mexicans completely. In this battle nine hundred and twenty-four Missourians whipped over four thousand Mexicans. The latter left three hundred and four dead upon the field, while their wounded amounted to nearly five hundred. They also lost all of their artillery and many wagons and large supplies of ammunition and subsistence. Only one Missourian was killed, and only eleven were wounded.

This brilliant victory of the Sacramento laid the whole State of Chihuahua at the feet of the conqueror, and on the next day (March 1, 1847) Doniphan entered and took possession of its capital, an opulent city with 30,000 inhabitants.

Here he was compelled to halt till he could obtain orders from Gen. Wool, to

whom he had been directed to report. To find that officer was his first duty. He accordingly dispatched fourteen volunteers, hardy and fearless men, in quest of Gen. Wool. They left at once, and on the 2d of April found him at Saltillo, nearly seven hundred miles away. Wool ordered them to report to Gen. Taylor, and get their instructions from him. Taylor sent them back to Doniphan with orders to him to march forthwith to Saltillo. These orders Doniphan received on the 23d of April, and on the 25th the Missourians were on the march to Saltillo. On the 21st of May they bivouacked near the battle-field of Buena Vista, and were reviewed the next day by Gen. Wool.

Col. Doniphan reported straightway to Gen. Taylor, and said that, though the term of service of his men was about to expire, they greatly desired to serve under his command, and were ready to march anywhere that he might send them, no matter how arduous the duty, or how distant the field of operations.

Unfortunately for the Missourians' hopes of glory, Taylor's campaign was at an end, and there was nothing for his army to do but to hold the unresisting country which it had conquered, while awaiting the result of Scott's advance upon the City of Mexico. Gen. Taylor, therefore, ordered Doniphan to march his command to Brazos Santiago, where it would take shipping for New Orleans. There the Missourians were paid off, and honorably mustered out of the service, and thence they returned to their homes.

At St. Louis they were given a public reception, on which occasion Missouri's great Senator, Col. Benton, welcomed them back to the State in an eloquent speech, wherein, after recounting the chief incidents of their marvelous march, he said :

"You arrive here to-day, absent one year, marching and fighting all the time, bringing trophies of cannon and standards from fields whose very names were unknown to you when you set out. Nobly and manfully have you made one of the most remarkable expeditions in history, worthy to be studied by statesmen, and showing what volunteer soldiers can do—for the crowning glory is that you were all volunteers, not a regular officer among you. If there had been one, with power to control you, you could never have done what you did."

Even Benton, far-sighted as he was, did not then perceive that this conquest of New Mexico was about to add to the territory of the Union over 500,000 square miles of soil, embracing all of California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, and a part of Colorado, with their countless treasures of gold and silver.

Laying aside his sword, Doniphan returned to Liberty, and resumed the practice of law. Though often urged to take an active part in politics, he still shunned the cares of office, preferring the serene happiness of a home made dear to him by the presence of a wife to whom he was fondly attached, and of the two bright boys that had been born to them, to all the glittering baubles which ambition bestows on her devotees.

Twice only has the gravity of public events drawn him out of his seclusion: once, as has been told, in 1854, when the struggle for Kansas was kindling the

flames of civil war, and again in 1861 when these flames were about to sweep over and desolate Missouri.

No man in the States strove more earnestly than he to avert that great calamity, and in the Peace Convention at Washington (to which he was sent by the General Assembly as one of the Missouri Commissioners) he labored with such zeal and eloquence and power as to command the respect and admiration of even that grave body of statesmen and patriots.

From that convention he returned to Missouri satisfied that war was inevitable. When it came, he retired to his home, unwilling to take part in the horrible strife, and awaited the result in the deepest sorrow.

He still lives (1884) in Western Missouri, a stately, manly figure, loved and honored by all who know him, for his vigorous intellect, his eloquence, his flashing wit, and genial humor, his splendid courage and kindly heart, his charming manners and his blameless life.

THOMAS L. SNEAD

A MEMENTO OF LEWIS AND CLARK'S EXPEDITION

[The following advertisement by Charles Wilson Peale, appeared in the *United States Gazette*, printed at Philadelphia.]

Donation to Peale's Museum, in the State House, March 1st, 1809. Part of the articles collected by Messrs. Lewis & Clark, viz. a complete dress of the Soux Indians, chiefly composed of crow skins, singularly ornamented, one of the leggings belonging to this, is ornamented with stripes, indicating the number of scalps taken by the wearer. Hat, made by a Carsop woman near the Pacifick Ocean. Leggings, worn by the Pallotepallers, residing on Lewis's River, west of the rocky mountain—Cap, such as are worn by the women on the plains of Columbia. A curious Indian Pot, found in digging a well, at the Great Saline, near St. Gennevive, about seventeen feet below the surface of the earth. A large Buffaloe Mantle, worn by the Soux Indians—a smaller one, worn by the Crow Indians. Two very handsome Tobacco Pouches, made of otter skins, ornamented with porcupine quills, &c. of the Soux tribe. Another from the Ioway's. Do. from the Foxes. A handsome belt, from the Winnebago's. A great variety of Wampum, some of which indicating peace or war—the choice of either—desire of retaliation for injuries received—a desire of accommodation, &c. Tobacco Pouch, of otter skin, sent to the party by the Socks. Moccasins, worn by the Otoe's. A piece of white Buffaloe's skin, from the Missouri. A great quantity of Arrows from the different tribes of Soux. A handsome Soux Garter. Two ornaments, worn round the neck, by the natives of the plains of Columbia. Amulets taken from the shields of the Blackfoot nation of Indians, and others, presented to the party by themselves. Roots, such as are

eaten by the inhabitants of Columbia Plains, and some bread made with them. The first were received the 24th of June, 1806, Neeshneparcooh, the great chief of the Portolapallers, as an emblem of the poverty of his nation, which he described in a very pathetick manner. A Bag made of grass, by the Pishquillpahs's, on the Columbia river; another used as a Water Cup, of the same materials. A Cap of the same. A Spanish Dollar received from the Pallotepaller's, a nation inhabiting Lewis's river, who had never previously seen white men. Stone spear-points from the natives inhabiting the rocky mountains. Two silver medals of George the Third, received from the Foxe's, and one from the Sooks or Saukeys. A variety of Pipes, or Calumets, from the following nations: four from the Souxs, of the following tribes, Yankton, Peton, 1200 miles up the Missouri, Sharone, 1400 miles, and Dacoto's; one from the Puount, called Winebagou's—one of the Fox nation—three from the Saukes—two from the Ioways—one presented by White Pigeon—one made by the Soux, besides a number of other articles, sent at various times by them and some minerals, &c.

All the above presented by Gov. Meriweather Lewis, and Gen. William Clark.

PETERSFIELD

THE TORY POSTMASTER OF THE REVOLUTION

A short time prior to the dismissal of Dr. Franklin from the Colonial Postmaster-Generalship, while he was in England, in the winter of 1772-1773, Hugh Finlay, an Englishman, was sent to this country by the Right Honorable Henry Frederick Thynne, His Majesty's Postmaster-General, to inspect the American post-offices, and report to the English Government on their condition. This movement appears to have been without the knowledge of Dr. Franklin, and was undoubtedly the preliminary step toward his removal from office, as the inspector himself soon received the appointment as Franklin's successor. The journal of Inspector Finlay during his travels through the colonies sharply criticises the conduct of Post-office affairs, and reflects constantly and seriously upon the management of Franklin, whose displacement, January 31, 1774, created intense excitement throughout America. The patriotic colonists regarded the act with dismay, predicting that if "creatures of the ministry" were to be made the postmasters of this country, there would be no longer any safety in trusting letters to the mails. Private arrangements were at once entered into for carrying letters, and continued until the Continental Congress took action in the matter, in 1775. It is interesting to note that from the hour of Dr. Franklin's dismissal, the American Post-office never again contributed a farthing to the British Treasury.

Hugh Finlay remained in the Postmastership, nominally, until 1782, and probably until the establishment of peace, although he was powerless to conduct postal affairs outside the British lines. His journal describes his visit to Canada in the summer of 1773, and his return by way of New Hampshire to Boston, and thence

to New York in the autumn of same year. October 26th, he was at Providence, and says : " The post route now crosses five ferries between Naragansett and Providence (two of them dangerous in winter)." At New London, 7th of November, he says : " the road is one continued bed of rocks, and very hilly." November 11th, he says : " Finding it would be convenient to have an hour's conversation with the Western rider, I set out for Saybrook, and arrived there about two o'clock. I found the road pretty good from the rope-ferry, where I found old Herd (Hurd), the Western rider, waiting Mumford's arrival ; he had been here three hours ; it is very uncustomary for the riders to be detained at this season, but I conclude he finds it impossible to pass at the Rhode Island ferries, from high contrary winds. This man Herd (Hurd), at 72, is strong and robust ; he has been in the service forty-six years ; he pretends that he makes nothing by it, and says ' he will give it up—that at present he only rides for his health's sake, which induces him to keep it.' It is well known that he has made an estate by his riding, and, it is said, in the following way : Way-letters he makes his own perquisite, or rather, he has done so in former times. At present each office checks him a little. He does much business on the road on commission ; he is a publick carrier, and loads his horse with merchandise for people living in his route ; he receives cash and carry's money backwards and forwards, takes care of return'd horses, and in short refuses no business however it may affect his speed as post."

At New Haven, Finlay writes : " It is a large flourishing Sea Port Town. Went to the Post-Office (Christopher Kilby, postmaster). Examined his books : questioned him and found that he understands his business thoroughly ; he laments that he cannot put the Acts of Parliament in force. * * * He complains much of the Post riders ; says they come loaded with bundles, packages, boxes, canisters, &c—every package has a letter affixed to it, which the rider claims as his own property and perquisite : nay sometimes a small bundle of chips, straw or old paper accompanying a seal'd packet or large letter, and the riders insist that such letters are exempted from postage. The riders have told Mr. Kilby that the Devil might ride for them if these way letters and packets were to be taken from them. In short they come so loaded that it is impossible for them to come in time. The Portmanteaus seldom come locked : the consequence is that the riders stuff them with bundles of shoes, stockings, canisters, money or anything they get to carry, which tears the Portmanteaus, and rubs the letters to pieces—this should be prevented by locking the mails."—*Journal kept by Hugh Finlay.*

SIGNATURES TO THE PEACE TREATY OF 1764










THE SENECA WITH SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

General Gage, writing from New York to the Earl of Halifax, on the 14th of April, 1764, said : " Since closing the Mail, I have received letters from Sir Will-

liam Johnson to acquaint me that the Chenusios and many Senecas had been with him several days, and after considering the terms of Peace demanded, they had at length agreed to them beyond his expectation. For his Majesty's particular information, I transmit your lordship herewith a copy of these 'Preliminary Articles,' forwarded to me by Sir W'm Johnson, who also adds, that they show an apparent eagerness, as do all the rest of the Five Nations who were present, to go against our Enemies."—*New York Col. Doc.* VII. 621-623.

The accompanying fac-simile of the signatures to these "Preliminary Articles of Peace, Friendship and Alliance" between the Senecas and Sir William Johnson, which were forwarded to the Earl of Halifax by General Gage, as stated in the

*Given under my Hand at Johnson Hall, the third
Day of April 1764*

<i>Jagomadie</i> <i>Kaanijes</i> <i>Chonedagaw</i> <i>Aughnawawis</i>	   	<i>Sayenqueraghta</i> <i>Wanughorisaie</i> <i>Jaganoondie</i> <i>Tanyagua</i>	   	
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above letter, has recently been traced for the first time from the original document now in the British office at London, and through the courtesy of General C. W. Darling, of the Oneida Historical Society, is presented to the readers of the Magazine. It is of special interest in connection with subsequent events, some of which are revealed through the letter of Hon. James Duane to Governor Clinton, published in the Department of Original Documents.

THE SWEETS OF HISTORICAL STUDY

The search for knowledge is in itself compensating. The way to almost every other good is simply troublesome, and the recompense in the end. But study is a joy from the beginning, onward and forever. With what genuine delight the scholar turns every new leaf! What variety and wealth and freshness ever waiting to be garnered. Other artisans do but practice on what they have learned, running in the same groove to weariness. The scholar continues to find that which is fresh and attractive. Other labors require recreation; the labors of the scholar are his perfect recreation.

There is no one subject at the present time eliciting more universal attention

than that of history. It is commonly defined the sum of human events, and yet it is much more. It lies at the root of all science, and is the first distinct product of man's spiritual nature, his earliest expression of what is called thought. There has never been a nation or tribe so rude that it has not attempted history in some form, even though it had not arithmetic enough to count time. History has been engraved on stone, wrought into wood and ivory, manufactured from clay, built into pyramids and palaces, written with quipo-threads, with feather pictures, and with wampum belts, and preserved in earth mounds, and in monumental stone-heaps. The talent for history is the birthright of all. It is, indeed, our chief inheritance. In a certain sense every individual is a historian. Our very speech is curiously historical. How few persons we meet as we pass along the journey of life who in talking do not narrate? It is not that they necessarily impart what they have had in their minds, but they disclose what they have experienced or seen, which is no small nor trifling matter. Deprived of the story, how soon the stream of conversation begins to languish, even among the wisest! We are all constantly enacting history. In our every-day language we recite history. Our intellects are stored with history. For, strictly speaking, all knowledge is recorded experience. Memory is but the treasury house of annals.

Study, and especially historical study, opens to us a thousand avenues of pastime and of happiness. If we would climb to an enviable place in scholarship, persistence, the twin companion of study, will assist materially in the achievement. The clouds shed not their rain in floods but in drops; we are never rich, or great, or learned all at once, though gently and by successive steps the most dizzy heights may be reached. Study may be made the whole business of a life; or a part of each day may be assigned to the sweet pleasure. Three hundred and sixty-five hours in a year devoted to the accumulation of historical knowledge could not fail to bring with it bountiful results. It is a notable fact that the heaviest or severest subjects of thought are the least exhausting to the thinker. This may be a singular paradox, but it is established through the philosophy of mind and the experience of every true learner. Mathematicians, theologians, and metaphysicians, as well as historians, have, as a rule, been able to endure more unrelenting and protracted labor, with less harmful results, than poets and novelists. Isaac Newton could spend twice as many hours of the day, for months in succession, in the profoundest problems of pure mathematics as Walter Scott could give to the composition of what is called light reading. One of our modern historians has been known to devote to close study and composition from ten to twelve hours per day on an average for eighteen months in succession, and suffer no injury whatever. Many great students have been accustomed when fatigued with the labor of deep reaches, or exhausted by a continuous train of thought on any one subject, to relax the mind with geometrical problems.

The study of history is absorbing; it comforts the lonely, it is a safeguard against lassitude, it drowns grief. For the young men and women in our schools

and colleges its usefulness can never be over-estimated or its practical results adequately measured. Dr. Franklin traced his successful career to Cotton Mather's essays, which fell into his hands when a boy. Cicero tells us how his eloquence caught inspiration from a constant study of the Latin and Grecian poetry. Pompey never undertook any considerable enterprise without concentrating his thoughts upon the character of Achilles in the first Iliad ; although he acknowledged that the enthusiasm he caught came rather from the poet than the hero. Bossuet, before composing a funeral oration, always retired for several days to his study and pored over the pages of Homer. Cobbett, at eleven, bought Swift's Tale of a Tub, and it produced what he called "a birth of intellect." An odd volume of Racine, picked up at a stall on the quay, made a poet of Toulon. Original thinkers are the most ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to history, and to the wisdom which has been hived in books through all decades of the past. The sensation of well-directed study—particularly that of history—is in almost every instance one of rapture. And this rapture or enthusiasm is within the reach of every one who acquires the taste, and will cultivate continuity of attention and the art of reading for the best possible results. We have been truly told "The greatest genius is he who consumes the most knowledge and converts it into mind."

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS*

III

(Continued from page 99, vol. xiii.)

COWBOY.—Now applied exclusively to western herdsmen, but originally to the Tory partisans of Westchester County, New York, during the Revolution, and in 1861 to semi-secessionists in New England.

CRAWFISH.—To retire, gracefully or otherwise, to "back out." Evidently derived from the habit of the crawfish, which, when attacked on land, walks backward, with its biting claws raised before it for defense.

CRÉDIT MOBILIER.—The name by which "The Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency" was popularly known. This corporation was in brief a construction company for the Union Pacific Railroad. Banks of *Crédit Mobilier* in France are designed to aid all industrial enterprises, hence the adoption of the phrase in the present case. The scandal with which it is connected in this country occurred during the 42d Congress, and several members of the House were charged with having been improperly influenced by representatives of the company. Except in the cases of two (both of whom died within three months after the vote of censure was passed upon them), the charges were not sustained by the House.

CROW.—"To eat crow" means to recant, or to humiliate oneself. To "eat dirt" is nearly equivalent. The story from which the phrase is drawn recites that an American who crossed the Niagara River to shoot on an Englishman's land, was caught by the proprietor just after he had shot a crow, and was compelled on peril of his life to eat the bird. "I kin eat crow, but I don't hanker arter it," was his comment when twitted about the occurrence afterward.

DEMOCRATS.—Democratic-Republican is the full official designation of this great party. It was by a suggestive coincidence, originally, and until 1828-30, known as the Republican Party,

but affiliating at that time with the Democratic faction it assumed the compound title which it still claims. The party overthrew the Federalists in 1800, electing Jefferson to the Presidency, and remained in power until 1848, when it was defeated by the Whigs and Free-Soilers. (See Republicans.)

DIRT.—"To eat dirt" is to retract or "eat humble pie."

ELECTORAL COMMISSION.—In order to decide between disputed election returns sent from Florida, Louisiana, Oregon and South Carolina, during the Presidential campaign of 1876, a special tribunal was created by Congress, January 29th, 1877, under the above title. As appointed by Congress, it consisted of four Justices of the Supreme Court (2 Republicans and 2 Democrats), five Senators (3 Rep., 2 Dem.), and five Representatives (2 Reps., 3 Dem.). The four Justices were directed to select a fifth, whose district was specified, though he was not named. The Hon. David Davis, of Illinois, would, in the natural order, have been chosen, and upon his vote in the commission the Democrats confidently counted. Just as the commission was organized, however (January 25th, 1877), Judge Davis was elected to the United States Senate, and thereby disqualified from serving on the Commission. The eligible Justices were all Republicans, and the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley was chosen. Upon him, therefore, fell the weighty responsibility of the casting-vote on matters which the National Congress had confessed itself unable to decide, and which threatened to precipitate a civil war. It is impracticable here to give a detailed account of what followed. A good summary will be found in "Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science," and the proceedings are published in full in the "Congressional Record," Part IV., Vol. V., 1877. In brief, the

* Copyright by Charles Ledyard Norton, 1885.

Commission decided that it could not go behind the Governor's certificate in the cases submitted. This rule of procedure was so worded, however, that a majority (Republican) of the commissioners held that in the case of Oregon, where the Governor had certified *incorrectly*, it (the Commission) was competent to correct the certificate in accordance with the laws of the State. This ruling gave Mr. Hayes, the Republican candidate for the Presidency, a majority of one vote in the Electoral College (see Electors), he receiving 185, while Mr. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, received 184.

ELECTORS.—The President is not chosen by a direct vote of the people. The voters of each State choose as many "electors" as the State has representatives in both Houses of Congress. These meet and vote for President and Vice-President under certain constitutional restrictions. Collectively, these electors are known as "the Electoral College," though this term is not recognized as an official designation in the Constitution, and was not used even informally until about 1821. Many of the clearest-headed statesmen now living believe that a direct vote would more fairly represent the popular will.

FAVORITE SON.—This phrase became so common, used in reference to local or State politicians that the *Nation* at last made it the text for an editorial article so severely satirical that "favorite sons" have not been so numerous since its publication.

FEDERALISTS.—The Federalists grew out of a wing of the colonial Whig party which advocated a concentration of power in a general government. Alexander Hamilton and James Madison and John Jay were among its leaders, and jointly wrote a once famous series of essays, which were published in the "Federalist" over the common *nom de plume* of "Publius." Washington was the acknowledged head of the party, and its power was not broken until the Presidential election of 1800, when Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were elected by the then Republicans, defeating the Federalist candidates, John Adams and C. C. Pinckney. By 1820 the party may be said to have been practically out of the political race, though its traditions were proudly cherished for many years afterwards. Its membership mostly fell

back upon the name of "Whig" (*q. v.*) for a party designation. During the civil war the Union troops were sometimes called "Federalists."

FENCE.—To be "on the fence" in politics is to be neutral as regards the opposing parties.

F. F. Vs.—A satirical abbreviation of "First Families of Virginia," and applied generally to what was known as the Southern aristocracy. The abbreviation was of Northern origin.

FIFTY-FOUR-FORTY OR FIGHT.—An alliterative rallying cry which had a great run in 1824, when the location of the Northwestern boundary was in dispute with Great Britain. On the strength of a former treaty with Russia, it was held that our northwestern territory should extend to the parallel of 54° 40', but a compromise was effected in 1846, by the extension of the 49th parallel to Puget Sound.

FILIBUSTER.—To obstruct legislative action by calling for the yeas and nays, and the like, in order to gain time. The original is the Spanish word *filiboti*, a pirate, and the parliamentary meaning implies a disposition to override regular rules. Filibustering is usually practiced by the minority in order to tire out the majority.

FIRE-EATER.—A bitter Southern partisan. It came into use during the early anti-slavery days, and is of frequent occurrence in the journals of that time. It is equivalent to Bourbon (*q. v.*), but probably of earlier origin.

FREE SOILERS.—The party began to show strength in 1848, with the avowed purpose of restricting slavery to its then existing limits. It was preceded and grew out of the "Liberty Party," which never developed much strength, and in 1853 was merged in the Republican party.

FUSS AND FEATHERS.—An army nickname of General Winfield Scott, subsequently applied to him by his political opponents when he ran for the presidency in 1852.

GERRYMANDER.—"To gerrymander" a State is to arrange its political subdivisions so that in an election one party shall have an advantage over another. The term is derived from the name of Governor Gerry of Massachusetts, who in 1811 signed a bill readjusting the representative districts so as to favor the Democrats and weaken the Federalists, although the last named

party polled nearly two-thirds of the votes cast. A fancied resemblance of a map of the districts thus treated led Stuart, the painter, to add a few lines with his pencil, and say to Mr. Russell, editor of the *Boston Sentinel*, "That will do for a Salamander." Russell glanced at it: "Salamander?" said he, "Call it a Gerry-mander!" The epithet took at once and became a Federalist war cry, the map caricature being published as a campaign document. It is worthy of note that the word recently found its way into English journalism, but of course the American spelling was not to be accepted, and it appeared as "Jerrimander." The *Spectator* of August 16, 1884, however, made the correction, but did not tell the story as above.

"GIVE 'EM JESSIE."—A party war cry current in the Presidential campaign of 1856. Fremont, the Republican candidate, had fifteen years before made a runaway match with Jessie, daughter of Thomas H. Benton, and the popular favor with which runaway matches are apt to be regarded was made much of in this case, the lady's name being freely used in song and story by her husband's political supporters.

GOLDEN CIRCLE, KNIGHTS OF.—An organization formed among "Copperheads" (*q. v.*) at the North during the Civil War, to aid in the rescue of Confederate prisoners held by the United States. Also one of the alleged names of the Ku Klux Klan.

GRANGERS.—"The Patrons of Husbandry." A secret society, nominally non-political, but really taking a hand in politics when occasion offers to favor agricultural interests. It is numerically strong and extends throughout the United States.

GREENBACK.—The term was at first applied to the issues of United States notes which bore on the reverse side a device printed in green ink to prevent counterfeiting by photography. The Greenback Labor Party is one which advocates a currency based in general terms upon the National credit and authority without the security of a specie reserve.

HALF-BREED.—Originally in its political sense a derisive nickname applied to certain Republicans of New York, who wavered in their party allegiance during the fight over the United States Senatorship in 1881.

HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN.—See Tippecanoe, etc.

HARDS.—"Hards" and "softs," or "hard shells" and "soft shells," are terms which are freely used in a variety of political connections, but the earliest conspicuous instance was in 1854, when the Hunkers took the name of "Hards," and their opponents, the "Barnburners," that of "Softs." Originally sects of the Baptist denomination were termed "hard shells" and "soft shells," by their unregenerate critics, the simile being drawn from the crab in its different states of existence.

HARRY OF THE WEST.—Henry Clay.

HAY-WARD, or "Hay-warden," a township officer whose duty it is to impound stray cattle and feed them until they are redeemed by their owners. The word undoubtedly came over with the early colonists, since it is found in old English records, and is allied to "hedge-ward," "fence-ward," etc. It sometimes occurs as "ha-ward." An absurd derivation has obtained some currency to the effect that this official gets his title from driving the cattle *hayward*, *i. e.*, in the direction of hay.

HEELERS.—The followers or henchmen of a politician or of a party. The term always carries a contemptuous significance. See "Boys."

HIGH M'NDED FEDERALISTS.—A derisive term applied in 1820 to a few Federalists who supported Gov. Clinton, and were laughed at for their frequent use of the phrase "high-minded."

HUNKERS, or Old Hunkers, derived from the Dutch *honn* (home). A local political term originating in New York in 1844 to designate the Conservative Democrats as opposed to the Young Democracy or "Barnburners" (*q. v.*)

HICKORY.—The hickory was adopted as the emblematic tree of the Democratic party during the Jackson campaign of 1828. Jackson's military and political nickname was "Old Hickory" (*q. v.*), and for many years no flag-pole was recognized as truly Democratic unless it was of hickory.

KEARNYITES.—Followers of one Dennis Kearny, a Communist, who a few years since commanded quite a strong faction among discontented working men. For a time he made his headquarters in what were known as the "Sand Lots," near San Francisco.

KICKER.—One who revolts against party discipline—kicks over the traces, as it were.

KNOW NOTHINGS.—A secondary phase of the "American Party" (*q. v.*), organized in New York in 1853, by E. Z. C. Judson, better known as "Ned Buntline." Members of the party answered all questions concerning it with the response, "I don't know," whence the popular name. The secret name is said to have been "The Sons of '76." The cardinal principle of the society was that "Americans must rule America." After some notable successes at the polls, the society went to pieces, owing to the extreme measures proposed by its leaders. These declared war to the hilt against Roman Catholics, advocated the repeal of all naturalization laws, and reserved all offices for native-born Americans. It did not altogether disappear from national politics until 1860. A curious local meaning is found in Massachusetts, where the crossing of two railroads at grade is termed a "Know Nothing." The name was applied in consequence of a railroad accident which occurred just before the election of Gov. Gardner, in 1854. He was the Know Nothing candidate, and his first official act was to secure the passage of a law requiring all trains to stop before reaching such a crossing.

KU KLUX KLAN.—A secret association of Southerners formed shortly after the war. It was otherwise known as "The Invisible Empire," as "The Knights of the White Camellia," "Of the Golden Circle," and a score of other names. It is said on good authority (See *Century Magazine*, July, 1884) to have been originally organized by a few young men for amusement during the period of stagnation after the close of hostilities. It soon, however, outgrew the design of its founders, branches being established all over the South, and its political influence becoming almost absolute. That it was directly and indirectly chargeable with outrages against settlers from the North, and against negroes, is not to be denied, but it is also believed

that it was largely instrumental in preserving order during a period when lawlessness was rife at the South. The name was an alliterative corruption of the Greek *κυκλος* (a circle), the "Klan" being added to enhance the strange jingle of consonants. The Southern negroes, who lived in mortal terror of the "Klan," believed that the name was associated with certain audible "clucks," by means of which signals were supposed to be interchanged during midnight raids. The Ku Klux Klan was founded in June, 1866, and it was nominally disbanded by its presiding "Grand Wizard" in February, 1869. Ku Klux raids were common, however, for several years after that date.

LIBERAL.—This term acquired its recent significance from a movement headed by Carl Schurz in Missouri, in 1870, and resulting in a division of the local Republicans into "Liberals" and "Radicals," the latter being equivalent to "Stalwart" as more recently used. It is also used in combination with other party names.

LEWISITES.—A local New York term applied to the supporters of Morgan Lewis, who was governor in 1804. It was the "swell" party of the day.

LOBBY.—Lobbyists are persons who frequent the approaches to legislative halls and seek to influence legislation by "lobbying," which may mean mere argument or absolute bribery. The lobby is also called the "Third House."

LITTLE GIANT.—A nickname for Stephen A. Douglas, who was small of stature, but of great intellect. When he was nominated for the Presidency in 1859, campaign clubs, calling themselves "Little Giant," were organized and uniformed after the manner of the "Wideawakes." (*q. v.*)

LITTLE MAC.—The army nickname of General George B. McClelland. It became conspicuous politically when he was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1864.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON

(To be continued.)

NOTES

THE BOSTON POST-OFFICE—This is to give Notice, that when the Street Door is shut, and no Light Candle and Lanthorn is seen hanging up in the Post-office Entry at Boston on the Post nights coming in : Then all persons concerned may be assured without knocking or inquiring, that there is no Post yet come in ; and before Candle lighting if no Post be come in ; The same is to be seen on a little Board hanging out at the Post-Office Window. *The Boston News Letter*, March 22, 1708

W. K.

EARLY STAGE TRAVELING.



Philadelphia STAGE-WAGGON, and New-York STAGE BOAT performs their Stages twice a Week
JOHN BUTLER, with his wagon, sets out on Mondays from his House, at the Sign of the Death of the Fox, in Strawberry ally, and drives the same day to Trenton Ferry, when Francis Holman meets him, and proceeds on Tuesday to Brunswick, and the passengers and goods being shifted into the waggon of Isaac Fitzrandolph, he takes them to the New Blazing-Star to Jacob Fitzrandolph's the same day, where Robin Fitzrandolph, with a boat well fitted, will receive them, and take them to New-York that night. John Butler returning to Philadelphia on Tuesday with the passengers and goods delivered to him by Francis Holman, will again set out for Trenton Ferry on Thursday, and Francis Holman, &c. will carry his passengers and goods, with the same expedition as above to New-York. *Thed.*

[From the *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 24, 1759]

EARLY POST-RIDING—The *Pennsylvania Journal* of January 31, 1760, contains the following: "Notice is hereby given, that I, John Cisty, being employed by a number of Gentlemen, intend to ride as a Messenger between Baltimore-Town in Maryland, and Philadelphia, once a Fortnight during the Winter, and

once a Week in the Summer. Any Gentleman having letters to send then, by leaving them at the London Coffee House, may depend they shall be called for, by their humble servant,

John Cisty."

HAMBURG, N. J.

M. M. L.

THE HISTORICAL SLIPPER OF GOLD —The Earl of Carnarvon, late Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, recently sent to William L. Stone a tiny gold slipper that was worn by his great aunt, Lady Harriet Ackland, on her watch guard, while traveling with Burgoyne's army prior to his surrender at Saratoga. The note accompanying the gift, referring to Mr. Stone's memoir of Lady Ackland, said : "It is a matter of no uncommon pleasure to me to see my family history thus preserved and valued on the other side of the Atlantic. It renews a feeling that very often comes across me, that the identity and sympathies of race remain wholly untouched by a hundred years of separation—perhaps are all the stronger for the nominal differences. Last year when I was in America, I only felt that I was in another and distant part of England."


SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA—An advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of September 27, 1759, reads as follows: "Run away, about five weeks ago, from the subscriber, living in Elfrey's Alley, in this City; a servant Girl, named Elizabeth Friedrickon, about twelve years of Age. She had a scald Head, but lately cured. Had on a black quilted Petticoat, pieced at the Hips with blue stuff,

a coarse shift and is bare footed. Whoever takes up and secures said servant Girl, or brings her to her master, shall have fifty shillings Reward, and reasonable charges paid by Michael Milderberger.

N. B. The said Michael Milderberger and his wife is now lying in Goal, and can't get their Liberty till the Girl's return, the neighbours pretending that he and his wife hath murdered her."

HAMBURG, N. J. M. M. L.

SLAVES TO SELL
 Just imported and to be sold by
JOSEPH MARKS
*A Choice parcell of Negro
 boys and girls. Also unscrubbed sugar,
 and a parcell of fine cambricks, clear lawns,
 figured lawns, and Irish linnens. &c.*
 JH&C.



[*Pennsylvania Journal*, June 8, 1758.]

JUVENILE GIFT BOOKS IN COLONIAL DAYS—Garrat Noel, Bookseller, next Door to the Merchants Coffee House, has imported in the last Ships from London, a variety of Books, Paper, Cutlery, etc., etc. And what should not be forgot, a very large Parcel of Mr. Newberry's beautiful gilt Picture Books, for the Entertainment of his old Friends the pretty Masters and Misses of New York, at Christmas and New Year:—Amongst them they will find

The History of Giles Gingerbread, Esq.

The History of Goody Two Shoes.

Nurse Trueloves Christmas Box and New Years Gift.

The Easter, Whitsuntide, and Valentine Gifts.

The Fairing, or Golden Toy.

The Little Lottery Book.

Be Merry and Wise.

Master Tommy Trapwits Jests.

Poems for Children Six Feet High.

Royal Primmer, Royal Battledore, &c. &c. &c.

New York Journal, Dec. 20, 1766

PETERSFIELD

DRESS OF COLUMBUS—Almost all the pictures which represent Columbus, put him in a court dress, which he probably never saw, for it was not worn till long afterwards. A Spanish artist, Lizcano, in his meeting between Charles and Pizarro in 1529, given in a Spanish paper, and copied into the *New York Graphic* of September 13, 1881, shows a curious mistake. At that time Charles was only thirty years of age, while Pizarro was a man of more than fifty. The picture represents Charles as about sixty, and the other as about forty.

Charles was a Fleming by birth and education. He came to Spain with a retinue of Flemings, in scarlet, which struck the poor Spaniards, and in derision they called the tall red birds *Flamencos*, by which they are still known.

J. C. B.

JERSEY PEACHES—A Letter from the back part of Elizabeth Town, greatly laments the extreme Cold Weather of all last week, and particularly Monday night last was said to be the coldest that was ever known at this season. The ice in many places was a full inch thick; and the great Peach Orchard belonging to Mr. Miller of that Borough, consisting of upwards of 11,000 fine Trees, being then in full Bloom, were entirely blasted for this year, and above 100 pounds damage to its owner. And indeed it is thought the Peaches are universally gone this way. *New York Gazette*, April 24, 1769

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

CHARGE AGAINST MONTCALM — An article in the October number of the *Edinburgh Review*, 1884, entitled "Memorials of the Merivale Family," begins as follows: "Some account of a small volume of memorials of the Merivale family may, perhaps, not be uninteresting to a larger circle of readers than that of the relatives and friends to whom the record is addressed. The narrative, extending over nearly a century and a half, contains, like almost all similar compilations, many curious notices of events, of characters, and of manners. Perhaps not one among a hundred historians, annalists, and memoir writers, has mentioned a circumstance or rumor of which Mr. Samuel Merivale is reminded by 'the reviving news of the surrender of Quebec;' 'Montcalm's death gives me the more pleasure because he was, if I mistake not, the very Rogue that shot the poor boy that was driving him from Tavistock to Plymouth at the beginning of the war; for which crime he, by his greatness, evaded the deserved Punishment.' The story must have a foundation in fact, as the narrator lived at Tavistock, both at the date when the alleged outrage was committed, and at the date of the letter which contains the statement. Why Montcalm shot the post-boy is a subject of reasonable curiosity; but it would be still more interesting to learn whether such a crime could really be committed with impunity by a nobleman and an eminent military commander in the service of a power with which England was then at war. There was at least one precedent for the execution of a member of the Legation

from a friendly Court, who had murdered an English subject."

The person alluded to in the closing sentence of the passage just quoted is, I believe, Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador to Great Britain in the time of Cromwell's Protectorate, who was executed for murder, notwithstanding the strong protests of the Portuguese authorities. An account of the matter is contained in the histories of Hume and Knight, and in Blackstone's *Commentaries*. But can any reader of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* recall any reference in any historical or other work to the charge which Mr. Samuel Merivale makes against Montcalm?

Mr. Parkman, in his recent admirable work, "Montcalm and Wolfe," has no mention of such an episode in the career of the distinguished French soldier. In reply to my inquiries, Mr. Parkman was kind enough to send me the following: "The vague story about Montcalm may, I think, safely be set down as a reckless and unfounded slander. I had already seen it and became convinced of its falsity. The letters of Montcalm 'at the beginning of the war,' including his familiar correspondence, have been, to a large extent, examined by me, and neither these, nor, so far as I know, any other papers, contain the slightest allusion to any visit of his to England, either then or at any other time. Indeed, during the greater part of the time in question, they prove that he was either engaged in military duties in France or quietly at his estate of Candiac. The saving clause, 'if I mis-

take not,' introduced by the author of the story, is alone sufficient to cast discredit upon it. I have no doubt that he confounds Montcalm with somebody else."

REGIOMONTANUS

MONTREAL, Jan. 11, 1885

BUNGTON COPPERS—The Newport *Mercury* for August 13, 1787, contains the following item: "We are informed that all Coppers by law, in New York, except *Bungtowns*, are fixed at 160 for a Dollar; that in the Jerseys they had depreciated to 180 for a Dollar, and that there are large quantities imported into this state and passing at 108 for a Dollar, for our Produce, Sugar, Molasses, etc."

Will some numismatist kindly give us the history of the Bungtown copper coins?

PETERSFIELD

RAILROAD IRON—When was the first T rail for railroads manufactured; and where and by whom?

H. E. H.

RODNEY—I have a letter signed by Cæsar Rodney beginning "dear Papa," and addressed to Thom^s Rodney. Date 1771 or 1791. Who was this Cæsar Rodney? Who was George D. Erving, Minister to Spain in 1816? Kindly answer in the Magazine.

NALTON

NEW YORK, Jan. 17, 1885

REPLIES

A FAMOUS POST RIDER [i. 631; ii. 122; xiii. 118]—The 28th of November, died at Stratford, in Connecticut, of a short illness, Mrs. Elizabeth Hurd, Wife of Mr. Ebenezer Hurd, Jun. Post Rider, of that Place, aged 24 Years and three Months: Her Death is greatly lamented by all her Relations. She was the Daughter of the Revd. Mr. Christopher Newton, of Stratford.—*Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, Dec. 15, 1774.

W. K.

SULKY LITTLE RHODY [xii. 567; xiii. 104]—The point of the extract from the *N. Y. Packet* seems to be that Newport did not celebrate the Fourth of July, and was therefore lacking in patriotism. It also corrects Arnold's History, where the attempt of the Cincin-

nati Society of Providence to boom things, is represented as an universal celebration throughout the State. We want no apologist for the behavior of our people from 1783 to 1790. Staples, in his History of Rhode Island in the Continental Congress, has done the best he could for us. The ugly fact will remain, that it was only when our people realized that after the 15th of January, 1790, they were to be treated as foreigners by the United States, and worse than all to be subject to tonnage and import duties, that they hastened to enter the Union. Judging from McMaster's History, the jocose remarks of the New York editor cannot be considered "harsh" in comparison to the treatment Rhode Island received from the press throughout the country. Let us not be too sen-

isitive about our history, nor dip our pens too deep, lest we attract the attention of our neighbors, who may be inclined to take advantage of our weakness.

REDWOOD.

GRAY-COURT—To assist "Historicus" in his investigations, permit me to say in reply to his note [xiii. 103] that the first *occupation* of the Wawayanda patent by the *proprietors*, was in 1712, when Benjamin Aske, Daniel Cromeline, and Christopher Denne, perfected arrangements for that purpose. Aske gave to his share the title of "Warwick;" Cromeline called his "Gray-court," and Denne selected that of "Goshen." These facts are from recorded deeds and other papers. Cromeline sent up William Bull to *build* his house, and Denne sent up Sarah Wells to cook for the workmen in his employ, and William and Sarah married. The story in Eager's book is pure fiction, so far as the origin of the name is concerned, and don't pretend to be anything else. From whence Cromeline derived the name I know not—my investigations have extended only to its application. As an *authority* upon very many points Mr. Eager's history should never be credited.

E. M. R.

SCOONER OR SCHOONER [xii. 378-474; xiii. 105]—Captain Andrew Robinson is said to have launched the first *scooner* at Gloucester, Mass., in 1714, and the first mention of the name in the town records is 1716. As early as 1721 Doct. Moses Prince, a brother of the New England annalist, Thomas Prince, writes that he

visited Captain Andrew Robinson, "the first contriver of schooners, some eight years previous" (not 1821, as given in one of the magazine notes). The first mention of a schooner in the Boston papers was in 1718. In 1722 there were several schooners or scooners belonging to Gloucester, Mass.

Your correspondent "B." says because "such a vessel was at Albany in 1723, it is enough to kill the New England story, which comes out every few years." In view of the foregoing facts and dates, I would ask why? All the leading recent lexicographers — Webster, Worcester, Skeats, Stormont and others—have accepted "the New England story."

Webster's derivation of the word in 1828, was from Falconer's Marine Dictionary, first published in 1756, and modernized and enlarged by William Burney in 1815. In the latest editions of Webster's unabridged the various foreign *synonyms* of the word are given as all derived from the English, followed by an account of the Gloucester scooner. Worcester's large quarto dictionary gives substantially the same synonyms, and quotes from *Jal*, and from the Essex Memorials of 1836, and also Robinson's New England story. *Stormonth*, in his Etymological Dictionary, has the same or similar references. *Skeat*, in his Etymological Dictionary (1882), relates the New England story, cites the foreign names, and says the word is of English origin, adding, "As a rule, derivations which require a story to be told, turn out to be false; in the present case *there is no doubt the story is true.*" "The spelling should be *scooner.*" "That of schooner is due

to its *supposed* derivation from the Dutch."

In Jameson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scotch Language (query date?) To scon in *schon*, is to make flat stones, etc., skip along the water—just what the man saw at the launch of that first scooner, when he exclaimed, "see how she *scoons*;" probably he was a Scotchman.

The fact that there was a schooner at Montevideo, as stated by "B.," in 1771, or that three *skunards* were building at Arkangel in 1777, do not invalidate the New England claim to the invention of the name in 1714. "B.," must produce an instance of the name earlier than 1713-14, before he can "kill the New England story, which comes out every few years," and which we have shown the leading lexicographers and etymologists have accepted.

In the "United Service" for January, 1884, and in "Babson's History of Gloucester," can be found full accounts of the Gloucester "scooner," which seems to have been the only *name*, and since, as in the instance of the original monitor, has become generic.

In this connection I would inquire, when, where, and by whom was the first three-masted schooner built; also, who first suggested the name of *terns* for this class of vessels—a term which did not meet with the favor it deserved, and is now almost obsolete?

I would also inquire, where, when, and by whom the first four-masted fore-and-aft schooners were built, of which

of late I have seen one or more in the Boston and New London harbors?

G. H. P.

BROOKLINE, MASS., Jan. 5, 1885.

SCHOONER [xii. 474; xiii. 105]—No facts have been produced since the exhaustive examination made by John J. Babson for his History of Gloucester, Mass., that can disturb the claim made there for Captain Andrew Robinson as the "first contriver of schooners" in the year 1713.

The subject was discussed in Notes and Queries for 1868, and closed by Mr. Tiedeman of Amsterdam, who disposed of the handsome or beautiful idea, as follows: "It is my opinion, that the shoe, which in German is *schuh*, and in Dutch *schoen*, from its similarity of shape with the vessel, has given its name to the schooner or schoener. I do not see why the name of beautiful should be given to any particular ship; a barque is as beautiful as a *schooner*, if indeed it is not finer. Besides, a noun formed of an adjective in Dutch seldom takes *er* for its termination."

The alteration of a New Jersey built sloop into a schooner, at New York city, in June, 1723, as mentioned by Mr. Greenwood in his elaborate note in Historical Magazine, vi. 228, rather confirms the claim of Mr. Babson. The fact that New York was a Dutch colony more than half a century previous to this alteration, is not enough "to kill the New England story."

MINTO

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Annual Meeting was held January 6, when the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Benjamin H. Field, President; Hamilton Fish, First Vice-President; Cornelius Vanderbilt, Second Vice-President; William M. Evarts, Foreign Corresponding Secretary; Edward F. de Lancey, Domestic Corresponding Secretary; Andrew Warner, Recording Secretary; Robert Schell, Treasurer; Jacob B. Moore, Librarian. The Annual Report of the Treasurer exhibited a continuance of the careful management of the Society's funds. The income for the year was \$11,346.72, and the payments, \$8,501.93. The institution has no debts, no mortgage upon its building or collections, and no outstanding bills. The permanent funds of the Society amount to \$69,750. The Librarian's Report showed a steady increase of the collections in all departments during the year. The Report of the Executive Committee contained a summary of the Society's labors during the year, together with a retrospect of its work since its foundation in 1804, and called attention to the crowded state of the building and the necessity of a new edifice, now more apparent than ever. The communication of Mr. John Austin Stevens, suggesting the Society's action, with a view to securing a national reception by Government at Washington on the 4th of March, 1889, in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of the Government, was referred to the Executive Committee. Resolutions were adopted, compliment-

ary to Mr. Benjamin B. Sherman, retiring from the office of Treasurer on account of continued ill health, and to Col. Andrew Warner, the Recording Secretary, for his recent services as Acting Treasurer.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its December meeting on the evening of December 8, at the rooms of the Society. The special attraction of the meeting was a paper carefully prepared, and read by Rev. J. G. Morris, D.D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, upon the "Order of Cincinnati." He sketched the association from its origin at the close of the Revolution, with Washington as its President, to the present time under the presidency of Hamilton Fish, its ninth President, together with the fears which the organization excited, and the opposition it encountered, the establishment and continuance or extinction of State branches, and the varied vicissitudes through which it has passed during the century of its life. The mention of Maj. L'Enfant, who designed the Society's badge in France, opened the rich storehouse of the memory of President Latrobe, who gave a vivid portraiture of Maj. L'Enfant as he appeared in Washington when engaged in laying out the Capital, having returned to America for that purpose. His tall, gaunt figure, wrapped in a frock coat reaching to his heels—the genuine French testiness and pertinacity with which he withheld his plans lest speculators should seize the most desirable sites, and "put up hovels where there

ought to be palaces," was a most impressive piece of word painting, and will long linger in the minds of those who were so fortunate as to hear it.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The January meeting was held on the 6th, at Hodgson Hall. In the absence of the President, Vice-President Gen. G. M. Sorrel presided. After the election of several resident members, a number of contributions to the Society were reported by the Librarian.

Mr. Carl L. Brandt, Director of the Telfair Academy, made an informal report of his progress in the arrangement of the collection with which it will be occupied. It is the intention of the Board of Managers to open the academy temporarily on February 12, the anniversary of the Historical Society. Mr. Brandt stated that by that time he could have in readiness for exhibition nearly all the collection except the casts. There are now in Savannah about one-fourth of these. Nine cases are on the way, and will probably arrive some time during the month. The paintings will be placed temporarily in the present building until the annex is completed, when they will be removed to the picture gallery. The wonderful features of Japanese art and specimens of wood carving will also be arranged by that time; in fact, the academy will, in the opinion of the Director, be able to make a magnificent exhibition.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held an interesting meeting on the 30th of December, at which two able and instructive papers were read on Numismatics by Dr. Charles Fisher and Mr. Charles Gorton. The President of

the Society, Professor Gammell, opened the proceedings in a few appropriate remarks, in which he spoke of the value of ancient coins in determining ancient history, and of the nature of a coin, which should be of a certain form, bear a certain impress and stamp, to indicate that it is of a certain value. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen, and much interest was manifested in the proceedings. A long table, extending nearly half-way down the room, had been provided, on which were arranged a large number of cases of old and curious coins contributed for the occasion by a number of gentlemen interested in the subject. At the conclusion of the addresses the audience proceeded to examine the specimens arranged on the tables, several gentlemen explaining the points of interest to the great satisfaction of all present.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, WILKESBARRE, PA.—The regular quarterly meeting of the Society was held at its rooms Friday evening, December 12. After the usual proceedings the Society unanimously passed a resolution commending to its members and the public the "Historical Register," published by Dr. Wm. H. Egle, of Harrisburg, as representing the interests of this part of the State, and as deserving cordial support. Mr. George B. Kulp, the historiographer, read a very interesting sketch of the late Hon. Stewart Pearce, author of the "Annals of Luzerne Co., Pa.," and an Honorary Member of the Society. Harrison Wright, Ph.D., the Secretary, also read an elaborate report on some fossils from the lower coal measures near Wilkesbarre,

written by Prof. E. W. Claypole, of the State Geological Survey. Both papers were referred to the Publication Committee.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEWBURGH BAY AND THE HIGHLANDS held an interesting meeting on the evening of January 6. The President, Major E. C. Boynton, called the meeting to order, and Hon. James G. Graham, after moving the appointment of a committee to arrange for a meeting February 22, which was carried and the appointment made, read the address made by Washington before the Continental Congress at Annapolis, on the occasion of his resigning his commission. Rev. Rufus Emory then read a valuable paper on "The Church of England in Newburgh and vicinity prior to the Revolution."

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting of this Society was held on Thursday, January 8, Dr. George E. Ellis in the chair, owing to the illness of the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. Mr. Francis Parkman made an important gift to the Society of a portion of his invaluable manuscript material for his series of histories of the French in North America. It consists of thirty-five bound volumes, quartos and folios, and three unbound volumes, copied expressly from French and English archives and from private collections, and for the most part unprinted. Three volumes are filled with Montcalm's private correspondence. Dr. Ellis also made a valuable donation of eight volumes, and an atlas of the stars, arranged by B. A. Gould, of the Argentine republic.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting at the Utica City Library on the afternoon and evening of January 13. Vice-President Ellis H. Roberts occupied the chair. The annual reports were read, and officers for the ensuing year elected, as follows: Horatio Seymour, President; Ellis H. Roberts, Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D.D., Daniel E. Wager, Vice-Presidents; Gen. C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary; Dr. M. M. Bagg, Recording Secretary; Robert S. Williams, Treasurer; M. M. Jones, Librarian; John F. Seymour, S. G. Visscher, C. W. Hutchinson, Daniel Batchelor, Executive Committee. In the evening a large audience listened to an interesting lecture by Professor Edward North on the "Greek idea of the State." He said, in his introductory remarks: "The usefulness of our historical society may be enlarged by extending our researches to the daily life of people who have lived before us under foreign skies, and who have worked out for us very difficult problems in the science of government and civilized society. If the words to be spoken this evening shall help to quicken any interest in a wide historical horizon, may they not hope to be forgiven for briefly interrupting our customary devotion to local studies?"

The topic was full of living interest to the historical student, and was vividly presented by one who had made the study of Greek literature and character the one task of his life. At its close the Professor received the cordial thanks of the Society.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its sixth annual meeting on the evening of January 7th. The reports

of the Secretary, Treasurer and Library committee were presented, giving the results of the year's work. Mr. John J. Land was chosen President, to succeed Mr. Elias Richards, who had held the office since the organization of the society, and who declined a re-election. Herbert A. Newton was made Vice-President; Gilbert Nash, Secretary (Rev. Anson Titus, the former corresponding secretary, having removed to Amesbury, Mass., the two secretaryships were merged in one), George S. Baker, Treasurer, and Miss Carrie A. Blanchard, Librarian. The reports show a fair degree of prosperity. The historical sketch of Weymouth, to be published by the town committee under the auspices of the society, has been compiled by the secretary, and is nearly through the press. It will be looked for with much interest, since it covers a field of great local importance, and one hitherto unoccupied.

THE ROCKLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its semi-annual meeting November 21, 1884, in the Central Presbyterian Church, Haverstraw, N. Y. Frank B. Green, of Brooklyn, addressed the society in a strain of eloquence that was as instructive as entertaining, on the subject of the history of the county and its timely preservation. In conclusion he said: "We want a home. Washington's Headquarters, at Tappan, can be reached by railroad from every point in the county. Let us buy it ourselves and control it ourselves. I did not come here to beg for money but to awaken your interest. Documents should have a safe home, let us have them or copies of them."

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY came together for its winter meeting on January 8, afternoon and evening. The early part of the afternoon was devoted to the various reports from the officers, which were of uncommon interest. During the afternoon and evening papers were read by Edward L. Elwell, on the "Aborigines of Maine;" by Rev. H. S. Burrage, D.D., on the "Voyage of Weymouth in 1602;" by General John Marshall Brown, "A biographical sketch of John G. Deane;" by George F. Emory, "The Voice of Maine as heard in the Formation of our Federal Government;" by Edward H. Elwell, on "the Origin and Growth of the Newspaper Press in Maine." And resolutions of respect to the memory of the late Rev. Alpheus S. Packard, D.D., were presented by Hon. James W. Bradbury.

ARYAN ORDER OF AMERICA—Organized in Baltimore, October 27, 1880. This is not an exclusive order, but was originated to perpetuate a birthright, an inheritance, just as all children inherit the goods and chattels of their ancestors at the present time, and should desire to commemorate their virtues in any other respect. Its Supreme Council consists of the following gentlemen: Provost-General, Hon. John B. Gordon, of Georgia; Vice-Provost-General, Hon. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Georgia; Chancellor-General, John Stockton Hough, M.D., of Philadelphia; Treasurer-General, Prof. Harvey L. Byrd, M.D., of Baltimore; Herald-Marshall-General, Prof. F. G. Forsyth, A.M., of West Virginia; Registrar-General, Captain William L. Ritter, of Baltimore.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, from the Discovery of the Continent. By GEORGE BANCROFT. The Author's last Revision. Vol. V., 8vo, pp. 581. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1885.

The fifth volume of Mr. Bancroft's great work covers the period from July, 1776, to November, 1782. The first six chapters embrace the leading features of important events connected with the arrival of the English forces at New York, the battle of Long Island, occupation of the metropolis, the battles of Harlem Heights, White Plains, Fort Washington, and the retreat of the American army through the Jerseys. Mr. Bancroft does not enter into the minutiae of battle-scenes and incidents, or attempt to point in detail the swift flowing current of human affairs, but writes history—even the history of the Revolution—from the philosophical standpoint, his artistic eye constantly fixed upon the great whole with its varied ingredients of occurrences, excitements, topics, perils and successes, blending before his touch into a perfect continuity of narration. In this portion of the work the author's late revision exhibits his remarkable powers of self-restraint in the use of words, the result of ripe experience in the art of expression as well as concentration. One word is made to do the duty of two in innumerable instances; thus we have the whole substance of former pages in half the space, with much greater effect. Mr. Bancroft lifts his reader into a high plane of thought, and teaches how every single event is the offspring, not of one, but of all other events, and will in turn combine with others to give birth to those which are to follow. Twenty-three chapters are devoted to the stirring scenes on our soil between the years 1776 and 1781; and seven chapters are chiefly occupied with discussions of the peace negotiations in France between 1780 and the end of November, 1782.

The opening chapter of this volume is entitled "Can the Thirteen United States Maintain Independence?" The colonies were without an army, or only a transient army, with no confederation, no treasury, and no supplies or materials of warfare. Surely the courage of our ancestors was marvelous! Mr. Bancroft says: "Hope whispered the assurance of unheard-of success in the pursuit of public happiness through faith in the rights of man. The war was no longer for the redress of grievances alone, but for the creation of a self-governing commonwealth." On the other hand, the conquest of the United States presented appalling difficulties to the English mind. The capacity of the Americans for resistance could not be determined by any known rule of war. It was thought by many in Eng-

land that every American thicket would be an ambuscade of partisans; every stone wall a hiding-place for sharpshooters; every swamp a fortress, the boundless woods an impracticable barrier; and every farmer's house a garrison. Others believed that the rebellion could be overcome with a few well-directed blows."

As we draw near the end of the handsomely printed volume V. we read of the vast boundaries of the new nation, marked interchangeably on the maps of the world; and learn that the United States of America avowed themselves able to fill a continental territory with commonwealths." Vol. VI. will complete the work.

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS OF 1782 AND 1783. An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society on its Seventy-ninth Anniversary, Tuesday, November 27, 1883. By JOHN JAY. 8vo, pp. 239. Printed for the Society. New York, 1884.

Every student and reader of American history should possess this able and comprehensive historical study, and give it a prominent place upon the library shelf. The treaty by which Great Britain recognized the freedom and independence of the United States—a recognition unqualified and irrevocable—cannot be too thoroughly understood by succeeding generations. It was one of the most important events in our annals, and one of the most important in all modern history. The negotiations were attended with a train of difficulties, concerning which Mr. Jay has had the benefit of recent discoveries, and of much fresh material from the European archives; he has thus been able to present from an authoritative standpoint the most complete account of the whole matter that has yet been published. The masterly diplomacy of the American commissioners, Adams, Franklin and Jay, is discussed by the author in these pages with a skilled pen, and with an intimate knowledge of all the facts. The flood of new light obtained from the confidential correspondence of parties in England and France concerning American claims to be recognized by treaty, showing conclusively the efforts that were made to subject American freedom to the influence and authority of France, has the effect of an illumination. We have known somewhat of these intrigues before; now we have the true story—the inner view as it were—and more than ever can appreciate the triumphant success of our able commissioners. In touching upon controversies, conflicting opinions, and criticisms, especially as to the official character and work of Jay, the grandfather of the author, every position is supported by original and contemporary

authorities. Jay was the youngest of the trio, not half the age of Franklin, and confessedly the leading spirit, as admitted by the weight of testimony, both contemporary and of the present day, by the best statesmen and historical critics of the English as well as of the American school, and freely acknowledged as such by John Adams. The work is written in clear, concise, and engaging style, and is a most valuable contribution to history.

SCIENCE IN SONG, or Nature in Numbers.

By WILLIAM C. RICHARDS, A.M., Ph.D.
16mo, pp. 130. Boston, 1885: Lee & Shepard

Under the above novel title we have a dainty little volume in which the author has strung at intervals upon a thread of hexameter verse many of the most important truths of modern science. Professor Richards needs no introduction as a poet, and his long service in the field of scientific lectures is an assurance that in attempting to popularize science through its poetical and picturesque aspects he will sacrifice none of its essential features. His metrical interpretations of the principles and laws of natural science are pleasing as a whole and in many instances captivating. His familiarity with these laws and their effects enables him to produce strains of harmony totally unexpected, as science has generally been considered an abstract and forbidding order of knowledge. Among the songs deserving of special mention are "The Lay of the Telescope," the "Song of Oxygen," and "The Owed to Coggia's Comet." The opening lines to the poem last named are:

"Hail mute, magnificent, mysterious stranger,
Whose bright progression on the sky we trace!
From what unfathomed depths art thou a ranger?
Ambassador from what celestial race?"

DOCTOR GRATTAN. A Novel. By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND. 12mo, pp. 417. New York, 1885: D. Appleton & Co.

Dr. Hammond's second novel is in some particulars a great improvement on "Lal." It is possible that readers who care only for movement and exciting incident prefer "Lal" to the new book, but others who are wearied to disgust with pictures of far Western life, who have had enough of vigilance committees, midnight hangings, murders, whisky drinking, and the hideous dissoluteness generally of border civilization, will welcome "Dr. Grattan" with satisfaction. It has, moreover, peculiar interest in illustrating some of Dr. Hammond's exceptional opportunities for studying mental defections. The story turns largely upon the hallucination of one Lamar, a man whose life had been spent in travels in far-off countries, where he had acquired great

wealth. Circumstances of a peculiar nature have worked on this man's imagination until he believes himself a notorious slaver, bearing a similar name, whose misdeeds are the talk of certain circles. This part of the book is very curious, and is of dramatic as well as psychological interest. Dr. Grattan is a well-drawn character—robust in mind and body, honorable in instincts, and vivid in characteristics. Some of the situations are particularly good. The scene in which the worthy doctor and the daughter of Lamar are snow-bound in the mountains is really admirably done, and establishes Dr. Hammond's reputation for the delineation of picturesque adventure. The main defect in the book is the portraits of the women. *Doctor Grattan's* daughter is intended to be a lively and humorous piece of femininity, but it is scarcely a success. The touches are heavy despite an effort at lightness, and the woman, who is meant to be charming, is something of a prig, notwithstanding the author's effort to make her otherwise. Lamar's daughter, with whom *Doctor Grattan* is in love, is little more than a bundle of dignities—the reader respects her but remains coolly indifferent to her fate. "Doctor Grattan" is a sensible, wholesome, vigorous novel. It has not the felicities of style, the happy minor touches that make the highest order of work, but these things are hardly to be expected of a man who takes up novel writing after middle life.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION OF FISH AND FISHERIES, Part X. Report of the Commissioners for 1882. 8vo., pp. 1,101. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1884.

This volume contains a summary of the events of the year, with a statement of what has been done, and what remains to be done. It enables the many who are interested in the subject of our fisheries to keep themselves well informed on the subject. The Report discloses to public view one of the most industrious, intelligent, painstaking organizations in the country, working quietly, free from political disturbances, and uniting the best scientific acquirements with common-sense, practical work. Among the special contributions of interest is a comprehensive study of the mackerel. The entire volume is crowded with valuable practical statistics and scientific observations regarding food-fishes, and shows what an as yet unknown resource for the food and comfort of the people lies in well-managed and regulated fisheries.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-

1881. By J. W. POWELL, Director. Quarto, pp. 477. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1883.

The first part of this volume consists of a brief account of the operations of the Bureau for the fiscal year; the second, of a series of excellent and scholarly papers illustrating the methods and results of the researches prosecuted under the direction of the Bureau. The four great departments of objective activities—arts, institutions, languages, and opinions—have been the subject of systematic investigation. Of the papers, the first to attract our attention is "Art in Shell, of the Ancient Americans," by William H. Holmes. It embraces some one hundred and twenty pages in the body of the work, is richly illustrated, and abounds in curious and most acceptable information. Another contribution of more than usual interest is entitled "Animal Carvings from the Woods of the Mississippi Valley," by Henry W. Henshaw. Mrs. Smith's "Myths of the Iroquois," which occupies a prominent position in the volume, was noticed in a former number of the Magazine, prior to the publication of the complete Report. Concerning the manufacture of pottery Mr. James Stevenson presents an illustrated catalogue of the collections obtained from the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona in 1879, which embraces almost every object necessary to illustrate the domestic life and art of the tribes from whom the largest number of the specimens were obtained. It includes, in addition to pottery, implements of war and hunting, articles used in domestic manufactures, articles of clothing and personal adornment, basketry, trappings for horses, images, toys, stone implements, musical instruments, and those used in games and religious ceremonies, woven fabrics, foods prepared and unprepared, paints for decorating pottery and other objects, earthenware of which their pottery is manufactured, mineral pigments, medicines, etc. The chief value of the collection is unmistakably in the large variety of vessels and other articles of pottery which it contains. Some of these are "ancient," but the greater part are of modern manufacture. The potters apparently worked by no specific rules, and used no patterns. In the ornamentation, while there is a striking similarity in general characteristics, there is an endless variety in details. No two similar pieces can be found bearing precisely the same pattern. There seems to be no attempt to imitate the exact forms or ceramic designs of the so-called ancient pottery, fragments and sometimes entire vessels of which are found throughout the southwest region. The only colors used in decorating pottery are black, red, and some shades of brown. The cream-white pottery, which embraces nearly two-thirds of the collection, and is decorated in colors, shows in the fractures when broken very distinctly the effect

of burning, the interior being of the natural leaden color, shading off to a dull grayish white as it approaches the outer surface. The opaque or creamy appearance is produced by a coating of opaque whitewash, and on this surface the figures are afterward drawn. There are really but few different figures used, and they are quite simple. The basketry, or wicker-work, of the Shinumos and Apaches, and of other tribes skilled in the art, is quite varied in form, construction, and decoration. The jug, or lantern-shaped baskets, are very closely woven, and coated over with a resin or gum, which renders them capable of holding water. Most of the finer ware of this class is manufactured by the Apache Indians, and finds its way among the Pueblos through the medium of barter.

Nearly all the edged implements—axes, hatchets, mauls, etc.—are of hard volcanic rock, and more or less blunted and worn from severe use. They are all believed to be of ancient manufacture, collected from old ruins. Mr. Stevenson was unable to learn of a single instance in which one of these implements had been made by modern Indians.

WOMEN, PLUMBERS, AND DOCTORS; or, Household Sanitation. By MRS. H. M. PLUNKETT. 12mo, pp. 248. New York, 1885: D. Appleton & Co.

The aim of this work is to show that if women and plumbers do their whole sanitary duty, there will be comparatively little occasion for the services of the doctors. The volume is filled with practical truths, such as "People have yet to learn that sunshine is just as necessary to the perfect development of the human body as it is to the trees and flowers," and "consumption loves a moist locality and a dark dwelling." The condition of cellars, wholesome water, sewer-gas, and our neighbor's premises, are among the topics which Mrs. Plunkett treats at length. She has quoted generously from high sanitary authorities, but reminds the reader that sanitary science is a science of collated facts; that her purpose has been to be instructive rather than original, and to concentrate the existing light of to-day upon one small field—the home; and if the professional sanitarian encounters familiar instances and illustrations, he will notice that her endeavor is to arouse the interest and practical efforts of a new class—the women. There are fifty illustrations in the book, which is a model of good sense and concise writing.

IN THE LENA DELTA; a Narrative of the Search for Lieut.-Commander De Long and his Companions: Followed by AN ACCOUNT OF THE GREELY RELIEF EXPEDITION, and a

Proposed Method of Reaching the North Pole. By GEORGE W. MELVILLE. Edited by MELVILLE PHILIPS. With maps and illustrations. 8vo. pp. 497. 1885. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The author of this admirable book played a prominent part in the numerous and thrilling adventures attending the long ice-blockade of the *Jeannette* in the Polar seas. The greater portion of the manuscript was prepared between the months of January and April, 1884, and the final chapters were written at sea; for, undaunted by his previous experiences, Melville sailed again into Arctic waters for the relief of Lieutenant Greely. It seems that prior to the voyage of the *Jeannette* no Polar expedition had ever set out by way of Behring Strait. So much has been already published concerning the luckless cruise of the lost *Jeannette* that it has been deemed advisable in this work to give only a running survey of events in that connection, and begin the more elaborate story with the date of the separation of the three boats in the gale of September 12, 1881. Chief Engineer Melville was the central figure in all the sufferings and exploits "In the Lena Delta;" and his accounts of the same, in simple, straightforward English, is intensely interesting, and most acceptable to the reading public. The book contains much important information about the Arctic regions, and the illustrations add greatly to its value. Melville's "Proposed Method for Reaching the Pole," which occupies the closing pages of the volume, is rich with interest for all who pin their faith to the ultimate success of Polar explorations.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The True Story of a Great Life. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. With illustrations. 8vo. pp. 508. New York. Howard & Hulbert.

Mr. Stoddard's position as private secretary to Mr. Lincoln has given him the opportunity for a vivid narrative of the early life and experiences through which the martyr President was fitted for political activity and public service. But in undertaking to separate the individual history of a great man from his public career, the results are naturally and necessarily unsatisfactory. Mr. Stoddard has made his book readable and interesting, and we may safely presume that the greater portion of the anecdotes with which it abounds are autobiographical, although there

are some which we must conclude are but the invention of the talented author. The imaginary conversations in the early part of the volume do not add to the charm of the story, as was the manifest purpose in their production. The chapter on "Child-life in the Wilderness," with some of the chapters that follow are, however, eminently well written—with the exception of here and there an excess of the half-fictitious style of narration. As we proceed in our reading we find that Mr. Stoddard has touched upon Mr. Lincoln's growth and mature character with much spirit and tact, if not always in good taste, showing his rare sagacity and his profound patriotism, his quick insight into character, his magnanimity, gentleness and religious spirit. On page 297 we find the author's account of the interview between President Lincoln and Mr. C. S. Bushnell in reference to the building of the *Monitor*, and the visit of Mr. Lincoln to the Navy Department to meet Mr. Bushnell the next morning. When Rear-Admiral Smith, Chairman of the Naval Board, asked the President what he thought of Mr. Bushnell's plan, the reply was, says Mr. Stoddard: "Well, I feel about it a good deal as the fat girl did when she put her foot into her stocking. She thought there was something in it." We learn from these pages nothing of the obstacles which arose afterward to be overcome before the contract to build the *Monitor* could be obtained—and which appear in a letter from Mr. Bushnell himself in another part of this number of the Magazine. Mr. Lincoln's development into a great leader of men was so intimately connected with the circumstances of the time, that no study of his personality can be advantageously considered apart from his public work, which called into exercise all the highest and noblest impulses of his nature.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—The sketch of General Nathaniel Lyon, by Dr. William A. Hammond, announced for February, has been unavoidably postponed until March. The Magazine will publish an article in an early issue on the "Printing Press in America," illustrative of its growth, improvement, and present condition. One or two articles of moment in connection with our late war are also in active preparation for future pages.

scheming abbess would not consent. Isabel was confined within the nunnery walls, and William was forbidden to approach them. Higher authority, however, ordered the fair novice's release: but even then it was found necessary to effect forcible entrance. This was done, and the happy girl was carried in triumph to the church at Bolton Percy, and there married to her gallant lover in the year 1518. From that auspicious union sprang the statesmen and warriors, the scholars and poets, who have shed luster ever new upon the Fairfax name. Less than twenty-five years after



Fairfax

the nuptials of the fair orphan, the unfeeling Anna Langton was compelled to surrender her nunnery to Thomas and Guy, the sons of Sir William and Isabel. They pulled down the conventual buildings, and erected a house with part of the materials.

In March, 1557, Sir William Fairfax made his will, by which he bequeathed Steeton Hall and the manor of Bolton Percy to his younger son Gabriel, ancestor of the present owner of Steeton and Bilbrough, and head of the family in England. To his eldest son Thomas he gave Nun-Appleton, Denton, and Bishop-hill in York—thus founding two families of high reputation. From the elder of these the American, and from the younger the English Fairfaxes have descended. In

1558 he died; and after his death a schedule of all his assets, debts, and bequests was duly prepared by friends designated for that purpose. In the summer of 1884 the paper then drawn up was kindly loaned to the writer by Mrs. Fairfax, widow of the late Colonel Fairfax, and mother of the minor owner of the estate. It is a literary curiosity, and reflects considerable light upon the manners, customs, and modes of life of the sixteenth century. In the left hand margin of the document are inserted explanations of some of the terms therein employed. As matter of interest we transcribe a portion of the contents.

"The Inventory of Sir W. Fairfax, Knyght, late Dye^a.

The Inventory Indented of all the goods and chattells whiche saide was Sir W. Fairfax of Steeton in the Countie of the Citie of Yorke, Knyght's, deceased: apprayed by Barnard Pape, Richard Shepley, Conrad (?) Stevenson, Richard Brackman, and Oswyn Hedwyn, the 15th Day of Novembre, in the year of our Lord God A Thousand and five hundredth, fiftie and eight.

In the Hall.

		£	s.	d.
* A square.	Imprimis. One Table with a frayme ^a and carpet		7	0
* Cupboard	Item one swayre ^a Table & a cubberd ^b		4	
* Silk	Item Hangyngs of Bukrame and say in the same		5	
	Item one Buffet Stole		6	

Sum 21^a 6^d

[Not correct in point of addition]

The Parlor where he lay.

* Silver Coin	In his purse in Gold & money ^a	13	6	8
* An old kind of waistcoat, generally made of Buff leather, to wear under a coat of mail.	Item one Dublete ^a		10	
* Short upper Coat	Item one paire of Hoyse		5	
* Boots	Item one velvet Jerkyn ^a		8	
	Item one paire of Butts ^a with Spurres		6	
	Item one sword with a Dagger		5	
	Item one Hat and a Cap		6	8
* Somewhat like Damask, the flowers Velvet, and the ground Satin.	Item 6 Shorts		20	
* Lace set over the seam.	Item one Gowne of Caffey ^a , fured, and garded ^a with velvet		25	8
* Perhaps Frize	Item one Blake Cloke		13	4
	Item one Cloke of Fresada ^a		13	4

£ s d
Sum 19 0 8

[Inventory of the Stock and Grain]

		£	s.	d.
* Cowes	Item 22 Kyen ^a the prices	32		
Stolls are young oxen or bullocks	Item 12 fate Stolls	26		
	Item 2 fate Oxen	4		
* Whyes now called	Item 4 fate Quyes ^a	5	6	8
	Item 6 Quyes	7	10	
	Item 10 Stolls of 3 years old	13	6	8
* Cattle of one year old	Item 24 Quanter ^a nowt	18		
	Item 26 Calves	6		
	Item 6 Bulles	7	13	4
	Item 66 Wedders	13	4	0
	Item 6 Topes	20		
	Item 72 Yowes	12		
	Item a Hundredth Lames	10		
	Item 15 Swyne	50		
	Item 50 Lods of Hay in the Closes and about the Hall	10		
	In the Laithe of wheat and Rye 80 quarters	24		
	Item In Barlye 24 quarters	6		
	Item In Ottes 16 quarters	53	4	
	Item in Peys 3 quarters	15		

Thus far the transcript is literal. In the inventory of bed-room furniture are such items as "one standinge bed, the Teaster of Red Velvet and Blake, one Matras, one Fether bed and bolster, one Fustane Blankitt and a Cotton Blankitt" = 33^s 4^d; 3 Chists, 1 Cobberd, 2 Landirons, 1 Counterpoynte Quilt = what we now call patchwork, 6 Fowrams, 4 Qushshinges = 4^s; 3 Hangyngs of Ares Warke." Marginal note:—"Ares—so called = a sort of Rich Tapestry, made at Arras, in the County of Artois in Flanders." "3 Buffett Stolles and 1 Fowrome, 1 Hanging of Say, 3^s, 5 Garnyshe of Pewdevesell," = Pewter vessels sufficient to furnish 5 tables."

In the Butre

2 Guges = Jugs	8
1 doz Twylt Napkins	8
4 Bord clothes	13 4
5 Cod waires (pillow bores)	4
10 pairs of Shets (sheets) lyne and Samon	33 4

In the Kytchine

Itm 3 Brasse pots, & a Possnett	20
3 Brassing Morters & 2 Pestales	30
3 Gallowbawkes "	

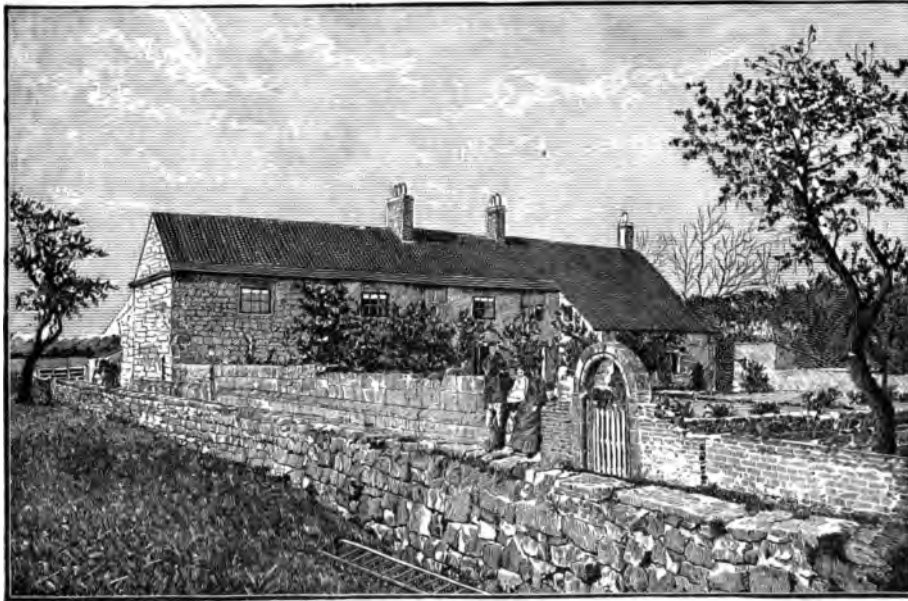
"In Playte" the deceased Knight abounded. One lot is valued at £47 13 8; another at £96 13 6; and a third at £8 2 5. In the stables are "2 Mares and their folles, £5; 2 Gray Twenter Stags 40^s; 1 Bay stoned Staige £3; One Pewder Flagett, — a small vessel in which they carry liquer to haymakers, 16^d; One Kneyf wth the Forke, 12^d."

All his personal estate, including claims upon different persons, is estimated at £1709 2 5. From this his debts, amounting to £28 2 7, are to be deducted; leaving a net balance of £1680 13 10. Legacies, funeral expenses, and debts aggregate in the sum of £1587 6 3; leaving the remainder, £93 7 7, apparently to the nearest of kin.

To many an English tenant farmer this exhibit now appears to be one of meager wealth. Measured by the purchasing power of money in those times, it indicates real affluence. Mr. James Myers, the present tenant of the Steeton Hall estate, lives in greater comfort than the doughty soldier who distinguished himself in the "Pilgrimage of Grace," and whom the puissant Henry Tudor addressed as his "trusty and well-beloved knight." The Hall as it now is differs very little in size or arrangement from what it was when the beautiful Isabel Fairfax was its sunny and beloved mistress. Like most of the ancient English halls, it is cold, damp, and disagreeable; and particularly to any one accustomed to the warmth, comfort, and convenience of homes on Manhattan Island. Were it in possession of an American owner, the irreverent and iconoclastic but sober and practical spirit of the man would speedily level it with the ground, and raise a modern structure upon the site.

Thomas, the eldest son of Sir William Fairfax, fought under Sir Francis Vere in the wars of France and the Low Countries, and was knighted for his gallantry by Lord Essex. Thinking that his position and

services demanded a peerage, he negotiated the purchase of one with the venal Stuart king, and in October, 1627, in consideration of the payment of a certain sum of money, became Baron Fairfax of Cameron, in the Peerage of Scotland. He was a valiant soldier, somewhat scholarly, of great ability, and considerable mark. Ferdinando, second Lord Fairfax, was a thoroughly honest statesman of moderate abilities, a persistent, energetic, military commander, and an excellent business man. Amiable and warm-hearted, he generously assisted political friends and foes when in need. Thomas, the third and great Lord Fairfax, was born at Denton, January 17th, 1612,



STEETON HALL. THE OLD HOME OF THE FAIRFAXES.
[From a photograph made in 1884 by Mrs. Fairfax.]

lost his mother at Steeton when only seven years old, received much of his early education under the tuition of his great uncle Edward Fairfax, the poet and translator of Tasso; matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1626, studied there about four years, exhibited fondness for history and military renown, and was sent in 1630 to the camp of Lord Vere of Tilbury, then in the Low Countries, that he might practice arms, fencing, dancing, and also study mathematics. There he made the acquaintance of Anne Vere, fourth daughter of the General, who afterwards became his wife. The campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany

about this time so stirred the heart of "fiery young Tom" that he burned to serve under the banner of that chivalrous hero. But his relatives objected, and from 1632 to 1635 he assisted the irascible old lord in managing his estates, licensing public houses, and performing the miscellaneous duties common to rural magistrates. He was then tall and slight, with dark complexion and brown hair; of delicate health and melancholy countenance. Malarial fever had shaken his constitution, and occasioned acutely painful disease from which he never wholly recovered.

The year of Thomas Fairfax's marriage with Anne Vere (1637) witnessed the lawless and cruel tyranny of Charles Stuart's government. Members of the learned professions were publicly flogged through the streets of London, and mercilessly tortured and mutilated in the pillory. Not even those highest in rank were exempt from ruinous fines and illegal imprisonment. The king was resolved to rule as an absolute despot. The experiment proved justly fatal; but many events were to intervene between its beginning and his execution in front of the palace of Whitehall. His arrogant attempt to foist a hated episcopacy upon the Scots roused the whole nation to rebellion. In the commotions that ensued young Tom first won his spurs. At the head of 160 well-equipped dragoons, consisting of the yeomen of Appleton, Bolton Percy, Bilbrough and Steeton, and known as the "Yorkshire Redcaps," he joined the English army near Berwick, was presented to the king, and received the honor of knighthood.

A skilled antiquarian, a devoted student of history, and above all a true patriot, Thomas Fairfax could not hesitate in the choice of sides during the impending conflict. The despotic Charles claimed absolute, irresponsible control of the national militia. Parliament resisted the unconstitutional assumption, and insisted on nominating the lords lieutenant of counties. The issue involved the liberties of the three kingdoms. The Fairfaxes, true to their Anglo-Saxon instincts, identified themselves with the cause of the people. Sir Thomas forced the petition of Parliament, begging the obstinate king to reconcile himself to them, into the reluctant hands of the tyrant on Heworth Moor. No legitimate method was spared that might avert the threatening deluge of blood and ruin from the land.

In September, 1642, the Fairfaxes, hearing that the Royalists intended to arrest them, took the field at the head of their armed tenantry. Deeply and intelligently religious, they sought only the glory of God, and the security of chartered rights. No divisions existed among them. All were principled Parliamentarians. Then came the singularly brilliant Yorkshire campaign, in which the Fairfaxes illustrated the best qualities of

their race. Its changeful fortunes, hair-breadth escapes, and deeds of daring valor, culminated in victory. In the Tadcaster fight, success at Leeds, rout on Seacroft Moor, splendid triumph at Wakefield, disastrous defeat on Oldwalton Moor, treason of the Hothams, cavalry actions at Winceby and Selby, and the siege and capture of Hull, they showed that



Lady Fairfax.

[From a rare print in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

impenetrable stupidity which knows not when it is beaten, and whose tenacious courage so often wrings the fruits of victory out of the jaws of despair. *Nil desperandum* is a motto most worthy of adoption when men array themselves with God in defense of the eternal and unchangeable right.



CURIOUS MONOGRAM SIGNATURE OF THOMAS THIRD LORD FAIRFAX.

Throughout this memorable campaign the "fiery young Tom" acquired much knowledge, matured his judgment, and established an enviable reputation. In 1643 he subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant between the three kingdoms for the reformation and defense of religion, the honor and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the kingdoms. In 1644 the Scotch army, leagued with that of Parliament, entered England and enabled Sir Thomas to assail and rout the Royalist Irish army at Nantwich, and thereby to recover Cheshire for the patriot cause.

His victory at Selby in the same year raised him to the rank of the first generals of the army. Compelled to raise the siege of York in order to oppose the Royalists under Prince Rupert, the allied armies next fought the bloody battle of Marston Moor, which virtually decided the fate of the war. Nearly 50,000 Britons sought each others' lives. No differing uniforms distinguished them. The allies wore a white handkerchief or piece of white paper in their hats: the Royalist token was the absence of bands or feathers. The mêlée was desperate—the slaughter dreadful. "Black Tom" charged like a thunderbolt at the head of his "Red Caps," received a deep sabre cut across the cheek, was unhorsed, flung to the ground, and rescued by his own men. Remounting he wheeled to the right, and in company with Oliver Cromwell charged the Royalists—who were victorious on their left wing—on the flank, and scattered them as chaff before the whirlwind. The old Berserker blood of the victors was up—mercy was forgotten. Galloping up and down, he called on the soldiers to spare the lives of their enemies. "Spare the poor deluded countrymen," he cried. "O spare them who are misled and know not what they do." This memorable victory was the crown of patriotic exertion to the Fairfaxes.

York, then the second city in the kingdom, surrendered to the Parliamentarians after the battle of Marston Moor, and was promptly occupied by the army under Sir Thomas Fairfax, to whose incessant watchfulness the escape of its unrivaled Gothic cathedral from defacement by the hands of the Puritan soldiers is due. The siege of Helmsley Castle, in which Fairfax received one ball that passed through his shoulder, and another that shattered his arm, next followed. Recovering from the effects of these dangerous wounds, so far as to be able to take the field, he was invested with the supreme command of the Parliamentary forces, and in that position organized the new "model army," which undoubtedly was the



GENERAL LORD ("BLACK TOM") FAIRFAX.

most effective military force then in existence. "The soldiers were the cream of the yeomen and skilled workmen of England—men fighting for the noblest cause in which sword was ever drawn." Prompt action, rapid movement, strict discipline, and consummate generalship characterized all its operations. Its mettle was soon tested in the decisive battle of Naseby, where General Fairfax rode his favorite chestnut mare. It was a stubborn

conflict of heroes, in which the completest of victories fell to the lot of the patriots. The commander displayed rare military talents, wise caution, and headlong bravery.

What next was to come? Other questions than those connected with warfare arose in the mind of Fairfax, and disquieted him. England must have a government of some sort, but of what sort would it be? The solution of this problem was necessarily deferred until the sword had opened the way to settlement. The battle of Langport, the storming of Bridgewater and of Bristol, the subjugation of Devonshire, the pacification of the West, and the surrender of Oxford followed in quick succession; and, after four years of desolating strife, peace again dawned upon the bleeding country.

Fairfax was rapturously hailed as the benefactor of England, and received the unprecedented honor of a congratulatory visit from both Houses of Parliament on the 14th of November, 1647. Still there could be neither constitutional order nor peace while the perfidious Charles Stuart held nominal title to the throne. The army refused to disband. Oliver Cromwell, who had served as lieutenant-general of horse under Fairfax, seized the person of the king, and was sustained by the sterner and more thoughtful members of the Parliamentary party. Fairfax, who on the death of his father—March 13th, 1647—succeeded to the peerage and estates as the fourth lord, showed great kindness to the fallen monarch, whose life was the great obstacle to permanent quiet. Charles's partisans again rose in arms. The temper of "Black Tom" grew judicially severe in the subsequent suppression of the insurrection in Kent, the siege and capture of Colchester, and the court martial which condemned the infamous Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle to death. Inflexibly upright, he shrank from no act of necessary justice, acquiesced in the purgation of Parliament by the forcible removal of its unworthy members, and in the popular demand for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, liberty of conscience, and equality of all men before the law. But as a monarchist he looked, however illogically, upon the execution of Charles as wicked and subversive of the form of government to which he was conscientiously attached. But he could not prevent that sublime act of inexorable justice. The man who had tyrannically deluged his native land with blood suffered condign punishment as a traitor to its constitution and liberties; and in the sound of the headsman's axe as it fell upon the block despotism heard the knell of its own doom. Feudalism in England received its death-blow on the 30th of January, 1649.

On June 25th, 1650, Lord Fairfax resigned his commission and retired, covered with wounds and fame, to the pleasant rural retreat of Nun-Apple-

ton. Cromwell now seized the reins of power, and raised England to the pinnacle of power, glory, and prosperity. When he died, on the 3d of September, 1659, there was no man who could fill his place. Fairfax, impelled by sense of duty, again entered into public life. On the 3d of January, 1660, his personal influence brought the army over to the adoption of his policy, decided the fate of England, and reinstated the dynasty of the Stuarts. The Committee of Safety was overthrown, a free Parliament re-



NUN-APPLETON, THE SEAT OF LORD FAIRFAX.

called the worthless Charles II., and Lord Fairfax—for good or for evil—restored the monarchy. He headed the commission that recalled Charles from Holland. He exulted in the thought that he had obtained that for which he had so bravely fought on many a battle field; namely, a free Parliament, and liberty of conscience and worship under a constitutional king. Events showed how grievously he was mistaken. Charles was an arrant, knavish profligate; the church more persecuting and cruel than ever. “England,” remarks Markham, “never was disgraced by a viler and baser government.” Lord Fairfax was bitterly disappointed, but still hoped

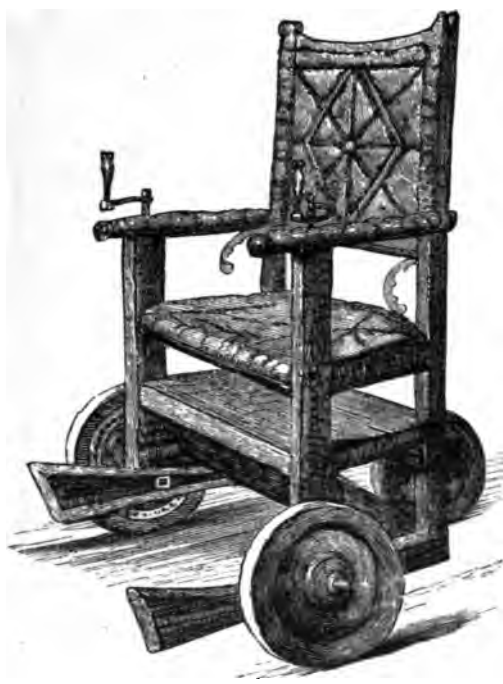
for the best. The last sentence in his "Memorial" proves this. He wrote: "I hope that God will one day clear this cause we undertook, so far as concerns His honor, and the integrity of such as faithfully served Him. For I cannot believe that such wonderful successes have been given in vain; and, though cunning and deceitful men must take shame to themselves, the purposes and determinations of God shall have happy effect, to His glory and the comfort of His people. Amen."

His only daughter, the Duchess of Buckingham, was the first lady in the kingdom, next to the queen; but, like that unhappy consort, was shamefully treated by her dissolute husband.

Godly, learned, and patient, the great general lingered for several years in disease and suffering. The antique chair to which he was confined, his two-handed sword, pistols, and boots, with other relics, are carefully preserved at Bilbrough Hall. Other memorials are treasured up by C. W. Martin, Esq., of Leeds Castle, Kent. Lord Fairfax died on the 12th of November, 1671, leaving Denton, Askwith, Rigton, and Bilbrough to his cousin Henry, Rector of Bolton Percy; and Nun-Appleton, Bolton Percy, and Bishop-Hill to the Duchess Mary.

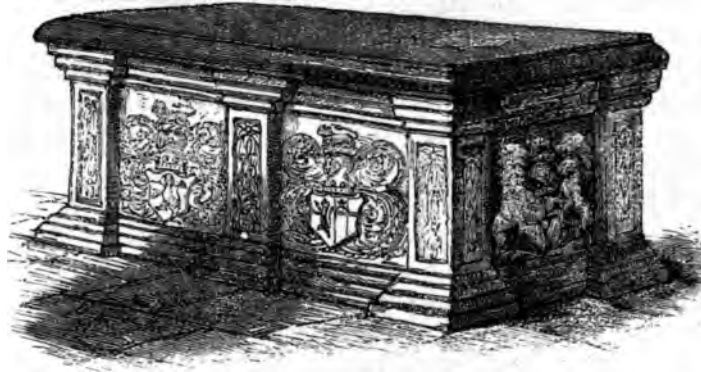
All the properties, except Bilbrough, have since passed into other hands. That remains in possession of Sir William Fairfax's descendants. The tomb of the great warrior in the little church at Bilbrough is frequently visited by tourists.

Henry Fairfax, son of the second, and cousin of the great Lord Fairfax, was too noble and patriotic for the new *régime*; he was induced to resign his living, and died on the 5th of April, 1665, at the age of seventy-eight. His two sons were Thomas, the fifth lord, and Henry, whose son William settled in Virginia, and became the ancestor of the American Fairfaxes.



CHAIR OF LORD FAIRFAX.

Thomas, who was active in promoting the Revolution of 1688, married Catharine, the daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Culpeper, and acquired with her the proprietary title to the northern neck of Virginia,



TOMB OF LORD FAIRFAX, IN BILBROUGH CHURCH.

and an estate of 300,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley. By her will, dated April 22d, 1719, Lady Fairfax left the latter to her son Thomas, the sixth lord, who appointed his cousin William to the agency of the Virginia estates, and afterwards settled on them himself.

Irving's "Life of Washington" exhibits the connection between these events and the shaping of the social forces so influential in the American Revolution. These distinguished Englishmen exerted profound influence



SHIELD AT WEST END OF
THE TOMB.



FAIRFAX IMPALING VERE. ON THE TOMB
OF LORD FAIRFAX.

on the character and career of George Washington. Lawrence, elder brother of the future President, had married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir William Fairfax, who resided at a beautiful seat named Belvoir, a few miles below Mount Vernon, on the same wooded ridge bordering the

Potomac. This event brought the promising youth into close association with the noble foreigner. William Fairfax was a cultured gentleman and an experienced soldier; had been Governor of New Providence, Bahama Islands, and Collector of Customs at Salem, Mass.; and advised George to enter the navy. This he would have done but for the misgivings of his excellent mother. It was in conformity to Fairfax's counsels that Washington afterwards held public prayers in his camp while in command of the local forces operating against the French. Fairfax died and was buried at Belvoir, September 3d, 1757.

Being a favorite of Sir William Fairfax, and an occasional inmate of Belvoir, the youthful Washington there met with Thomas, Lord Fairfax, who became one of his earliest friends, and in some measure the founder of his fortunes. Lord Fairfax was then over sixty years of age, upwards of six feet high, gaunt and raw-boned, near-sighted, had light gray eyes, sharp features, and an aquiline nose. Educated at Oxford, where he graduated with credit, and afterward a commissioned officer in the cavalry regiment known as the "Blues," he had enjoyed access to the best society, and had also distinguished himself by occasional contributions to the "Spectator." Jilted by the lady to whom he was affianced, humiliated and cut to the quick by this unworthy treatment, he avoided the society of the fair sex, abjured the gayeties of fashion, and sought relief by visiting his American estate in 1739. Delighted with the climate, scenery, and hunting of Virginia; with the frank and cordial character of the colonists, and with their independent modes of life, he determined to spend the remainder of his days among them. Somewhat eccentric, yet always amiable and courteous in manners, liberal in spirit, and generous in deed, he was deservedly popular from the outset of his new career.

George W., the eldest son of Sir William Fairfax, was educated in England, married, in 1748, to Sarah, daughter of Colonel Wilson Cary, of Ceelys, near Hampton, on the James River, and had just come with his bride to reside at Belvoir. Between him and Washington a life-long friendship at once sprang up. But it was with Lord Fairfax that the latter found special favor. He was hunting companion, and also trusted land-surveyor to that nobleman. In the latter occupation George William Fairfax was a frequent assistant. Washington's surveys in the great valley of Virginia were so singularly accurate and satisfactory, that through Lord Fairfax's influence he received the appointment of public surveyor. The old peer moved across the Blue Ridge, laid out a manor, and projected a spacious manor-house, to which he gave the name of Greenway Court. But he never began the execution of his design. A long, one-story, stone

building, "with dormer windows, two wooden belfries, chimneys studded with swallow and martin coops, and a roof sloping down in the old Virginia fashion into low projecting eaves that formed a veranda the whole length of the house," was his residence. In this, however, he never slept, but lodged in a wooden outbuilding, twelve feet square. Servants, horses, hounds, and game were abundant. Hospitality and style of living were of the ancient English fashion. Here Washington accompanied his lordship



GREENWAY COURT.

in the chase, and listened to his conversation, which was full of interest and instruction. His character, culture, literary taste, former intercourse with the best society of Europe and its most distinguished authors, imparted exceptional advantages to the richly endowed youth whom he delighted to honor. Books, including Histories of England and volumes of the "Spectator," were numerous.

In 1755 Lord Fairfax organized a troop of horse, called the militia of

Prince William and Fairfax counties to arms for the defense of Winchester, and aided Washington,—then a rising commander,—with his counsels and his sword. In 1756, although the Indians longed to take his scalp, as that of a great chief, the high-spirited old soldier decided to remain at Greenway Court, and do what in him lay for the defense of the country. The danger passed away. Hunting, planning, toiling for the good of the settlers, Lord Fairfax was one of the most beneficent of official magnates. The lives of all flowed on until 1774, unmarked by any disturbance of mutual friendship. The political clouds which had then been gathering for several years were portentous of a destructive hurricane of civil war. George William Fairfax repaired to England in order to take possession of the Toulston and other estates which had fallen to him. Toulston he was obliged to sell in consequence of the Revolutionary War. Belvoir, left in charge of a steward, was accidentally burned to the ground. The owner, as a Royalist, never returned to his old home. The friendly correspondence between himself and Washington was kept up until after American independence was acknowledged. At heart he was a true friend to the Americans, and his resources were always under contribution to mitigate the sufferings of those who were detained as prisoners in England. He died at Bath, April 3d, 1787.

Brian Fairfax, the younger brother of George William, remained in Virginia. Thoroughly liberal in political sentiment, but deeply attached to the ancient rule, he in 1774 advised the presentation of a petition to the king, and thus of affording to the Parliament an opportunity of repealing its offensive acts in relation to America. While fully sharing in the opinions of Washington that, "as Englishmen," the colonists could not be constitutionally taxed without their own consent, he yet objected to any appeal to the dread arbitrament of arms, and wished to remain a faithful subject to the crown. Tidings of the conflict at Lexington found him and Gates at Mount Vernon. He foresaw and deplored the inevitable effects of the collision; that it would break up his most pleasant relations, and array his dearest friends against the government to which he was resolved to adhere. Visiting Washington at Valley Forge in 1778, he was most cordially received, and furnished with a passport to New York, where he intended to embark for England, and remain there till the end of the war. He had married Elizabeth, another daughter of Colonel Wilson Cary. His position at his home in Montecagle, Virginia, was uncomfortable. In New York, he found himself unable to take the oaths, which he feared might separate him from wife and children, and returned to Virginia.

Throughout the Revolutionary war Lord Fairfax lived in his sylvan retreat in the valley of the Shenandoah, popular with his neighbors, unmolested by the Whigs, and frank and outspoken in his adherence to Great Britain. News of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown reached him in his ninety-second year. His national pride was pierced to the core. "Come, Joe!" he called to his black servant, "carry me to bed, for it is high time for me to die." "Thy will, O Lord, be done," he mournfully added, and spake no more.

Robert, seventh Lord Fairfax, succeeded to the title on the death of his brother, and died in 1793, leaving no heir of his body. The title then descended to Brian, the eighth Lord Fairfax, the friend of Washington, and one of the chief mourners at his funeral. Entering holy orders in 1789, he became a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His claim to the peerage was recognized by the House of Lords in 1800, but he never assumed it. Brian Fairfax died at Monteagle, in August, 1802.

Thomas, ninth Lord Fairfax, of Belvoir and Vaucluse, Fairfax County, was born in 1762; superintended his paternal estate on the Potomac, where he exercised genuine old English hospitality, and declined all deference to his rank, preferring to be regarded as simply a gentleman of the county which bears his name. He was thrice married, and died at Vaucluse, April 21st, 1846, aged 84. His son, Charles Snowden, tenth Lord Fairfax, was born March 8th, 1829, was Speaker of the California House of Delegates in 1854, and Clerk of the Supreme Court of California from 1857 to 1862. He died at Baltimore, April 7th, 1869. John Contee, his brother, eleventh Lord Fairfax, was born September 13th, 1830; married October 8th, 1857, to Mary, daughter of Colonel Edward Kirby, of the United States Army; is an M.D., and a resident of Northampton, near Bladensburg, in Prince George's County, Maryland. Raymond Fairfax, his cousin, is heir presumptive to the title.

During the Great Rebellion against the National Government, the Fairfaxes were more or less conspicuous on both sides of that memorable struggle. Deeds demonstrated that they had not degenerated, and that they had inherited all the chivalrous bravery of the old Yorkshire stock. Donald McNeill Fairfax, great-grandson of Brian, the eighth lord, was the only one of the name who adhered to the National cause. All the others, so far as is known, were identified with the Secessionist movement. Sixteen Fairfaxes, at least, were in the Confederate army. Some were killed, others wounded. The wife of Colonel Burton N. Harrison, formerly Secretary to Jefferson Davis, and now a lawyer in New York, is also a de-

scendant of this celebrated family. The Rev. Philip Slaughter, in his "Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax," says that when a Senator from New York remarked to that youth that he would not like to have a name already so famous if he could add nothing to it, the boy replied: "It is the name of my ancestors, and if they have made it famous, I at least will try to do nothing to impair its brightness." He did more. He added to its luster, and sacrificed his gallant life at the battle of Fredericksburg in 1862. His cousin Eugene was slain at Williamsburg.

If thoroughly National Americans praise the good qualities of those whose political errors they are constrained to condemn, they certainly can do no less for those whose sentiments and actions have been of purest patriotic character. Such a one is Commodore Donald McN. Fairfax—an American from the Virginian section of our common country. Entering the United States Navy, August 12, 1837, he was commissioned as lieutenant in 1851, commander in 1862, captain in 1866, and commodore in 1873. He commanded the steamer *Cayuga* on the Mississippi in 1862, and the monitor *Nantucket* in the first attack on Fort Sumter, on the 7th of April, 1863. Rear-Admiral Dupont's report of that action commended him for "the highest professional capacity and courage." In command of the monitor *Montauk* he took part in all the fights with the forces and defenses of Charleston harbor in July and August, 1863; and in general orders and official communications to the Navy Department received the thanks of Rear-Admiral Dahlgren for his excellent services.

The fortunes of the English descendants of the gallant knight, who laid the foundations of two houses bearing his own patronymic in 1557, have not been devoid of vicissitude. Gabriel Fairfax, the younger son, to whom the manors of Steeton and Bolton Percy were bequeathed by his father's will, was succeeded by his son, Sir Philip, an extravagant and dissolute man, who sold Bolton Percy to the first Lord Fairfax, and died in 1613, at the age of twenty-seven years. His son, Sir William Fairfax, was the first cousin and chivalrous companion in arms of the great Lord Fairfax. Holding the same political opinions, he was with that brilliant soldier when he presented the petition to King Charles I. on Heworth Moor. Subsequently he raised and commanded as colonel, a regiment of foot for the Parliamentary army under Lord Essex; fought with singular gallantry in the engagement at Edgehill, the storming of Leeds, the battles of Wakefield and Nantwich, the sieges of Lathom House and York, and the conflict on Marston Moor, where his brigade of Yorkshiremen was broken and routed by the murderous cross fire of the enemy. After that he marched into Lancashire at the head of 1,000 Yorkshire cavalry, took part

in the siege of Liverpool, and met a hero's death in battle with the Royalists before the walls of Montgomery Castle, in Wales. When his men wavered and fell back the third time, "he dashed single-handed into the midst of the enemy's ranks, his good sword flashing right and left, and



COLONEL T. F. FAIRFAX.

the plumes of his beaver waving like a beacon amidst the hostile pikes and steel caps." The example was inspiring. The Yorkshire yeomen charged furiously after him, scattered the Royalists, and rescued their beloved commander, who was literally covered with wounds, more than one of which was mortal. Like Epaminondas and Wolfe, he died in the arms of

victory. His wife and four young children returned to Steeton Hall, of which she was mistress for nearly sixty years.

William, eldest son of the peerless knight, succeeded to possession of the estate. His brother Thomas was a general of the army in the reign of Queen Anne. Robert Fairfax, son of William, was the next heir, and was a brave and victorious admiral. He built a house a few miles from Steeton, at Newton Kyme, and made it the family seat. He also acquired Bilbrough. Thomas, his son, succeeded in 1725, and was the author of the "Complete Sportsman," published in 1760. His son John, of Newton Kyme, succeeded to the patrimonial estates in 1803, and was followed in 1811 by his son, Thomas Lodington Fairfax. This gentleman was followed in turn, in 1840, by his son Thomas, who died in 1875. Thomas Ferdinand, eldest son of the last proprietor, then assumed the ancestral honors, and headship of the house. Educated at Eton, he held a commission in the famous Grenadier Guards, served with his regiment in Canada, and retired with the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. On the 14th of April, 1869, he married Evelyn Selina, second daughter of Sir William Milner of Nun-Appleton; was an enthusiastic sportsman, and master of the York and Ainsty Hunt; was also an excellent magistrate, and a typical English country gentleman. Just, liberal, warm-hearted, and beloved, his death in 1883 was deeply regretted by all who knew him. Mrs. Fairfax, two sons, Guy and Brian, and one daughter, Evelyn, survive him. Since his death Newton Kyme has passed into the hands of another proprietor. Bilbrough Hall is now the seat of the family, the manors of Bilbrough and Steeton constituting the principal landed estates of the English branch of this ancient, renowned, and patriotic house.

Richard Wheatley.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL NATHANIEL LYON, U. S. A.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS

When in the summer of 1854 I reported for duty as medical officer of the garrison at Fort Riley, in Kansas, I found Captain Nathaniel Lyon, of the Second Infantry, stationed at the post in command of his company.

The first opportunity I had for making his acquaintance was on one evening soon after I and my family were settled in our new quarters, and he came to make a formal visit. I remember very well how, as we all sat on the piazza enjoying the cool night breeze after an unusually hot summer's day, he led the conversation to theological subjects, and the horror I experienced when he deliberately and almost offensively—considering that among his audience were several Christian ladies—announced that he was an infidel, and perhaps even an atheist, and that Socrates was a nobler man than Jesus. This was over thirty years ago, when the mode of thought of educated people was very different from what it is now, and when speeches such as Captain Lyon's were regarded as rank blasphemy. At this day such declarations would not only not excite astonishment or disgust, but would at least be received with kind attention by almost any half a dozen men or women that could be brought together, and would be almost certain to meet with sympathy and approval from one or more of those that might hear them.

Not satisfied with the assertion of his belief and disbelief, he went on to give his reasons, and he did this without the slightest evidence of regard for the religious feelings or prejudices of his listeners. Finally, not to be outdone in the making of dogmatic statements, I enunciated the proposition that there was no morality in the world outside of the Christian religion.

"Will you say that again, please?" said Captain Lyon.

I repeated the remark, with additional emphasis.

"Do you really believe that?" he inquired.

"Yes, I do."

"Then, sir," rising as he spoke, his face as red as a beet, and his small light blue eyes flashing with anger, "I can have no further argument with such a—such a—— Good evening," and he darted from the porch without supplying verbally the epithet that was in his mind. Some time afterward,

when we had become friends, I asked him what he would have said if he had spoken without restraint. "I should have called you a narrow-minded, bigoted, and fanatical ass," he answered, with a hearty laugh. "But I should have been wrong, as I generally am," he added after a moment's pause, "when I jump at conclusions hastily, for you were only ignorant and hide-bound by the influence of the early education to which you had been subjected, and by which you were led to accept as truths doctrines that have not a shred of proof to support them. You believed because



NATHANIEL LYON.

some one in whom you had confidence told you they were true. You were exactly like the great mass of mankind. If men and women could get rid of their early prejudices, and would look at Scripture exactly as they would at any other collection of stories, the Christian religion would not stand a day."

I mention this instance for the reason that it affords an excellent example of General Lyon's independence of character, which he was constantly exhibiting in all the relations in which he might be placed, even at the risk of making himself personally disagreeable. Indeed, his intenseness and desire to inculcate his views on others made him utterly regardless of the effects of his speeches and conduct, so far as concerned the wounding of

the feelings of those with whom he was thrown. At the same time he was, as I shall have occasion to show, a man in whom the principles of abstract justice were deeply implanted, and they always influenced his conduct whenever he gave himself the opportunity of acting with deliberation. Often, however, his natural impetuosity would get the better of him, and he would perpetuate some outrageously unjust act, for which he was afterward forced by his own imperative convictions to make all possible atonement. I have repeatedly seen him assault with blows and kicks some soldier who he fancied had been guilty of disrespect, and in a few hours apologize in the most humble manner for his disregard of law and regulations, and for acting in a manner that he then knew was without excuse.

On the day following his first visit to me, and before I had returned his call, we again met, and this time on the prairie. We passed each other with the most formal and even frigid salutes, for I had imbibed fully as great a prejudice against him as he had conceived against me. I regarded him not only as a bigoted ignoramus, but as one whose eccentricity was as near insanity as it ever is, and as one, therefore, whose acquaintance was not desirable. We had not, however, gone more than a very few paces before I heard him approaching me, and turning round, almost expecting an attack of some kind, I found him at my side with a pleasant smile on his face and with outstretched hand.

"Doctor," he said, "it won't do for us to be enemies. All the officers here but you and I are pro-slavery men, and there's a time coming when all friends of the right will have to stand together. Come, let us take a walk."

I met his advances half-way, and we went up to the top of the high bluff that overlooked the plain on which the fort stood. He talked all the time, never giving me a chance to get in a word, even if I had been ever so anxious to express my views. In fact he was always ready to do all the talking, liking, apparently, nothing so much as a good listener; although he halted at times a little in his speech, as though trying to find the exact word with which to express his meaning, he was extremely voluble, his ideas flowing with surprising rapidity, and his words being uttered at a rate of speed that would have kept the most skillful stenographer in full action.

Upon the present occasion he spoke at length of the slavery issue that was then before the country, and especially as it concerned the two new Territories, Kansas and Nebraska. He denounced Mr. Douglas and President Pierce in the most unmeasured terms, accusing them of subserviency to the slave interest, and predicted that the time was not far distant when they would be held up to the execration of all lovers of freedom. In the

course of his tirade—for it was scarcely anything else—he drew from his pocket a copy of the New York *Evening Post*, and read a long article from it that he said exactly expressed his views. He lauded Mr. William Cullen Bryant for his independence and courage, and declared that the *Post* was the most honest and fearless newspaper published in America. He had for many years been a subscriber to the semi-weekly or tri-weekly edition, and was always on the watch, when the mail was expected, for his favorite journal.

I have never in the whole course of my life met with a man as fearless and uncompromising in the expression of his opinions, and at the same time so intolerant of the views of others, as was he. If he had lived four hundred years ago he would have been burned at the stake as a pestilent and altogether incorrigible person, whose removal was demanded in the interests of the peace of society. His frankness and honesty were of so obtrusive a character that they made him enemies on all sides, and yet there were very few, even among those who disliked him, who did not at the same time respect him. His word was inviolable. Hypocrisy and humbug of all kinds were so distasteful to him that those in whom he detected them became the objects of his keenest animosity—and, above all other things, slavery met with his most thorough detestation. A slave-holder was in his eyes everything that was vile, and he did not hesitate a moment to say so in all collections of officers, although nearly every one at the post was a Southerner and a sympathizer with slavery.

Upon one occasion Captain Anderson, of the Second Dragoons, afterward a major-general in the Confederate service, gave a dinner party, at which were present several of the officers of the garrison as well as the members of a general court-martial that was then in session at the post. Captain Lyon and myself were among the number.

Although Captain Anderson was a citizen of South Carolina and his host, Lyon plunged as soon as he could get the opportunity into a harangue against the South and its peculiar institution, in which he used all the powers of invective that he possessed in so great a degree. Among the guests were General Mansfield, killed at Antietam. General Ramsey, chief of ordnance during the war, Colonel C. F. Smith—who, if he had lived, would certainly have given a good account of himself on the side of the Union—and General Casey, who so highly distinguished himself at the battle of Fair Oaks. All of these were Northern men who had no liking for slavery, but they were all dumbfounded at the violence and virulence of Lyon's attack. As for the Southerners, they looked indignant, of course, all but the host, Captain Anderson, who sat at the head of his table

smiling serenely at Lyon's abuse, and by occasionally addressing a word or two to those nearest to him, trying to make the occasion pass as pleasantly as was possible under the circumstances. But that evening, while several of us, including Captain Lyon, were sitting in Major Merrill's quarters, Anderson entered the room. He looked around him, and his eyes at once lighted on the man of whom he was evidently in search, and whom he had not found in his own quarters.

"Captain Lyon," he said, approaching his antagonist, "you took occasion to-day, when I from my position was helpless to repel your insults, to commit an outrage, for which I am now going to punish you. I do not mean to heap personal abuse on you, for every one here present knows what I think of you, and that kind of retaliation would do you very little harm; I am going to thrash you."

He took a step toward Lyon, who, hearing this speech, had remained quietly in his chair glaring at his adversary, and evidently worked up to the point of doing mischief. As Anderson came nearer, Lyon, still without moving a limb, said, with as much composure as he could command—

"Captain Anderson, if you come a step nearer I'll kill you."

Instantly several of us rushed between the two, and Anderson, without a word further, withdrew.

About an hour afterward I was roused from bed by some one at the door, and on going down stairs found Captain Lyon. I at once suspected what had happened, but I was not allowed to remain long in a state of uncertainty. "Anderson has challenged me," he said.

"You will have to accept," I answered.

"No, I shall not accept; I have conscientious scruples against duelling, and, besides, it is contrary to law, and I am a law-abiding man."

"Then you will be sent to Coventry without delay. You have grossly insulted Anderson in his own house, and you must give him satisfaction, or you will be run out of the army."

"I don't care, I am willing to endure persecution for the sake of my convictions. I shall not fight him. If he attacks me, I shall kill him as I would a dog."

I argued the matter with him—I was many years younger than I am now—and the result was that he finally consented to meet Anderson, provided I would act as his second, and that the duel should take place with pistols across a table.

I remonstrated with him on this latter point, and told him that I was quite sure Major Sibley, Anderson's second, would peremptorily refuse to allow his principal to fight after such a murderous fashion. He was firm,

however, so I had a conference early the following morning with Major Sibley, and, as I had expected, Lyon's terms were regarded by him as altogether outside the pale of the laws of duelling, and as being barbarous, murderous, unusual, and ungentlemanly.

There was nothing left for Anderson to do but to horsewhip Lyon or inflict some other gross indignity on him, and this he would certainly have attempted but for the fact that Sibley and I got him and Lyon to agree that the matter should be referred to a council of officers whose decision should be binding. This body, after due deliberation, decided that Captain Lyon had been guilty of a grave offense, and that he should apologize to Captain Anderson in the presence of every officer of the post.

This was a bitter dose for Lyon to swallow, but there was no escape. He declared to me that he would rather cut off his right hand than do what it had been decreed he must do. He fumed and fretted over the matter till he worked himself up to such a state of excitement as made me fear for the strength of his mind to resist it, but he finally cooled down and began to look at the matter philosophically.

Mrs. Hammond and I were to have a reception that evening for the members of the court-martial, and they and all the officers of the garrison and their wives would accordingly be together at my quarters. It was decided that at nine o'clock Captain Lyon should tender his apology in their presence. Every one was there, and at nine o'clock Captain Anderson stationed himself at one end of the drawing-room. The last beat of the drums sounding tattoo had hardly died away when Captain Lyon, in full uniform, entered the apartment. He looked neither to the right nor the left, but with me at his side, as his escort and host, he walked through the long line of officers—all in full uniform—and ladies till he came within four or five feet of Captain Anderson, who, grave and dignified, with Sibley by his side, awaited his arrival. "Captain Anderson," he said, without a tremor in his voice, "I have come to express my regret for having used language at your table which, however much I may believe it to be true, was out of place at the time, and was such as I, your guest, should not have spoken. Its employment was, under the circumstances, more injurious to me than it was to you." Anderson bowed without a word, Lyon bowed, and then, without tendering his hand, he turned and strode out of the room. Anderson and he never spoke to each other afterward except when their official relations required them to do so.

Lyon had the utmost regard for law as distinguished from regulations or the orders of the commanding officer, and frequently declared that he would disobey any order that was illegal. The then commanding officer

was of a very unfortunate mental organization and greatly disposed to assume powers that did not belong to him. Finally Lyon had an opportunity of setting up his judgment in opposition to a military order, and he did not hesitate a moment as to the course to be pursued.

One of the officers had brought out with him from the East with his family a rather good-looking servant-maid, who at once began to receive the attentions of the enlisted men. The one that she specially favored was Corporal Allender of Captain Lyon's company, and straightway the corporal applied to his commanding officer for authority to marry and that his wife might be rated as a company laundress. Lyon accorded his permission, and then the girl announced to her employers that she was about to enter upon the marital relation, and that they would not in future receive the benefit of her services.

The officer went at once to the commanding-officer of the post, a man who, as I have already said, was disposed to be arbitrary and tyrannical, and obtained an order from him prohibiting Corporal Allender marrying Sarah Ahren. This order was sent to Captain Lyon with instructions to see that it was obeyed.

I was present in Lyon's quarters when he received the order, and I have rarely seen a more striking instance of intense rage than he exhibited. He fairly foamed at the mouth as he walked up and down the floor gesticulating violently and stammering over his words in a way that rendered them almost incoherent. It was very clear that he intended to disobey the order, and that, too, in a way that should leave no doubt relative to the motives by which he was actuated. After he became a little calmer, I understood that he regarded the order as illegal, and as an attempt to interfere most unwarrantably with the rights of a soldier of his company.

There is no law or regulation prohibiting officers or men from marrying, but there was a regulation to the effect that soldiers' wives should not be allowed with the troops without the consent of the company commander and the commanding officer of the post. The only object that the corporal had in getting his captain's consent to his marriage was that his wife might be made a laundress, receive a ration, and be the recipient of quite a snug little sum monthly for washing the clothes of such of the men as chose to employ her. There was no power in the United States to prevent the man and woman marrying, but there was power to keep her out of the garrison. The commanding officer's order was therefore manifestly illegal. This was the ground that Lyon took, and I thought he was right, and still think so.

"Corporal Allender shall marry the girl if he wants to, and no illegal order like that shall prevent him!" he exclaimed, as he paced the floor.

"Orderly," he continued, opening the door, and calling the soldier who stood in the passage-way, "tell Corporal Allender to come here."

In a few minutes the corporal made his appearance, and, making the proper salute, stood at attention.

"Do you want to marry Sarah Ahren?" inquired Lyon, his small eyes sparkling with excitement.

"Yes, captain," answered the man, saluting.

"And she wants to marry you?"

"Yes, captain," with another salute.

"Then come here to-night at eight o'clock, both of you, and I'll perform the marriage ceremony."

"Yes, captain;" and again saluting, the man turned on his heel and marched off.

"I want you to be present as a witness," continued Lyon, addressing me. "I'll show old — that he can't issue illegal orders to me with impunity."

"Yes, I'll come," I answered, laughing; "but we shall both be arrested and tried, and Corporal Allender will be reduced to the ranks."

"I'd like nothing better than to be tried on the charge of disobeying such an order as that," he exclaimed, excitedly.

"All right," I replied, "I'll aid and abet you to the extent of my power. The order is illegal, certainly, but you don't propose to marry these people?"

"Yes, sir, marriage is a civil contract. I shall read them a chapter from Blackstone, make them a short address, ask them some proper questions, and pronounce them man and wife. Then we'll see what old — will do!"

At eight o'clock I was in Lyon's quarters again, and shortly afterward Corporal Allender and his pretty sweetheart, accompanied by two soldiers as witnesses, entered the room. The happy couple stood up in front of Captain Lyon while he read an extract from Blackstone in regard to the nature of marriage. Then he made some excellent remarks on the duties of husband and wife one to the other, and finally asked them whether they took each other for husband and wife, and intended to live together in the bonds of wedlock so long as they both should live? The answers being satisfactory, he pronounced them man and wife, and forthwith made out a certificate to that effect, which I and the others witnessed. Many years ago Mrs. Allender, in order to recall herself to my recollection for a purpose that she had in view, sent me this certificate, and it is still in my possession. It reads as follows:

"Robert Allender and Sarah Ahren wishing to enter upon the marriage relation, I have duly pronounced to them the solemn obligations thereof, which they have assumed in the presence of the accompanying witnesses:

"Fort Riley, Kansas.

N. Lyon.

"April 23d, 1855.

"Witnesses:

"William A. Hammond,

"John Trueman,

"Robert Long."

That night the commanding officer heard of Lyon's contempt of his order and of my countenance, and before we went to bed we were visited by the adjutant and placed in arrest. I was released the next morning in order that I might attend to my duties, but Lyon was kept confined to his quarters for several days. In the meantime the commanding officer awoke to the conception of the fact that he had made an ass of himself, and Lyon also was released. No charges were ever preferred.

It is not to be supposed from this account that Lyon was an insubordinate officer. No one could have been more scrupulous than he in obeying to the letter every legitimate order that he received. No one in the army is required to obey an illegal order. He may, it is true, be compelled by physical force to do what he is told to do, whether the order is or is not in accordance with law, but he has a clear right to refuse obedience to any command that is manifestly contrary to law, and the officer giving such an order would probably be punished for his assumption of authority were the case brought to the notice of his military superiors. Any one, however, who, on the ground of its being contrary to law, refuses obedience to the order of his commanding officer does so at his peril.

An incident that occurred soon after the one I have mentioned gave Lyon an opportunity of showing the distinction that existed in his mind between an unjust and an illegal order. Two settlers named Dixon and their families had settled upon land outside of the military reservation, as they had a clear right to do. For purposes of his own, of a highly dishonorable character, the commanding officer wanted them to move off, but they declined to do so. Determined to compel them to go, he extended the military reservation so as to include their settlement, and then ordered Lyon with his company to go and pull down the Dixons' houses, and put them and their families off the reservation. Lyon was, doubtless, selected for this work because he had stated his belief that the action of the commanding officer was wrong, and that the men had a

right to the land upon which they had settled, and further with the expectation that he would disobey this order as he had a previous one. As I was considered to be Lyon's aider and abettor, I was ordered to accompany, as medical officer, this expedition of a company of infantry against two men and some women and children.

But Lyon knew the difference between an outrage and a violation of law. He had been informed by his military superiors that the land upon which the Dixons had settled was a part of the military reservation. Whether it was or was not was none of his business. That was a matter that specially concerned the Dixons, and that might safely be left for them to bring to the notice of the highest authority. So he and his command proceeded to obey the order. The Dixons were at first a little disposed to resist, but Lyon told them that if they fired on his men he would return the fire, and that as to the ultimate result there would be no doubt. So they submitted. They went off, and Lyon, with yokes of oxen, tore down the houses, and effectually demolished them. Then after his bloodless victory, he marched back, and set himself to work preparing charges against the commanding officer of corruption and of other crimes, upon which he was not long afterward tried and dismissed from the service.

Lyon was a witness at this trial, and before he gave his testimony was asked by the Judge-Advocate whether he believed in a God who would punish falsehood, with the view of excluding his testimony if he answered in the negative, as it was doubtless thought he would. But Lyon went into a long disquisition—he liked nothing better than such an opportunity—on the subject of his religious belief, or rather disbelief, the gist of which was that he believed that falsehood would be punished in this world, and it was decided to allow him to testify.

Lyon was possessed of a great love for science, and was especially interested in natural history, though he knew little of it beyond its familiar every-day features. He was a staunch believer in the doctrine of evolution before Darwin published his views. He had read something of Lamarck's ideas, and had full faith in their correctness. Upon one occasion I was performing some experiments with black snakes, during which I daily subjected them to the influence of an atmosphere of oxygen. While they were inhaling the stimulating gas the animals displayed a degree of activity altogether in excess of that that was natural to them, darting here and there about the glass case in which they were confined, and coiling and uncoiling themselves with lightning-like rapidity. Lyon used to come and watch them, and showed the greatest interest in their actions. When I had finished my investigations I let them go, and when Lyon came the

next morning to see them, as he expected, under the influence of oxygen, he was much disappointed to find the cage empty. "I was performing experiments of my own with the snakes," he said. "If you had kept them here a little while longer I am very sure legs would have grown out of their bellies just as wings have been developed on fishes that through the course of ages have been stranded on the shore and that are now birds."

I laughed at this theory, but he stuck to it, and argued with considerable force and intelligence in support of the doctrine that organic beings owed their forms to the circumstances in which they were placed, and the demands made upon them by the conditions of their existence. And this was several years before Darwin published his views on the subject, though of course many years after Lamarck gave expression to his theory. Lyon was familiar with Lamarck's ideas, and had besides a good practical acquaintance with geology.

The chief mental characteristics of Lyon, as I knew him a few years before the civil war, in which he lost his life, were intensity and conscientiousness. Whatever he felt he felt with a force that carried everything before it. There was no middle ground with him in any matter that engaged his attention, and he conceived that it was his duty to enforce his doctrines or his ideas upon all with whom he came in contact, even to the extent of being offensive. At the same time he was possessed of as tender a heart as ever beat in a man's breast. He was particularly fond of children, and always expressed the utmost respect for women, though probably he would never have married. He was as strong in his friendships as he was in his enmities. He was one to be trusted implicitly to any extent. He was truth personified.

As a soldier he was one of the strictest disciplinarians I have ever encountered, and was not at all times, when acting under impulse or excitement, just in his treatment of his men. There was, in fact, with all his kindness of heart, a vein of cruelty in his disposition so far as those were concerned whom he thought had behaved badly. I am quite sure that if he had possessed the power he would have killed every upholder of what he called the "Slave power" upon whom he could have laid his hands. Indeed, I have often heard him exclaim that they had equitably forfeited their lives, and that they were outlaws, that any one ought to be empowered to destroy. Douglas, Pierce, Buchanan, and all the advocates of the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," met with his scorn and contempt, and no words short of oaths—for he never swore—were too strong for him to use to express his condemnation of what he conceived was their treason to the cause of freedom.

He frequently lamented the violence of his temper, that so often led him into the perpetration of unreasonable and unjust acts, and he was always ready to make all the amends in his power for any outrages into which it might have betrayed him. During the few years that we were associated at Fort Riley he certainly succeeded in overcoming, to a great extent, his natural tendency to break out into explosions of rage.

As is well known, he, by his decision and firmness, kept the State of Missouri from going out of the Union. He lost his life at the battle of Wilson's Creek, while in command of the Federal forces, gaining a victory, however, over an army threefold greater than his own. Had he lived, there can be no doubt that he would have come to the very top of the pyramid of those gallant commanders who were most successful in the field. And he would have reached the apex, not because of any great military skill that he possessed, but because he had in him an indomitable spirit that was always awake, a fixity of purpose that never faltered, and a courage that was never for an instant met by the slightest feeling of fear. He did not know what fear was.

William A. Hammond
Major General & Brig. Genl.
U. S. Army (retired)

THE ADVENTURE OF MONSIEUR DE BELLE-ISLE

Distant from the country of the Natchitoches Indians one hundred and fifty leagues to the northwest, some one hundred and sixty years ago, lay the land of the Attakapas nation, of whom the old French historians of Louisiana relate that they were *anthropophagi*, or man-eaters. It was among these people that Monsieur de Belle-Isle, Chevalier of the royal and military Order of St. Louis, and subsequently Major-General of the troops of the marine in Louisiana and Major of New Orleans, an officer who served for forty-five years in the colony with the highest merit and distinction, dwelt for two years a captive and the slave of a widow of the nation.

The story of Monsieur de Belle-Isle occupies a special place in the chronicles and records of the early annals of Louisiana. It even formed the theme for two or three sentimental romances and idylls. Its currency in France may have been due to the contrast it presented to the ordinary phases of life familiar to the courtiers of Louis XV., who, cloyed perhaps with the monotony of the dissipations of a sumptuous civilization and the artificial atmosphere of life at Versailles, saw in the narrative of a youthful French officer of noble family, dwelling, an enforced guest, for two years among cannibals (real or so declared) in the primitive simplicity of the golden age—the slave of an elderly widow—a piquant change from their own vapid existence.

In one of the several versions of the Chevalier's adventure, a copper-plate engraving represents him as parting from the widow—a tearful scene indeed, with a foreground of human arms and legs lying about, mute witnesses to the anthropophagic tastes of the Attakapas. The "*Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*," written by the Chevalier Bossu, captain of troops of the marine in Louisiana, has preserved this pictorial reminiscence of Monsieur de Belle-Isle's experiences.

It was in the year 1719 that the Chevalier's fortunes led him, an ambitious young ensign in the service of the India Company, to the then almost untrodden wilds—untrodden by the foot of the European—of Louisiana. New Orleans, at that time a collection of mere huts, barracks and officers' quarters, with an occasional house offering some pretensions to architectural symmetry, had been founded only the previous year, and the seat of government was still at Biloxi, on the Mississippi Sound, where Bienville resided and exercised the duties of governor of the colony. Monsieur de

Belle-Isle had sailed from the port of L'Orient, in France, in an expedition composed of a thousand people—soldiers, civilians, etc.—sent out by the company to people the colony. The expedition was bound for the Mississippi and New Orleans; but even as, many years previously, La Salle had missed the mouth of the great river, so was the ship on which the Chevalier sailed driven by currents and contrary winds far to the westward. It was at the Bay of St. Bernard (now Matagorda Bay in Texas), finally, that the captain of the bark, the drinking-water having given out, came to anchor and sent the ship's yawl ashore to obtain water.

Taking advantage of this temporary stoppage, Monsieur de Belle-Isle, Monsieur de Charleville, a Canadian and an experienced explorer, the Sieur Silvestre, a sergeant of the military detachment, and another officer, disembarked, with a view of passing the intervening hours, before the vessel's departure, in the chase. The ship was to sail the next day, and the captain informed them that in the evening he would discharge several musket-shots so that they might know their bearings, and on the following day he would fire the cannon as a signal for the bark's departure two hours later.

Monsieur de Belle-Isle and two of his companions, contrary to the advice of the fourth man of the party, Monsieur de Charleville, who, however, accompanied them, plunged into the depths of the forest in pursuit of a deer. Sundown found them lost in the intricacies of the woods. They heard, it is true, the firing of the muskets, as the captain had promised, but these discharges, like will-o'-the-wisps of sound, only served to lure them to their ruin, for, as the reports seemed to them to come from an opposite direction, they were led by the delusive sounds still deeper into the gloomy forest. As they went onward they listened, but in vain, for the beating of the waves on the shore. Finally night overtook them, and they slept where the shadows found them.

At daybreak their ears were greeted by a remote, muffled roar. It was the discharge of the cannon—the signal that in two hours the ship would sail. The report of the cannon, like the musket-shots of the preceding evening, only caused the belated men to wander still farther from the shore. The virgin forest, as if gläd of the companionship of these men of a race strange to it, opened its arms before them. They entered its embraces and were lost.

Meanwhile, the captain, although impatient at the delay, waited for them until the afternoon; and, at last, when the rays of the evening sun fell aslant, like arrows of light, through the tops of the trees nearest to the beach, the ship's sails were spread and her prow was turned to sea.

Still wandering to and fro, Belle-Isle and his companions, by some chance, perhaps that same night, perhaps the next day, found themselves again on the beach. But no ship was there to receive them. "I will leave you to imagine our despair" (to translate from Monsieur de Belle-Isle's own words, as preserved by one of the French chroniclers of that day) "when we found ourselves in an unknown country, on a desert coast, inhabited, perhaps, by cannibals. We passed several days in this situation, living on only insects and distasteful roots. We had with us a young hunting-dog which was very much attached to me; we were devoured with hunger; my companions desired to kill him, so as to have food for a few days. I offered him as a sacrifice to our necessities. One of my comrades seized the animal, but so weak was he that, in endeavoring to thrust a knife into the dog, the latter slipped from his grasp and ran off into the woods. The three officers perished with hunger, one after the other, and it was only owing to the vigor of my constitution that I survived them. Worn out with fatigue and privation I wandered into the forest, feeding on insects which I found on decayed wood.

"A few days after the death of my companions I saw in the distance my dog. He held a wood-rat in his mouth, and, running to meet me with great demonstrations of delight, he laid his prey at my feet. These rats, which are about the size of a sucking pig, furnish a sufficiently good quality of food. After having regaled myself on the animal I constructed a small entrenchment at the foot of a tree, so as to protect myself from the attacks of beasts of prey during the night, and, with my dog keeping watch at my side, I went to sleep.

"While going to and fro in the forest I noticed foot-prints of men. I followed them until I reached the shore of a river, and finding there a canoe, I crossed the stream in it. In my wanderings I finally came to the country of the Attakapas, a savage and barbarous nation, whose name indicates their customs, for it means 'eaters of men.' Those members of the nation whom I encountered I found engaged in barbecuing human flesh, but my leanness happily saved my life. They contented themselves with despoiling me of my clothes, which they divided among their number. Then they conducted me to their village, where a widow, who had passed the hey-day of her youth, took me for her slave. They wished me to share with them in the detestable dishes of which they partook at their meals, but I preferred fish, which I ate with avidity. Little by little I began to recover my strength; but I fell into an extreme melancholy, always fearing that my hosts would sacrifice me to their idols, and would then feast on my flesh. My imagination was excited by the terrible spectacle of these

barbarians, who made banquets of their prisoners. They held a council, and the result was that they decided that it would be cowardly to take the life of a man who had not come among them to inflict injury upon them, but, on the contrary, to seek their hospitality.

"I was young and vigorous. I performed my duties as a slave satisfactorily, and I succeeded in winning the good graces of my mistress, who adopted me as her son, gave me my liberty, and thus conferred on me the recognition of a member of the nation. On the war-path I earned the esteem of the Indians by my skill and courage.

"Two years after my arrival among the Attakapas we received a visit from envoys from a neighboring nation. Among them were some who had seen Frenchmen. They spoke of them to the Attakapas and I overheard their conversation. By chance, I had preserved in a box my commission as officer. I made a pen of a crow's quill, and with ink which I manufactured from soot, I wrote the following words on the reverse of the commission: 'I am Monsieur de Belle-Isle who was abandoned at the Bay of Saint-Bernard. My companions died, in my presence, of grief and hunger. I am a captive among the Attakapas.'

"I handed this paper to one of the envoys, assuring him that it was a 'talking-paper,' and that if he would take it to one of the French chiefs he would be well received and rewarded. The Indian started off. His companions tried to take the paper from him, but he escaped them by swimming a river, holding the letter aloft out of the water, so as not to wet it. After a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues he reached the nearest French post, and delivered the paper to the officer in command, who received him very kindly. After the perusal of the message, the French who heard it read began to cry and lament after the manner of the Indians. The Indians present asked them what troubled them; the French replied that they were grieving for their brother, who had been for two years a prisoner among the Attakapas. The Indians offered to come in search of me, and the one who had brought my letter promised to guide them. They left at once to the number of ten, mounted on good horses and armed with muskets. On their arrival at our village, they made their presence known by discharging their muskets several times. The Attakapas mistook the reports of the guns for thunder. They gave me a letter, in which I was told to fear nothing from the Indians who had brought it, and to surrender myself to their guidance in all confidence. The Attakapas, terrified by the reports of the guns, did not dare to oppose my abduction, and I mounted a horse without any resistance on their part.

"The woman who had adopted me burst into tears, and it was with the

greatest difficulty that I could tear myself away from her arms. The Indians who brought me back to my people were rewarded. The Attakapas received a present from Monsieur de Bienville, who was then the Governor of Louisiana, and they sent to him a peace deputation, among whom I was as charmed as surprised to find my old adopted mother. They came to thank the Governor and to form an alliance with the French. The chief of the embassy addressed Monsieur de Bienville, pointing to me as he spoke: 'The white man whom you see here, my father, is your flesh and blood. He has been joined to us by adoption. His brothers died of hunger, but had they been met by my nation, they would be still alive, and in the enjoyment of the same privileges.'

"Since that period these people have always treated us with humanity, and we have induced them to abandon the barbarous custom of eating human flesh. When they come to New Orleans they are well received, in recognition of the good treatment which I received at their hands while in their country; for, but for them, I should have suffered, perhaps, the unfortunate fate that befell my companions."

The Chevalier Bossu (previously quoted in these pages) concludes his narrative of Monsieur de Belle-Isle's captivity with the following lines, extracted from the poem entitled "Jumonville," by Monsieur Thomas, and which bear witness to the amity which existed between the French and the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World in all those vast regions wherein the French had control.

"Les grossiers habitans de ces lointain rivages,
Formés par nos leçons, instruits par nos usages,
Dans l'école des arts, et de l'humanité
De leurs sauvages mœurs corrigent l'âpreté.

[The rude inhabitants of those distant regions,
Formed by our lessons, taught by our example,
In the school of the arts and of humanity,
Softens the asperity of their savage customs.]

It is sad to reflect that no English poet—except perhaps a follower of the gentle Penn—could thus have sung truthfully of the condition of the American aborigines whose fate it was to fall under Anglo-Saxon domination.

Charles Smith.

AN OLD MASONIC CHARTER

While engaged in historical researches, a few months since, I discovered an interesting document, ancient but well preserved, though discolored and marked by the hand of time. It appears to be a warrant, or charter, granted by the highest Masonic authority in France to a number of brethren in the Island of St. Domingo, constituting them a lodge by the title of "Chosen Brethren," and bearing date "3d day of the 3d week of the 5th month in the year of Light 5774, *Annoque Domini* 1774." It is printed on a sheet of parchment, from an elaborately and artistically engraved plate, and is 18 x 19 inches in size.

It reads as follows :

"À LA GLOIRE DU GRAND ARCHITECTE DE L'UNIVERS

SOUS LES AUSPICES ET AU NOM DU SÉRÉNISSIME GRAND

MAITRE, LE GRAND ORIENT DE FRANCE A TOUS

LES MAÇONS RÉGULIERS *UNION, FORCE, SALUT.*

"Sur la demande présentée la premier jour de la premier Semaine du cinquième mois de l'An de la vraie lumière Cinq mil Sept cent soixante et quatorze, par les frères composant la loge des *Frères Choisis* à l'Orient du fond des nègres Isle St. Dominique à l'effet d'Obtenir du GRAND ORIENT des Constitutions pour leur loge sous le dit titre ;" [Here I omit six lines, and give the final clause of the Warrant. O. J. H.]

"*En foi* de quoi nous luy avons délivré ces présentes qui ont été expédiées au GRAND ORIENT DE FRANCE de Sçellées et Timbrées des Sceaux et Timbre de l'Ordre signées de nous et contre-signées par notre Secrétaire Général le troisième jour de la troisième Semaine du cinquième mois de l'An de la vraie lumière cinq mil Sept cent soixante et quatorze."

The Warrant is signed by "Le Duc de Luxembourg, Grand Maître," "Le Baron de Toussaint, Secrétaire Général," and by the members of three Boards or Councils denominated "Chambre d'Administration," "Chambre de Paris," and "Chambre des Provinces." Among the signatures of the members of the last-named Council is that of the celebrated Dr. Guillotine, the reputed inventor of the Guillotine. The Warrant also

bears a certificate of registry "en la Chambre de Paris," signed by "S. Morin, Secrétaire." *

The history of this old document was not known to the persons in whose possession I found it. Within the last few months, however, after investigations diligently made at Hartford, New London, and Norwich, Connecticut, I have developed the following facts and incidents.

All readers of American history will remember that in the year 1797 the difficulties of the United States government with France, consequent upon the ratification of Jay's treaty with Great Britain, reached a point little short of war. July 17, 1798, Congress disannulled our treaties with France, and declared them to be no longer binding upon the United States. The same year additions were made to our regular army, and in 1799 a provisional army was raised and General Washington was created commander-in-chief. The principal theater of operations of this army was in the State of New Jersey, if I mistake not.

Early in 1800 Acts were passed by Congress further suspending commercial intercourse with France and its dependencies, and continuing in force the Act authorizing the defense of American merchant vessels against French depredations. Provision was also made for the increase and the better government of the navy. In May, 1799, preparations were begun at Norwich, New London County, Conn., for building for the Federal government a sloop of war, to be commanded by David Jewett, Esq.†

* Stephen Morin was a Jew, who in 1761, was appointed by the "Grand Lodge and Sovereign Grand Council," convened at Paris, Grand Inspector to "establish in every part of the world the Perfect and Sublime Masonry." He proceeded in 1762 to the Island of St. Domingo, where he resided for a number of years, and executed his delegated authority for propagating the "*hauts grades*" throughout the New World, personally and by deputation. Thus the Island of St. Domingo is of special interest to Freemasons, as having been the first home in the Western Hemisphere of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and the source of Sublime Freemasonry in America.

† David Jewett was born at New London, North Parish (now Montville), Conn., June 17, 1772. His father, Dr. David Hibberd Jewett, served as surgeon in the American army during most of the Revolutionary war. His mother, Patience, was a daughter of Major Charles, and granddaughter of Rev. John Bulkeley, first minister of Colchester, Conn. David Jewett was commissioned Master Commandant in the U. S. Navy, June 6, 1799, to take rank April 6, 1799. He was discharged from the navy June 8, 1801, under the "Peace Establishment Act." After service in the merchant marine of New York, Capt. Jewett entered the service of Chili, and fought for her independence. Subsequently he became "Brigadier-General Effective of the Armada of the Empire of Brazil," which position he held for a number of years, being in close confidential relations with the Emperor Dom Pedro I. In 1827, he married Mrs. Eliza Mactier, daughter of Alderman Augustus H. Lawrence, of New York. On leave of absence he lived with his family at Wilkesbarre, Pa., where, in 1830, his son—an only child—was born; now Rev. A. D. L. Jewett, D.D., of New York City.

About 1836 Commodore Jewett returned to Rio de Janeiro, where he died in July, 1842.

The keel was laid in September following, at the ship-yard of Jedidiah Willett, and the work of construction was carried on with great energy and haste under the direction of Mr. Jos. Howland, agent for the government. The labors of the workmen were not suspended during Sundays, and scarcely through the night hours, until finally, in the latter part of November, 1799, the work was completed and the boat ready for launching. She was altogether a remarkably strong, well-built sloop, being completely coppered, and pierced for eighteen 12-pounder guns.

In 1777 Willett had constructed a Continental ship which was named *Trumbull* in honor of "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull, at that time Governor of Connecticut, and it was determined to give the same name to this latest product of the Norwich ship-yard, not only in memory of the old boat, but in honor of Jonathan Trumbull—son of "Brother Jonathan"—the then Governor of Connecticut.

The figure-head of the *Trumbull* was an effigy of the Governor with his left foot on a cannon, the United States flag furled by his side, and a drawn sword in his right hand. The launch took place on the 26th of November, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, and was graced with the Governor's presence. Amid the acclamations of thousands of spectators, the new sloop glided into the water easily and gracefully. Her appearance was majestic, and commanded the admiration of the best judges.

She was taken down the Thames to New London. But when half a league below Norwich she grounded, and it was two days before she was again afloat. She was armed, equipped and manned at New London, and lay in the harbor there until March 7, 1800, when she sailed for New York under command of David Jewett, Master Commandant. A few days after reaching New York, Commander Jewett received orders to join the United States squadron cruising in the vicinity of the West Indies. He immediately set sail, and in about two weeks reached the St. Domingo station.

On the 24th of April the *Trumbull* captured the French schooner *Peggv*, bound from Port Republicain (Port-au-Prince) to Bordeaux, having on board thirty-five tons of coffee and seventy barrels of sugar; armed with six guns and manned by eleven men. This was the first prize taken by the *Trumbull*, and it was sent to New London, arriving there May 25th.

In June, 1799, in the midst of the Franco-American maritime hostilities, commercial intercourse was reopened by the United States with St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which island, having thrown off the French yoke, were, under the rule of Toussaint L'Ouverture—a pure negro—

essaying to organize an independent republic. But late in 1799 Rigaud and Pétion, two able and educated mulattoes, becoming jealous of the ascendancy of Toussaint, succeeded in raising an insurrection among the mulattoes. Rigaud, who had served in the French army in this country in the war of the Revolution, assumed the title of General, and usurped the government of affairs in the South and West of the island, where the mulattoes were most numerous.

When the *Trumbull* arrived at the St. Domingo station in April, 1800, the two chiefs, Toussaint and Rigaud, were carrying on an exterminating war against each other, which had been in progress for several months. About the end of July Toussaint was very successful against his adversary, and after a siege captured Aquin, a southern maritime town, and got possession of Rigaud's portmanteau and papers, whereby the weak situation of the insurgents was exposed. Rigaud, finding himself closely pursued, sent a deputation with a flag of truce to Toussaint. Forced to consent to depart from the island within two or three days, Rigaud and a large number of his officers, with their families, embarked on two armed vessels at Aux Cayes the 2nd of August, and immediately set sail. The vessel on which Rigaud was a fugitive was a twenty-two-gun brig, and it reached the island of St. Thomas in safety, although three United States sloops of war—the *Augusta*, *Trumbull* and *Herald*—were cruising near Aux Cayes. The other fleeing vessel—*La Vengeance*—was not so fortunate, for on the morning of August 3d she was captured by the *Trumbull* just outside the harbor of Jacquemel.

La Vengeance was a French schooner, pierced for ten carriage-guns, but armed with eight four-pounders. She was commanded by Citizen Panoyoty, who held his commission as Commander from General Rigaud. There were on board the schooner in the neighborhood of 140 persons, all natives of St. Domingo, and people of color, sixty or seventy of whom were officers. Among them were D'Artignave, Chef de Brigade, Commandant of the town of Jeremie and its dependencies; one Adjutant General, and the principal part of Rigaud's *état major*. Several bags of papers, containing, among other things, General Rigaud's archives and military correspondence, were found on the schooner; also \$8,974.96 in gold and silver coin, some gold and silver plate, and a quantity of valuable wares and merchandise.

Three days after the capture of *La Vengeance* the *Trumbull* captured a large open boat in which were General Lyse, Commandant of Petit Trou, with his family and several officers. The prisoners, and cargo, consisting of forty bags of coffee, were taken on board the *Trumbull*, and the boat sunk.

About the 20th of August the *Trumbull* and her prize *La Vengeance* set sail for the United States.

At the time of the capture of *La Vengeance* the *Trumbull* was under the command of Commodore Alexander Murray, Commander of the St. Domingo station. Some six weeks after the capture he received from Tous-saint L'Ouverture a letter, of which the following is a translation:

" 16 Sepr. 1800.

" I have received, worthy Commander, your favor of the 28th August ult., and am impressed with the grateful sense of the marks of kindness and civility you have been pleased to show me. It gives me pleasure to be informed of your laudable instructions for preserving a good understanding between the respective officers of this island and the United States; it being the means of rendering both countries happy. I cherished the hope that, in the number of prisoners taken by the *Trumbull*, certain persons might have been sent to me, from whom I might receive some useful information. Those I allude to I insinuated to Dr. Stevens* at the interview we had at Port Republicain, requesting that this favor might be solicited of the United States. They are the least culpable; the rest must abide by the consequences."

The *Trumbull* and *La Vengeance* arrived in the harbor of New London, Conn., on Saturday, September 13, 1800. The captured Haytians were delivered over to the United States authorities as prisoners of war, and on September 19th seventeen of them were sent to Norwich, Conn., eighty-four were marched to Hartford under escort of the independent company of militia commanded by Captain Smith, and the remainder were imprisoned in the New London jail.

September 17th the Hon. Pierrepont Edwards, United States Attorney for the District of Connecticut, filed in the United States District Court at Hartford a libel " in behalf of the United States and David Jewett, Esq., commander of the public armed vessel called the *Trumbull*—and the other officers and men of said vessel—against the schooner *La Vengeance*, her tackle, apparel, and cargo." Hon. Richard Law, Judge of the Court, filed a decree on the 9th of October, as follows: " This Court having heard the complaint of the libellants as stated in their libel, and caused proclamation to be made, and no person appearing to claim the property libeled, or to show cause why the same should not be condemned; and this Court having seen the papers found on board *La Vengeance*, and heard the evidence and exhibits of the libellants, do find the facts stated in said libel to be

* Dr. Edward Stevens, United States Consul at Cape François, St. Domingo, in 1800.

true as therein stated, and that the schooner *La Vengeance* is an armed French vessel of inferior force to the *Trumbull*, and that said schooner and all her lading and the goods and effects on board are French property. Whereupon this Court is of the opinion that said schooner *La Vengeance*, her guns, tackle, and apparel, and her lading, and the goods and effects on board at the time of her capture are good and lawful prize, and as such ought to be condemned to and for the use of the United States and the captors. * * *” On the 29th of October the schooner and her cargo were sold at public sale by the U. S. Marshal, at Howland and Alby’s wharf, New London, and \$4,260.70 were realized, which, added to the amount of gold and silver coin found on the schooner, gave the sum of \$13,235.66 for distribution.*

Among the prisoners sent to Norwich was a mulatto who had been a lieutenant under Rigaud. His name was Jean Pierre Boyer, and he was a native of Port-au-Prince, where he was born in 1776. In his possession, at the time of his capture, were found a complete set of the regalia and jewels of a Masonic Lodge and a variety of Masonic documents, such as forms for admission to the Fraternity, catechisms of the various degrees from an Entered Apprentice up to Perfect Master, communications from the Grand Orient at Paris, and the Warrant, or Charter, hereinbefore referred to, and now in the writer’s possession.

These documents fell into the hands of a prominent Freemason of New London county, a relative of Commander Jewett, and were by him retained as curiosities.

The prisoners at Norwich were treated in the most humane and benevolent manner. Wholesome food and comfortable winter clothing were provided for them; they had the privilege of the jail limits, and were allowed to stroll about the town. It being ascertained by the brethren of Somerset Lodge, No. 34, Free and Accepted Masons,† that Lieutenant Boyer was a Freemason, he was taken in charge by the Lodge, supplied with whatever he needed, and placed to board in the family of Diah Manning, a member of the Lodge, all expenses being defrayed by the Lodge.

During Boyer’s stay in Norwich he frequently attended the meetings of Somerset Lodge. He was a young man of superior natural abilities and his mind was very considerably cultivated and improved by education. “Most of his leisure time at Norwich he employed in perfecting himself in

* The *Trumbull* was sold by the U. S. Government in May, 1801, for \$26,500.

† Somerset Lodge, No. 34, F. & A. M., was constituted at Norwich in 1794, with elaborate ceremonies. The services were held at the Meeting-house in the town plot, and Bishop Seabury preached a sermon from Hebrews, iii. 4. The Lodge still flourishes.

the English language, and at his departure from the town he cut from a piece of his linen his name, marked at full length, and gave it to one of the young members of the family that had assisted him in his lessons. 'Keep this,' he said, 'and perhaps some day you may send it to me in a letter, and I will remember you.'

In April, 1800, negotiations for the settlement of existing difficulties had begun at Paris between envoys of the United States and France, and on the 3d of September a "Convention" was signed. Among other things provision was made for the protection of the commerce of the United States against such depredations as had been made upon it by French privateers, under sanction of the French government, and which had led to the rupture between the nations. In February, 1801, the "Convention," with the exception of two of its articles, was sanctioned and ratified by the U. S. Government, but it was not until March 18th that President Jefferson sent Representative Dawson to France with the ratification.

In the latter part of April intelligence was received in the United States that France had ratified the treaty.

Early in May the prisoners of war at Norwich, Hartford, and New London were sent to New York City, and thence to Guadeloupe. This island was then in possession of the French, and during the years 1799 and 1800 a number of American seamen who had been captured by French vessels were imprisoned in the dungeons of Guadeloupe.

Boyer made his way to France, where he was well received by Napoleon, then First Consul, and from whom he obtained a commission in General LeClerc's expedition, which sailed for St. Domingo in January, 1802.

After the annihilation of the French authority in St. Domingo the island remained in the hands of the blacks, and the political struggles amongst them, which followed that event, ended in the establishment of an arbitrary regal government (styled imperial) with Christophe—King Henry I.—at the head, at Cape François in the northern part of the island; and an elective or republican form at Port-au-Prince, in the south, under President Pétion. Boyer was an adherent of Pétion, and on the death of the latter in 1818 he was named President of the Haytian Republic. In 1820 Christophe having become involved in differences with his subjects, shot himself, and the two parts of the island were then reunited under the general name of the Republic of Hayti, and Jean Pierre Boyer was made President.

He carried on his government until 1842, when a violent insurrection overthrew his power and compelled him to take refuge in Jamaica. He died in Paris in 1850.

In 1819 President Boyer sent a handsome gratuity, \$400, to each of the two families in Norwich, in which he had been treated with especial kindness while a prisoner of war; and at the same time he presented £500 sterling to "The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society."

General Boyer-Bazelais, an accomplished politician and writer, and a nephew of President Boyer, was the leader of the insurgents in the rebellion against the government which prevailed in Hayti in 1883.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Oscar A. Barry". The signature is written in black ink and features a large, stylized initial "O" and a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

WILKESBARRE, PENN.

ABOUT RICHARD BELLINGHAM

A name that often appears in colonial history is that of Richard Bellingham. His was an active and useful life; he held many offices of responsibility and trust, and was a positive factor in the civil government of early New England. He was "a man of incorruptible integrity and acknowledged piety." Like Winthrop, Dudley, Endicott, and some others, he occupied the gubernatorial chair, and governed the Massachusetts Bay Colony wisely, strongly, and well.

He was the son of William Bellingham, of the manor of Brombye Wood, County Lincoln, England, born in the year 1591. He was educated as a lawyer, and married Elizabeth, grand-daughter of Nicholas Backhouse, an alderman of London. In 1625 he was elected Recorder of Boston, which office he held until 1633, when he resigned, preparatory to leaving for America. In the same year, according to the records of that borough, he was made a freeman by a "fyne of v £;" and on the 26th of February, 1627, at an Assembly held at Boston, we read that "Richard Bellingham, Esq., and Richard Chelet are elected Burgesses of this Corporation for the Parliament holden the 17th day of March next, and it is agreed that Mr. Richard Bellingham shall have first place in the Parliament." * He was a member of the "Massachusetts Company" in 1628, and his name is in the charter granted by Charles I., in 1629. When he died he was the last survivor of those patentees.

Before leaving England he, with his wife Elizabeth, sold "their Messuage and 3 oxgangs of land in Scunthorpe and Fordingham," and some other property to William Goodrick, for £270; "all his messuages, cottages, lands, tenements, meadows, etc., etc., etc., in Brombye Wood and Birmingham," to Robert Lord Brooke and others for £3,000; and to William Randall, of Lincoln Inn, for £900, their Manor or Lordship of Holby, Hatheby and Walcott," and other farms and cottages. He seems to have been a man of wealth, and it must have been with much difficulty that he left these scenes for new and untried fields.

He came to Boston, New England, accompanied by his wife and son, Samuel, in 1634, and soon became one of the most important men in the colony. He was almost immediately chosen as one of the "ten to manage the affairs of the town." This body was afterwards known as Selectmen.

* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xxviii., p. 14.

This same year, 1634, he was one of a committee of seven, of which Gov. John Winthrop was chairman, to divide the town lands; and to this committee we are indebted for our historic "Boston Common," those acres being then reserved for a public domain.

He was first chosen Deputy Governor in 1635, John Haynes being then the governor. During this year King Charles I. caused an indictment of quo warranto to be brought against the "Govern^r, Deputy Govern^r, and every of the assistants of Corpora^con of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and the following persons not appearing and disclaiming were outlawed: John Humphreys, John Endicott, Simon Whitcomb, Samuel Aldersey, Increase Nowell, Richard Bellingham, John Browne, Samuel Browne, William Vassall and William Pinchon." Bellingham was again chosen Deputy Governor in 1640, when Thomas Dudley was Governor, and in 1653 and 1655 John Endicott, Governor. In 1636 he was a contributor, with others, in aid of "y^e raysing of a new worke of fortification upon y^e ffort hill." His first election as Governor took place in 1641, a memorable year in the history of Massachusetts, for in that year the celebrated "Body of Liberties," drawn up by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, author of "The Simple Cobler of Agawam," was adopted; and in this year he was associated with Edward Rawson, the long-time Secretary of the Colony, Increase Nowell and Joseph Hills as a committee "to examine and put in order the 'publike writings received from the former Governor,' John Winthrop." *

In 1649 he was one of the signers of a protest to an obnoxious custom then in vogue: "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Russians and barborous Indians, had begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's Word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, do declare and maintain our dislike and detestation against it."

In 1654 he was again elected Governor, with John Endicott as Deputy Governor. In this year occurred in Boston what was known for a long time as "The Great Fire."†

When the retention of the charter by Massachusetts was threatened in 1664, he, together with Major General Leverett, Captains Clarke and Johnson, were appointed a committee to take charge of it, being "directed to dispose of it as might be most safe for the country." During this same

* New Eng. Gen. His. Reg., vol. xxiii., p. 22.

† Two other "great fires" took place during the colonial period, one in 1676, and the other in 1679. The "Great Fire" of modern days, Nov. 9-10, 1872, was, perhaps, no more destructive than these, taking the population and valuation into account.

year he, with others, was summoned by James II. to appear in England and answer for seemingly obnoxious conduct. But, acting under the charter, he refused, and was sustained in his course by the General Court. In 1665 he was again chosen Governor, to which position he was annually elected until he died in 1672, his death being thus recorded in Roxbury Church Records: "7.10^m Richard Bellingham, Esq^r Gov^r aged 81, died, & was honorably interred on y^e 18th day of 10^{mo};" thus ending a service of twenty-three years as Governor and Deputy-Governor; and having, as Hubbard says, "spun a long thread of above eighty years." He was buried in the "Granary Burying Ground," and this inscription was over his tomb, which, later, passed into the possession of Governor Sullivan:

"Virtue's fast friend within this tomb doth lie,
A foe to bribes, but rich in charity." *

There are many appreciative estimates of his character. Eliot says that he was "a very learned man, compared with his contemporaries in New England." Johnson, in "Zion's Wonder-Working Providence," thus expresses himself "bold of say":

"Though slow of speech, thy counsell reach, shall each occation well,
Sure thy sterne looke it cannot brooke those wickedly rebell.
With laborous might thy pen indite doth Lawes for peoples learning;
That judge with skill, and not with will, unarbitrate discerning."

And Drake, in his "History of Boston," says: "He was, perhaps, one of the most rigid of his time, and the Quaker writers have pronounced judgement upon his character in tones of much harshness. In Mr. Endicott's time, they say he was an 'active instrument in whatever laws were enacted against them.'† In drawing the character of Governor Bellingham some have considered him as inclining to democratic principles, and at the same time violently opposed to all innovations in religious matters. Of the former there does not appear to be much evidence, while of the

* Shurtleff, in "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," gives this curious incident: "In one respect the selection of the site for this cemetery was particularly unfortunate. The soil was springy and exceedingly damp, and therefore required drainage. It is said that when Judge Sullivan, at the close of the last century, repaired the Bellingham tomb, near the westerly wall, he found the coffin and remains of the old Governor—who died on the seventh of December, 1672, in the eighty-first year of his age—floating around in the ancient vault. One hundred and ten years form a long period for such kind of navigation."

† Anne Hibbins, denounced for witchcraft and hung at Salem, in 1656, was a sister of the Governor. "If he made any effort to save her, that fact nowhere appears," says Samuel Adams Drake, in *New England Legends and Folk-Lore*, p. 33.

latter there can be no question. * He was a devout and sincere Christian, as well as a strict observer of external forms. At times he was melancholy, and suffered from temporary intellectual aberration, and his last moments were probably passed without his reason." †

Governor Bellingham's possessions within the limits of Boston, in 1647, are given in the "Book of Possessions" as: "One house and Lott about a quarter of an acre;" "a garden plott," and "a piece of marsh," which marsh included what was granted him by the town, on the west side of the Cove, east of the present Union Street, "for the continuance of peace and love, in consideration of a quiet resignation of all claim unto the west before his house." He at one time had a house and lot about where Washington Street now crosses Cornhill and Brattle Street, and may at one time have lived there; ‡ but his life-long residence was on what is now Tremont Street, about midway between Pemberton Square and Beacon Street, opposite the Chapel Burying Ground. The estate was afterwards occupied by Peter Fanueil and Lieutenant-Governor Phillips.

On the southerly part of the marsh above referred to, there stood for many years a curious building known as the old "Triangular Warehouse." This was near what is now the corner of North Market Street and Merchants Row, anciently known as "Roebuck Passage," which was very narrow; only one team could pass through at a time, and it often "presented the curious scene between teamsters, made common by the custom of tossing a copper to see which should back out for the other." Of this old warehouse, Shurtleff says: "In its earlier and more palmy days this singularly constructed building was used for mercantile purposes only. But as time wore on, and it became old and out of repair, it was put to various purposes; one part was used for an iron store, another for a junk shop, and the attic sometimes for a store-room, and sometimes for a sail-loft. Novel writers assign to it other purposes, and Cooper, in "Lionel Lincoln," describes it as the residence of one of his characters."

In 1631, Thomas Williams commenced to run a ferry between Boston, Charlestown and "Winnessimmett" (Chelsea), and in 1634 the General Court granted the ferry to Samuel Maverick, who granted the same to Richard Bellingham the next year, who owned it until his death; and it was as

* The Governor was a member of the First Church, which stood where now Brazer's Building stands on State Street, and was very much opposed to the erection of the Third, or Old South Church, summoning his council, with a view of prohibiting it; but of no avail.

† He was present and presided at the council which met Oct. 8, 1672, only two months before his death.

‡ Memorial History of Boston, vol. i., p. 575.

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early as 1634 that Mr. Bellingham bought Mr. Maverick's and John Black-leach's interest in Winnessimmet. This "Manor of Winessemet" is thus described in the Boston Town Records under date of "The last of the 9th month 1640." "The lands of Mr. Richard Bellingham lieth at Winnessimmet belonging to the town of Boston are bounded with the lands of William Steedsonne of Charles-towne and with Charles-towne lands, limited by fence and marsh towards the North West with a Winter fresh water runnell and Powder-Horn Creek parting between the lands of Mr. Bellingham and Mr. Nicholas Parker of Boston towards the North East, with the salt water on all other parts towards the East, South and West, all within said limitts and bounds belongs to Mr. Bellingham." He had other property. In 1662, the General Court laid out for him a farm of seven hundred acres "between Andiner, Salem, & Rouley." His name is perpetuated by Mount Bellingham, in Chelsea, and the town of Bellingham, which was set off from Dedham, Wrentham and Mendon in 1719.

Governor Bellingham's second marriage, in 1641, was a curious one; and the story is told at length by Gov. John Winthrop in his "Journal." The "young gentlewoman" was about to be married to a friend when the governor proposed to her and was accepted, excusing his conduct by the "strength of his affection" for her, and stating that she was not absolutely promised to the other. Winthrop says that he erred in two ways: "1. That he would not have his contract published where he dwelt, contrary to an order of court. 2. That he married himself, contrary to the constant practice of the country." When called to an account, he, being on the bench, would not vacate it, consequently no action was taken. Here we have the unique spectacle of a magistrate marrying himself illegally and then acting as his own judge. The "young gentlewoman" was Penelope Pelham, sister of Herbert Pelham, a quite prominent citizen. She made a most exemplary wife, and outlived the governor many years. Her death, May 28, 1702, is thus recorded in Sewell's Diary: "At 5 p. m. Madam Bellingham dies, a vertuous Gentlewoman, *antiquis moribus prisca fide*, who has lived a widow just 30 years."

Governor Bellingham left a will which was the subject of much dispute and litigation.* In the inventory items are mentioned as follows: a pasture of two and a half acres, "at the south end, butting upon Angola's house,† and joining the land of Mrs. Colburn, valued at £250; ground

* This will is printed in N. E. His. and Gen. Register, vol. xiv., pp. 237-239.

† Angola was a negro slave to whom he gave a piece of land because: "He was the only instrument that, under God, saved my life, coming to me with his boat, when I was sunk in the river between Boston and Winnessimet, several years since, and laid hold of me and got me into the boat he came in, and saved my life; which kindness of him I remember."

upon the hill, behind Mr. Davenport's, £30; dwelling house and ground belonging to it, and shop before it, £600." The four farms at Winnisemmett were valued at £1,920. Total estate, £3,244 3s. 7d.

Sept. 6, 1676, the General Court gave judgment "that sayd will is illegall, & so null and voyd in law;" and June 1, 1677: "In answer to the motion of M^{rs}. Penelope Bellingham, the relict widdow of the late hono^rable Gouⁿour, Richard Bellingham, Esq^r, deceased, this Court doth order, that she shall have his dwelling house in Boston, & lands joyning, & other buildings adjacent, as also the farme now occupied by Samu^ell Townsend, during her naturall life, as also the household stuffe left her in the house, together with the balance of M^r Stoddards acco^t, which is forty-six pounds thirteen shillings, to be at her dispose, with two cowes she had, & 5^l lent her, & three pound odd moneys in stuffe for a goune, delivered by the trustees, provided allwayes that she shall not make any strey or wast of wood or timber, & at her chardge, from time to time, & at all times, keep the houses and fence tenantable & in good repaire."

Still farther complications grew out of the connection of the Governor's son Samuel and his wife, with the property; and that these troubles were not settled as late as 1710, is evidenced by the following extract from a letter written by Joseph Hiller, of Boston, to Edward Watts, of London: * "I wrote you in my last that the Two Mr. Mathers [Increase and Cotton] with the Rest of the Ministers in Boston had Petitioned the Generall Court for a new hearing of Governor Bellingham's Will, and that the Lower house as they did before (you know) had Voted a hearing of it, you may conclude I was not wanting in what I could do; when it came to the Upper house they refused to act in it by a major part and I hope are discouraged from meddling with it any more, especially, as I wrote you before." Mr. Hiller evidently was a relative, and according to Drake,† was a Public Notary, and kept a bookstore near the Red Lion Tavern, which stood on the northwest corner of North and Richmond streets, was built as early as 1654, and kept by Nicholas Upsall, the persecuted, imprisoned and banished Quaker, who figures in Longfellow's "New England Tragedies."‡ A narrow, crooked lane from Brattle Street, at the corner of Brattle Square, to Court, formerly Queen Street, was once called Hiller's Lane; probably from this Mr. Hiller, whose name is found in the tax lists for 1681, 1687, and the list of inhabitants for 1695. As is indicated by

* MS. letter in possession of Mr. Artemas Barrett, of Melrose, Mass.

† History of Boston.

‡ Nicholas Upsall and the "Red Lion Inn" are also made memorable in Whittier's "The King's Missive."

Mr. Hiller's letter, the General Court was probably "discouraged from meddling with it any more," as no reference to any action is found in the Records.

Governor Bellingham figures as one of the characters in "John Endicott" in Longfellow's "New England Tragedies," and in "Twice-Told Tales;" and he also figures in Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter;" that weird and vivid picture of Puritan times in Boston. Of him it says in the chapter "The Recognition": "Here, to witness the scene which we are describing, sat Governor Bellingham himself, with four sergeants about his chair, having halberds, as a guard of honor. He wore a dark feather in his hat, a border of embroidery on his cloak, and a black velvet tunic beneath; a gentleman advanced in years, with a hard experience written in his wrinkles. He was not ill-fitted to be head and representative of a community, which owed its origin and progress, and its present state of development, not to the impulses of youth, but to the stern and tempered energies of manhood, and the sombre sagacity of age; accomplishing so much precisely because it imagined and hoped so little." And in the chapter "The Governor's Hall" there is an excellent description of his residence.

Thus historian and romancer unite in paying homage to this good old Governor of our colonial days.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "E. H. Lof." with a long, sweeping horizontal flourish underneath.

THE STORY OF ASTORIA

WITH A SKETCH OF THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Mr. H. H. Bancroft, in his gigantic undertaking, is giving us an immense amount of material for history, gathered with wonderful industry and regardless of expense, and when completed his work will be a library in itself, containing abridgments of everything ever written about the Pacific coast. But its value will be very much impaired if it should be found that he has been so strongly influenced by personal bias, that not only his judgment but his statements of facts have been warped by it. Such seems to the writer to be the case with the story of Astoria, as told by him in Vol. II. of "The Northwest Coast," Vol. XXIII. of the series. The chapters devoted to this disastrous enterprise appear to be a piece of special pleading, devoted principally to venting the author's spleen against Mr. Irving and Mr. Astor, and the whitewashing of Mr. McDougal. It does not seem just to the memory of Washington Irving and John Jacob Astor to let such an account go unchallenged. As it is partly a question of judgment and partly a question of fact, I will briefly tell the history of the Pacific Fur Company.

This company was organized in 1810. Astor furnished all the money, but associated with him a number of partners who were to share the profits, but not the losses. As few citizens of the United States had experience in the fur trade, he induced several members of the Northwest Company of Canada to join him, after first in vain offering an interest to that company. These associates were Duncan McDougal, Alexander McKay, Donald McKenzie, and David and Robert Stuart. Wilson Price Hunt was the only partner selected from the United States, and he was to be in command on the Pacific Coast. The partners had full power to dissolve the company at any time during the first five years, if they thought best to do so.

In September, 1810, one party sailed for the mouth of the Columbia in the *Tonquin*, McDougal being the leader, while Hunt went overland the following spring. April 12th, 1811, work was begun at Astoria, and during that year the foundation was laid for an extensive business by the establishment of posts on the Columbia and its tributaries to the foot of the mountains. In February, 1812, Hunt reached Astoria after an adventurous and difficult journey. In May the *Beaver* arrived, the second sup-

ply ship sent out by Astor. The *Tonquin* had been captured by the Indians of Nootka Sound, and in August Hunt left in the *Beaver* to complete the necessary arrangements with the Russian governor at Sitka for what promised to be an exceedingly profitable trade. He did not return for more than twelve months, leaving McDougal in charge.

Meanwhile the Northwest Company had not been idle. In the summer of 1810 they had sent forward a party under command of one of the partners, David Thompson, to descend the Columbia and occupy the country in advance of the Pacific Fur Company. The country, however, was unexplored, and the river system imperfectly known, so that Thompson descended a tributary of the Fraser, believing it to be a branch of the Columbia, and when he discovered his mistake he had only time to gain Canoe River near the sources of the northern fork of the Columbia, when he was compelled to go into winter quarters, and most of his men deserted. Descending the river next spring, he arrived on the lower Columbia in July, 1811, only to find the Americans in possession. He was destitute of everything, but was liberally treated by McDougal, who supplied all his wants. Nothing daunted, the Northwest Company pushed forward along the Columbia and established posts competing with the upper ones of the Pacific Fur Company.

In December, 1812, McTavish, a leading partner of the Northwest Company, came to McKenzie's post at Fort Nez Percés, and informed him of the breaking out of war with England. McKenzie started at once for Astoria with the news, arriving there January 15, 1813, when McDougal at once made up his mind to abandon the enterprise and retreat across the Rocky Mountains during the summer. The other partners, however, upon their arrival objected to this, and it was agreed to continue business till June, 1814, when the company was to be dissolved, if no help and supplies were received from Mr. Astor meanwhile. In March of the same year Astor had dispatched a vessel from New York; but this was wrecked on the Sandwich Islands, and the blockade of the Atlantic coast by the British made it impossible to send another ship.

McKenzie was closely followed by McTavish, who reached Astoria in April and remained until July. He also was royally treated by McDougal, and even furnished with goods to trade on his way back, and pains were taken to put his party on a friendly footing with the Indians, who were looking askance at them as "King George men," the well-known enemies of the "Boston men." An arrangement was made with McTavish by which the property of the Pacific Fur Company was to be transferred to the Northwest Company, if no help came before next summer.

On August 20th Hunt arrived in the *Albatross*. He disapproved of the resolution taken by his partners; but as it was clearly within their powers, he could only acquiesce. The *Albatross* being under charter to go to the Marquesas Islands, he re-embarked in a few days to bring back another vessel by which such heavy stores might be removed as could not be taken across the Rocky Mountains, and it was agreed that if by some mischance Mr. Hunt should not return before the time came for carrying out the agreement with McTavish, then McDougal should have power to make all the necessary arrangements.

On October 7th McTavish returned, followed four days later by Stuart and McGillivray, two other partners of the Northwest Company, with seventy-five followers. Again they were entirely dependent on McDougal for supplies, and again they were liberally supplied. They brought news of the expected arrival of a British man-of-war, and entered into negotiations with McDougal which resulted in an agreement, signed October 16th, by which the furs, merchandise, forts, and all other property of the Pacific Fur Company were to be turned over to the Northwest Company as soon as an inventory could be taken. This was done, and the transfer completed October 23d. The consideration was about fifty-eight thousand dollars, the market value of the furs alone being twice this sum. November 30, the *Raccoon*, a British sloop of war, arrived, and Captain Black took formal possession of Astoria for his government, leaving shortly after. February 28, 1814, Hunt arrived in the *Pedler*, but too late.

These are the leading facts. They are given by Irving, and they are given by Bancroft, with one notable exception, to which we shall recur later. But to show Mr. Bancroft's animus I will quote a few of his statements relative to Mr. Astor and Mr. Irving.

"Whether success or failure waits on this enterprise, already John Jacob Astor is a great man. Bold, keen, grasping, with a mind no less fertile than sagacious, he is great, not as Newton, Washington, Lincoln and Peabody, but like Napoleon or Vanderbilt—a greatness not to be admired, but shunned." Now if this means anything more than bad taste on the part of the author, it means a very grave censure of Mr. Astor's motives, and yet he can find nothing worse to say about him than that "there is nothing in Astor's history that would imply him to be more than a respectable and wealthy merchant of common honesty and uncommon ability, desirous of increasing his wealth and respectability by every legitimate means at his command." If this estimate were true, I fail to see anything blameworthy in such a character, and yet Mr. Bancroft never lets an opportunity slip for a fling at the great merchant. "The thing could be

done, and should be ;' so said the autocrat." This of the man who had just put himself absolutely into the hands of his partners ! Again : " Astor committed his venture to the deep and sat down to muse upon the profits." This of the man who had bound himself to advance four hundred thousand dollars free of interest, to bear all losses himself, and to divide any profits which might accrue ! Of course Mr. Astor expected his venture to be a profitable one ; but he seems to have been of the same class of merchants as those who founded the British empire in India. The grandeur of the undertaking appears to have moved him far more than the prospective profits, and there is every reason to believe that he was fully in earnest when he wrote that he should have preferred to have had his property fairly captured rather than given away, as he considered it was. That Mr. Astor's undertaking was looked at as an important one in a national point of view may be seen from a letter of Jefferson's, and no one was better able to appreciate its significance than the consummator of the Louisiana purchase. Jefferson says : " I considered as a great public acquisition the commencement of a settlement on that point of the western coast of America, and looked forward with gratification to the time when its descendants should have spread themselves through the whole length of that coast," etc.

Washington Irving receives even worse treatment at Mr. Bancroft's hands. He accuses him again and again of inventing facts and coloring his narrative unfavorably to McDougal ; but, worse than that, he speaks of " the current of unqualified sycophancy, trickery, sentimentality, and maudlin praise which runs through [Irving's] ' Astoria.' " He states that " There are whole pages in ' Astoria ' abstracted almost literally from Frauchère. Pretending to draw all his information from private sources, the author makes no allusion to the source to which he is most indebted, not even mentioning Frauchère's name once in his whole work." Further : " Up to this time the imputation that he had received money from Mr. Astor for writing ' Astoria ' I believed to be utterly false, and unworthy of consideration. But in closely comparing with original evidence his statements concerning the New York fur merchant and his associates of the Northwest Company, I find them so at variance with truth and fairness that I am otherwise at a loss to account for his unusual warp of judgment."

It seems impossible, judging from these statements, that Mr. Bancroft can ever have read Irving's " Astoria " even so far as to the end of the introduction, or he would have found the following : " I have therefore availed myself occasionally of collateral lights supplied by the published journals of other travelers who have visited the scenes described—such as

Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, Bradbury, Breckenridge, Long, *Frauchère*, and Ross Cox—and make a general acknowledgment of aid received from these quarters." So much for the charge of plagiarism, which comes with peculiar ill-grace from an author whose history is mainly a scrap-book, made up from clippings of his authorities. The essential facts are all faithfully given by Irving; but no one can read "Astoria" without perceiving that its author has taken the dry bones of journals, logs, diaries, reports and business statements, and clothed them with his exquisite fancy until they have become a living reality, giving us one of the most charming narratives in the English language, and, withal, a truthful one.

The real trouble is that Mr. Bancroft seems to have made up his mind that McDougal must not be blamed for the disastrous outcome of the enterprise, and as the facts are overwhelmingly against him, abuse of Mr. Astor and Mr. Irving must take the place of favorable facts. In his defense of McDougal he is led into contradictory statements again and again. On page 147 this gentleman is described as "short and lithe, and quick of action." On page 214 he has grown into "by nature a cold-blooded man, stolid in body and mind." "Astor was peculiarly unfortunate in his fitting of character to position." "Hunt's great mistake was in leaving the coast at all," and yet McDougal "stumbled upon the best course, the only course proper to be pursued throughout the whole of this unpleasant and luckless adventure." But if McDougal's course was the only proper one, how had Astor been unfortunate in his selection of him? And where did Hunt's mistake come in, leaving him in charge? The facts are continually too strong for Mr. Bancroft, and, with all his twisting of them, he finds himself continually caught.

Mr. Irving's view seems to me the nearest right, but none of the historians of Astoria have sufficiently distinguished between what were two separate and distinct acts: the original agreement with McTavish in July, and the final sale to McTavish and McGillivray in October. According to the compact between Mr. Astor and his partners, it was clearly within the power of a majority of the latter to dissolve the company at any time within the first five years of its existence. The war with England did undoubtedly threaten serious danger to their enterprise, and McDougal may have honestly thought it best to exercise the powers which had been delegated to them, and close out the business in the best manner possible. He gains, first, McKenzie to his views, and receives, afterward, the reluctant assent of Clark and Stewart by putting off the dissolution another year, and then only if no help should arrive sooner. The agreement with McTavish seems also to have been provisional, and, as its purport is not

very clear, it may have been an advantageous one. When Hunt reached Astoria the following month, the resolution of the partners was evidently represented to him as a unanimous one, and even then he does not appear, as Mr. Bancroft says, to have indorsed the steps already taken by his partners, nor did he approve their "manifesto." He made a decided protest, but acquiesced in the inevitable, as the action of the partners was clearly within their authority. As he departed immediately for the purpose of chartering a vessel to remove all such goods as could not be taken across the mountains, it seems probable that the agreement with McTavish covered only the surrender of the posts. It could not have included the furs, as Frauchère says word was sent to the partners in the interior to forward all their furs to Astoria in the spring, that they might be shipped on the vessel Hunt was expected to bring. Before leaving, however, it was suggested by McDougal that some accident might prevent Hunt's return in time to carry out the agreement, and although the latter considered this very improbable, he acceded to McDougal's request that the carrying out of this agreement be put into his hands if Hunt should not return in time. It is very evident that this authority delegated to McDougal covered only the execution of those arrangements to which a majority of the partners had already given their assent. So far, McDougal's course would seem to have been reasonably fair, even if open to criticism as weak and showing his leaning toward his old associates of the Northwest Company. But we come now to the closing transaction, which is of an entirely different character.

Six weeks had barely passed since Hunt's departure, when McTavish reappeared at Astoria, this time closely followed by a large party, more than equal in number to the Astorians. They expected to meet an armed supply ship and a British man-of-war at the mouth of the Columbia; but neither had arrived, and it was very uncertain when they would arrive. The English party was without provisions and had lost their ammunition, so that they were entirely in McDougal's power. But they seem to have known their man, and we know the result—the surrender of all the possessions of the Pacific Fur Company at a nominal value and the adoption of McDougal as a partner in the Northwest Company. Mr. Bancroft argues very elaborately that this appears a fair transaction on both sides, and anyhow, the best that could be done under the circumstances. He lays especial stress on the protracted negotiations, claiming that the English held back in the hope of the arrival of their ship, and that McDougal brought them to the sticking point only by threatening to move up the Willamette and cut off their supplies. To sustain this view he gives a series of dates which I am unable to verify in the authorities quoted. He states

that according to Ross and Irving the British took possession of Astoria November 12th, and according to Frauchère November 23d. The facts are that the only date given by Irving is that of the signing of the contract, October 16th. He evidently considers this the only important date, as settling the matter beyond any possibility of withdrawal on either side. Frauchère's date is October 23d, and not November 23d, as stated by Mr. Bancroft. Ross I have not at hand, but this authority is repeatedly discredited by Mr. Bancroft himself, and he is certainly incorrect when he says (as quoted by Mr. B.): "Astoria was delivered up to the Northwest Company on the 12th of November, after nearly a month of suspense between the drawing and the signing of the bills," as the agreement itself specifies October 16th as the day on which it was signed and sealed. If this is not willful perversion of the facts, it is certainly at least inexcusable carelessness."

Instead of the negotiations dragging, they seem to me to have been conducted with great haste, considering the magnitude of the transaction. On October 11th the main Northwest flotilla arrived. On October 16th the contract was drawn up and signed, specifying that the delivery should be made as soon as the necessary inventories could be taken; and one week later, October 23d, the actual delivery took place. If McGillivray and McTavish had refused to receive the property after the signing of the agreement, when McDougal was ready to turn it over, and it had after such tender been taken by a British ship, there is not a court in Christendom which would not have compelled the Northwest Company to pay Mr. Astor according to the agreement, and it is absurd to argue that any drawing back on the part of the British was then attempted.

Mr. Bancroft says the other partners were on the spot and acquiesced in all that was done. This is not so. McKenzie was the only partner at Astoria at the time, and McDougal seems to have ignored him and acted alone under the authority which he claimed had been delegated to him by Hunt. But Hunt had not, and could not have done so, as this was a new matter which could only have been legally determined by a majority of the resident partners. This was evidently felt by McDougal, as the agreement between him and the Northwest Company, which is not even signed by McKenzie, begins as follows: "The Association heretofore carrying on the fur trade to the Columbia River and its dependencies, under the firm and denomination of the Pacific Fur Company, being dissolved on the 1st of July last, by Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie, David Stuart, and John Clarke, with the intention to abandon the trade in that quarter, it is hereby agreed," etc. I think it very plain, from what has already been stated, that this position is not tenable, as the proposed abandonment of

the enterprise in the summer of 1814 was at most provisional, and Frauchère, who is by far the best contemporary authority, says distinctly, referring to that transaction, that the Company "would probably have been dissolved by the remaining partners, but for the arrival of the energetic Mr. Hunt."

Mr. Bancroft twists himself into a new position and declares that McDougal took the wisest course possible, and that it would have been impossible for the Americans to maintain themselves on the Columbia if they could not get supplies by water from New York. It would be easy to show that there would have been no greater difficulty in their doing so than for the Northwest Company to carry on their business on the Fraser and upper Peace rivers; but even if it was still thought best to abandon the enterprise, nothing could have been easier than a temporary retreat from Astoria, as shown plainly by Frauchère, himself a Canadian and undisguisedly in sympathy with the English in the war, but faithful to the interests of his employer. The party of Northwesters could not possibly have maintained themselves on the lower Columbia till the arrival of the British sloop November 30th, as they were without food, ammunition or goods, and the Indians were but anxious for a word from the Americans to fall upon them. With this party out of the way it would have taken the Astorians but a few days to retreat beyond the reach of any English force from the sea, and it is even a question whether Astoria itself might not have been successfully defended, as no man-of-war could approach it within six miles and the Indians were all anxious to fight the English. But in any event the movable property might all have been saved and removed in the vessel with which Hunt arrived in the spring for that very purpose.

I can agree with Mr. Bancroft in but one point—that Mr. Astor was unfortunate in the selection of McDougal for a chief agent, both because of his relations with the Northwest Company and of his qualities as a man. But this does not relieve McDougal from deserved odium, and the verdict of history must be that of his countryman Frauchère, who was an eye-witness to and a participator in nearly all of these transactions, when he winds up his account of the sale of Astoria with these words: "Those at the head of affairs had their own fortunes to seek, and thought it more to their interest, doubtless, to act as they did; but that will not clear them in the eyes of the world, and the charge of treason to Mr. Astor's interests will always be attached to their characters."



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

FIVE INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

One from Admiral George Clinton to James Hamilton, one from Henry Laurens to James Lovell, one from Fisher Ames to William Ely, one from the British Officer Major-General Francis de Rottenburg to Major-General Dearborn, and one from Judge Peters to Robert Vaux.

Contributed by Ferguson Haines.

Admiral George Clinton to James Hamilton.

Fort George. 8th October 1750.

Sr

I now send you inclosed further Information which I have received from Col Johnson, relating to the Designs of the French. Tho' the English Colonies be beyond comparison superior to the French in North America, both in Number and Money, yet as the Assemblies of the several Colonies do not act in concert but pursue different Interests, the French may succeed in their Designs to our prejudice, by their being directed by one Council and pursuing steadily the same view.

This, I think, deserves the serious attention of all the Governors of the Colonies on the Main, and I shall gladly join with you and them, in any Method which may prove effectual for uniting the Colonies in pursuing their general Interest. But I doubt whether this can be effected, without an immediate application to His Majesty for that purpose.

I am with Great Respect S^r
Your Honour's most obedient
and very humble servant
G. Clinton.

Hon^{ble} James Hamilton. Esq.

Henry Laurens to James Lovell.

London 7th April 1783.

Dear Sir.

Permit me to recommend Mr. Peregrine Bourdieu to your protection and friendship during his stay in Boston. He intends to make a tour through the United

States and to establish a respectable Commercial house in one of them : he is the son of James Bourdieu Esq^r of this city, a gentleman of the first class of respectable Merchants, and who has been uniformly an Enemy to what you and I presume to call Tyranny, hence he became obnoxious to those Ministers who to the Ruin of their Country supported it.

You will find Mr. Peregrine a well educated, sensible and virtuous youth. I would have him by all means see New Hampshire and be made acquainted with our friend General Whipple and those other worthies our Cotemporaries at York Town and Philadelphia. When he turns his face Southerly, you will procure Letters for him to our friends at Rhode Island and New York. I say all this to *you* without apology and have only to add that Mr. Bourdieus Bills on his father will be duly honored.

I came lately to this Kingdom for my health. I had been robbed of it here, and here again I have in part recovered it : possibly it may appear that I have been of more real service to my Country by a Residence of five or six Weeks in Leicester fields than could have been effected by a whole Year's idleness in France : tomorrow I proceed to Paris having *now* a prospect, that our Negotiations for a solid Peace will be brought to a speedy and I trust happy Issue,—but mark, I say, prospect ; the greatest adepts in Weather and Politics are sometimes mistaken. When, please God, I arrive in America, I'll tell you the whole Story, and a long Story it will be.

With Every good Wish to Mrs. Lovell, yourself and the young family.

I have the honor to be,
My Dear Friend,
Your affectionate,
and faithful humble servant
Henry Laurens.

Best compliments to Mr. Gerry and other friends, particularly that good man, Mr. S. Adams. I wish Mr. Bourdieu to be acquainted with him.
James Lovell, Esquire, Boston.

Fisher Ames to William Ely.

Dedham April 13th 1801.

Dear Sir,

I beg the favor you w^d get a dozen or half a dozen trees of a proper size grafted with Mr Burts fine Long Meadow pear, and Col Dwight will at some future day send them round to me and pay any expense you may be at.

You was so good as to offer this piece of service. I wish you may live fifty years to eat of the fruit, and that I may offer you some of my own growth with my thanks for your procuring it.

I am d'r sir

Yours with esteem &c.

Fisher Ames.

Hon. William Ely. Springfield. Massachusetts.

Maj.-Gen. Francis de Rottenburg to Maj.-Gen. Henry Dearborn.

Head Quarters. British Army.

8th July 1813—

To His Excellency

Major General Dearborn, &c. &c.

Sir.

I am honored by your two Letters (in reply to my representation of the Transaction which took place on the 3d Instant, in regard of Major Fulton,) stating the steps your Excellency thought right to pursue in the business.

I fully acquiesce in your Excellency's Proposition, that Communications by Flags of Truce, between the Two Armies, be made by water.

That part of your Excellency's Letter relating to Communications from the Adjutant General of the British Forces, and Major Coon ; with your remarks on Captain Chapin ; it is necessary I should refer to His Excellency the Commander of the Forces. In the mean time, I enclose the Letters referred to, for your Excellency's signature, which has been omitted. Your Excellency may rely on every attention being paid to the Sick and Wounded Prisoners of War, and immediate steps were taken to furnish Dr. Young with the articles forwarded for them, from your Head Quarters.

Your representation of the unfortunate case of Major Graves no sooner came to my hands. than measures were taken for his speedy relief : and I have to assure your Excellency, that no Exertions shall be wanting to recover Major Graves from a situation so distressing, even by my offering a much larger ransom than the one you refer to, and I most sincerely hope my Efforts may meet with success ; for it is my wish that the war, should be conducted on as liberal Principles as is Consistent with a State of Warfare, and I cannot but express to your Excellency, my Satisfac-

tion on my receiving a Report, that Brigadier General Proctor's first steps, after the Action at the River Raisin. was to set an Enquiry on foot for Prisoners of War in the hands of Indians, with Instructions to withhold no Sums for their Ransom ; and in consequence I am informed several Militia Officers were returned to their homes.

I take this opportunity of sending under the charge of Mr. William Kerr one hundred Dollars, and sixty yards of Flannel, for the use of the British Prisoners of War Wounded.

I have the honor to be
With the Greatest respect
Your Excellency's
Most obt Servant
Francis De Rottenburg
M. General.

Judge Richard Peters to Robert Vaux, Esq.

Nov 21. 1825

Dear Sir

At the Penn dinner, the President (U. S.) took a pinch of Snuff out of a very shabby box, said to be made from the Wood of the Elm. I was ashamed of the squalidity of the Box. I told M^r Adams, that such a box should only be used *on a pinch*, but I should endeavour to prevail on some of our Society to have one made more respectful to Penn's memory ; so that he should not turn up his nose at the box, whatever its contents might *titilate* him to do.

Can such a grave & solemn assurance be effectuated ? If all the wood be gone, we are all in a *bad box*.

Yours most Sincerely
Richard Peters.

A REVOLUTIONARY REEIC

A SERMON.

Preached on the Eve of the Battle of Brandywine, Sept. 10, 1777.

BY THE

REV. JOAB TROUT.

* They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.*

SILENCE AND CONTEMPLATION.—We have met this evening perhaps for the last time. We have shared the toil of the march, the peril of the fight, and the dismay of the retreat; all this we have endured the cold and hunger, and the contumely of the infernal foe, and the courage of the British oppressor. We have sat, night after night, by the camp-fire; we have together heard the roll of the reveille, which called us to duty, or the beat of the tattoo, which gave the signal for the hasty sleep of the soldier, with the earth for his bed and his knapsack for his pillow.

And now, soldiers and brethren, we have met in the peaceful valley on the eve of battle, while the sunlight is dying away, behind powder heights, the sunlight that to-morrow morn'g will glimmer on scenes of blood. We have met amid the whitening tents of our encampment; in time of terror and of gloom, we have gathered together—God grant it may not be the last time.

It is a solemn moment. Brethren, does not the solemn voice of nature seem to echo the sympathies of the hour? The flag of our country droops heavily from powder staff; the breeze has died away along the green plain of Chadd's Ford—the plain that spreads before us glittering in the sunlight—the heights of the Brandywine arising gloomy and grand beyond the waters of your stream—all assure you a pause of solemn silence on the eve of the spread of the bloodshed and strife of to-morrow.

* They that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*

And have they not taken the sword? The flag of our country droops heavily from powder staff; the breeze has died away along the green plain of Chadd's Ford—the plain that spreads before us glittering in the sunlight—the heights of the Brandywine arising gloomy and grand beyond the waters of your stream—all assure you a pause of solemn silence on the eve of the spread of the bloodshed and strife of to-morrow.

It was but a day past and our land slept in the quiet of peace. War was not here—wrong was not here. Fraud and vice, and misery and want dwelt not among us. From the eternal solitude of the green woods, arose the blue smoke of the settler's cabin, and golden fields of corn looked forth from amid the waste of the wilderness, and the glad smile of human voices broke the silence of the forest.

Now, God of Mercy, behold the change! Under the shadow of a prelate, under the sanctity of the name of God, invoking the Redeemer to their aid, do these foreign birdings slay our people! They destroy our towns, they darken our plains, and now encompass our ports on the plain of Chadd's Ford.

* They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.*

Brethren, think me not unworthy of belief when I tell you the doom of the British is near! Think me not vain, when I tell you that beyond the cloud that now enshrouds us, I see gathering, thick and fast, the darker frowns and a blacker storm of Divine indignation!

They may conquer us to-morrow. Might and wrong may prevail, and we may be driven from this field—but the hour of God's own vengeance will come.

Aye, if in the vast solitude of eternal space, if in the heart of the boundless universe, there thrums the being of an avenging God, quick to avenge and sure to punish guilt, then will the man (George) of Brandywine, called King, feel in his brain and his heart, the renaissance of the

eternal Jehovah! A blight will be upon his life—a withered brain and accursed intellect; a blight will be upon his children, and upon his people. O Great God, how dread the punishment!

A crowded populace, peopling the dense towns where the man of money thrives, where the laborer starves; want striding among the people in all its forms of terror; an ignorant and God-defying priesthood checking over the millions; a proud and merciless nobility adding wrong to wrong, and heaping insult upon robbery and fraud; royalty corrupt to the very heart, and seditious votes to the core; crime and want linked hand in hand, and tempting men to deeds of war and death—these are a part of the doom and retribution that will come upon the English throne and the English people!

Soldiers—Look around upon your families faces with a strange heart! To-morrow morning we will all go forth to the battle—for need I tell you that your saworthy minister will march with you, invoking God's aid in the fight, to fight for your homesteads, for your wives and children?

My friends, I might urge you to fight by the palling memories of British wrong. Walton—I might tell you of your butchered father, in the silence of the night, on the plains of Trenton; I might ring his death shriek into your ears. Stillmore—I might tell you of a bearded mother, and a sister outraged; the lonely farm-house, the night assassin, the roof in flames—the shout of the troopers as they dispatched their victims; the cries for mercy, the pleadings of innocence for pity. I might paint this all again, in vivid colors of the terrible reality if I thought your courage needed much wild excitement.

But I know you are strong in the might of the Lord. You will march forth to battle on the morrow with light hearts and determined spirits, though the solemn duty—the duty of avenging the dead—may not hurry on your souls.

And is the hour of battle, when all around is darkness lit by the lurid cannon glare, and the piercing musket flash, when the wounded strewn the ground, and the dead litter your path, then remember, soldiers, that God is with you. The eternal God fights for you—he rides on the battle cloud—he sweeps onward with the march of the hurricane charge—God, the awful and the infinite, fights for you, and will triumph.

* They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.*

You have taken the sword, but not in the spirit of wrong and revenge. You have taken the sword for your hopes, for your wives, for your little ones. You have taken the sword for truth, for justice and right, and to you the promise is—of good cheer, for your feet have taken the sword in defence of all that man holds dear, in blasphemy of God—they shall perish by the sword.

And now, brethren and soldiers, I bid you all farewell. Many of us may fall in the battle of to-morrow. God out, the seals of the solemnity of our lives to tell the story of the fight to-morrow, and in the memory of all will ever rest and linger the quiet scene of the unmanly night.

Soon twilight advances over the valley; the woods on the opposite heights fling their long shadows over the green of the meadows; around us are the tents of the continental hosts, the suppressed bustle of the camp, the hurried tramp of the soldiers to and fro among the tents, stillness and awe that marks the eve of battle.

When we meet again, may the shadow of twilight be flung over a peaceful land. God in Heaven grant it.

Prayer for the Revolution!

Great Father, we bow before thee; we invoke thy blessings, we deplore thy wrath; we return thee thanks for the past, and we ask thy aid for the future. For we are in times of trouble. Oh, Lord! and sore beset by foes, merciless and implacable. The sword gleams over our land and the dust of the mill is dampened with the blood of our neighbors and friends.

O! God of Mercy, we pray thy blessing on the American arms. Make the use of our hearts strong in thy wisdom! Bless, we beseech thee, with renewed life and strength our hope, and thy instrument, even GEORGE WASHINGTON. Show us thy counsel on the Honorable, the CONFIDENTIAL CONGRESS; raise the traits of our best; comfort the soldier in his wounds and afflictions; serve him for the fight; prepare him for the hour of death. And in the hour of defeat, God of Honor, do thou be our stay, and in the hour of triumph, be thou our guide. Teach us to be merciful. Though the memory of killing wrongs be at our hearts, knocking for remittance, that they may fill us with the desire of revenge, yet, let us, oh, Lord! spare the vanquished, though they never spared us, in the hour of butchery and bloodshed. And in the hour of death, do thou guide us to the abode prepared for the blessed; so shall we return thanks unto thee through Christ our Redeemer—God prosper the cause. AMEN.

The above is from an old copy in the possession of HENRY BRADEN, Esq., Burlington, Vt.

FRESH NEWS

JUST ARRIVED

An Express

From the Provincial-Camp near Boston, with the following interesting Account of an Engagement at Charlestown, between about Three Thousand of the King's Regular Forces, and about half the Number of Provincials, on Saturday, the 17th Instant.

ON Friday night, June 17th, 1500 of the Provincials went to Bunker's Hill, in order to intrench there, and continued intrenching till Saturday 10 o'clock, when two thousand Regulars marched out of Boston, landed in Charlestown, and plundering it of all its valuable effects, set fire to it at 10 different places at once; then dividing their army, one of them marched up in the front of the Provincial's intrenchment, and began to attack the Provincials at long shot; the other part of the army marched round the town of Charlestown, under cover of the smoke occasioned by the fire of the town. The Provincial Centinels discovered the Regulars marching upon their left wing. Upon notice of this, given by the Centinel to the Connecticut forces posted on that wing, Captain Nolton, of Ashford, with 400 of said forces, immediately repaired to, and pulled up a post and rail fence, and carrying the posts and rails to another fence, put them together for a breast work. Capt. Nolton gave orders to the men, not to fire until the enemy were got within 15 rods, and then not till the word was given. At the word being given, the enemy fell surprisingly. It was thought by spectators who stood at a distance, that our men did great execution. The action continued about two hours, when the Regulars on the right wing were put into confusion, and gave way. The Connecticut troops closely pursued them, and were on the point of pushing their bayonets; when orders were received from General Putnam, for those who had been in action two hours, to fall back, and their places to be supplied by fresh forces. These orders being mistaken for a direction to retreat, our troops on the right wing began a general retreat, which was handed to the left; the principal place of action, where Captains, Nolton, Chester, Clarke, and Putnam had forced the enemy to give way and retire before them, for some considerable distance; and being warmly pursuing the enemy, were with difficulty persuaded to retire: But the right wing, by mistaking the orders, having already retired; the left, to avoid being encircled, were obliged to retreat also with the main body. They retreated with precipitation, across the causeways to Winter-Hill, in which they were exposed to the fire of the enemy, from their shipping and floating batteries. We sustained our principal loss in passing the causeway. The enemy pursued our troops to Winter-Hill, where the Provincials being reinforced by General Putnam, renewed the battle with great spirit, repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and pursued them till they got under cover of their cannon from the shipping. When the enemy retreated to Bunker's Hill, and the Provincials to Winter-Hill; where after entrencing long and erecting batteries, they on Monday began to fire on the Regulars on Bunker's Hill, and on the ships and floating batteries in the bay, when the express came away.

The number of Provincials killed, is between 40 and 70; 140 wounded of the Connecticut troops, 16 were killed; no officer among them, was either killed or wounded, except Lieut. Grovesnor, who is wounded in the hand. A Colonel or Lieut. Col. of the New-Hampshire forces among the dead. It is also said, that Doctor Warren, is undoubtedly among the slain. The Provincials lost 3 iron six pounders, some entrenching tools and knapsacks.

The number of Regulars that first attacked the Provincials on Bunker's Hill was not less than 2000. The number of Provincials was only 1500, who, it is supposed would have soon gained a complete victory, had it not been for the unhappy mistake already mentioned. The Regulars were afterwards reinforced with 1000 men. It is uncertain how great a number of the enemy were killed or wounded; but it was supposed by spectators, who saw the whole action, that there could not be less than 4 or 500 killed. ¶ Mr. Gardner who got out of Boston on Sunday evening, says that there were 500 wounded men brought into that place, the morning before he came out.

This account was taken from Captain Elijah-Hale, of Lebanon, who was a spectator on Winter-Hill, during the whole action.

New-York: Printed by John Anderson, at Beekman-Street.

The original Manuscript, [1774] of which the above is a copy, is in the hands of Henry Stevens, Esq., of Boston, President of the Yarmouth Historical and Antiquarian Society.

MINOR TOPICS

SKETCH OF REV. WILLIAM BARRY

The Rev. William Barry, who died at the residence of his son-in-law, Belden F. Culver, in Chicago, on the 17th of January, 1885, came from one of the oldest New England families and was a brother of the historian who wrote what is conceded to be the best history of Massachusetts. Their father, William Barry, was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and a conspicuous Mason. Their mother was Esther Stetson. Mr. Barry was born in Boston, began his education at Woburn, prepared for college at Bingham, spent four years at Brown University, graduating in 1822; studied law more than a year with Chief-Justice Shaw; traveled extensively in the South; entered the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1826, and after two years there went to Europe and spent two years more studying at Göttingen and Paris. In 1830 he was licensed as a preacher by the Boston Association of Ministers of the liberal faith, and was ordained pastor of the South Congregational Church in Lowell. Here he continued for five years, building up a society of over 250 families. He then went to Framingham as pastor of the First Church in 1835. Here he wrote his history of Framingham, a valuable work of 450 pages. In 1844 failing health compelled him to stop work and he visited Europe, accompanied by his wife, who was daughter of Deacon Cephas Willard, a descendant of one and nephew of another President of Harvard University. In the beautiful sketch of Mrs. Barry (who died in 1883) by Miss Star, it is stated that for more than a century the office of Deacon in the First Church of Petershaw was held by Cephas Willard and his father.

Dr. Barry was a very thorough and ripe scholar, an eloquent writer, and had rare gifts of expression, and he had the good fortune to possess a wife of equal endowments of head and heart. The three years they spent together in Europe, from 1844 to 1847, added greatly to their store of intellectual treasures. He then returned to Lowell to take charge of another church. Feebleness of health, however, compelled cessation of labor in 1851, and he again went to Europe, and to Asia and Syria, visiting the Holy Land and sojourning in Italy and the South of France. In 1853 his physicians required his leaving the ministry and advised a trial of our Western climate. He accordingly came to Chicago in 1853 with his wife and daughters, who have since become the wives of Mr. Lawrence Proudfoot and Mr. Belden F. Culver.

Shortly after his coming here Dr. Barry drew the charter and started the Chicago Historical Society, and by his great learning, culture, courtesy of manner and rare conversational talents interested most of the leading citizens of Chicago in

that institution. The organization was completed June 9, 1856. Dr. Barry gave the society the whole benefit of his time and labor for many years. He resigned his office as Secretary and Librarian in 1868. The following extract from the address of the late Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, at the dedication of the building in 1868, will show the result of Dr. Barry's efforts :

"Our library is believed to be nearly complete in the publications of the United States Government in every department, from its organization to the present time. This is also true of the Territorial and State Governments of Illinois, including all the laws, journals, and records of every department. We have also large collections of the documents of the Northwestern Territories and States, and special efforts were made by the late secretary, Mr. Barry, to collect the session laws and legislative records of all the colonies and of all the States and Territories from the first organization down. We have those of Virginia for two hundred years, those of Massachusetts very nearly complete from the beginning, those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey for one hundred years, and those of the Western States, including Ohio, nearly perfect."

It was in Mr. Barry's room that President Lincoln obtained the data for his memorable address at the Cooper Institute, which led to his Presidency of the United States. In 1865 Mr. Barry again went abroad, partly for recreation and partly for the Historical Society. He returned in 1874. He leaves no descendant bearing his name. His only son, William, died in 1850, and in 1873 he was overwhelmed by the loss of his grandson, William Barry Culver, on the steamship *Ville du Havre*, while on his way to join his grandparents in Stuttgart. Mr. Barry was one of the most accomplished belles-lettres scholars and one of the ablest writers in the West. His correspondence was immense. Among his published works are : "Farewell Sermon at Lowell," "Rights and Duties of Neighboring Churches," "Thoughts on Christian Doctrine," "History of Framingham," "Twenty-fifth Report of the Schools of Lowell," "The Antiquities of Wisconsin," "Letters from the East," and many others. Dr. Barry had been an invalid for many years, but had seen and talked with his friends with great clearness until the last few weeks. He sat for his picture to Mr. George P. A. Healey about one year ago. His rich storehouse of learning and travel and acquaintance with the leading men of his era have been open to his neighbors and friends who have gone to him as to a sage of a former generation.

In his death Chicago has lost one of those pure and bright exemplars who carried the stream of intellectual force, of moral purity and of social courtesy from the old Cambridge of 1630 to the Massachusetts Colony under John Winthrop, of both Cambridges, and down through seven generations of unmixed Puritan blood, to be diffused at last under new names in the growing generations of Western life and activity

DANIEL GOODWIN, JR.

CHICAGO, *January 30*

WHERE A KING ONCE LIVED

It is related of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, and afterward King of the French, that when he was in exile wandering through Sweden in 1795, he was much affected by a visit to the house in which Gustavus Vasa had taken refuge from the emissaries of the Danish invader, King Christian II., in 1520. This mansion was reverently preserved by the Swedes in the same state as when Gustavus made it his asylum ; and, to reproduce its history the more vividly to visitors of succeeding generations, images of his faithful servants were placed on guard at doorway and bedside, forming, with the ancient building and furniture, an impressive tableau, such as the life-like wax-figure scenes in the Swedish department of the Centennial Exhibition made us all familiar with a few years ago.

There is still standing in Philadelphia a house in which the Duke of Orleans himself subsequently found a refuge. But, although it was for years thereafter an object of interest to many curious visitors, it has latterly been almost forgotten. It stands in Spruce Street near Third, next above the old Scots' Presbyterian Church, and has undergone considerable alteration since its palmy days when it was the residence of the Duke of Orleans and of the Count de Noailles, brother-in-law of the Marquis de Lafayette, for its parlors have become an upholsterer's shop. It was not to be expected that Philadelphians would preserve Louis Philippe's residence intact with the same scrupulous reverence that the Swedes accorded to the dwelling of their illustrious hero ; but the antiquarian will regret the changes which the march of improvement makes in historic buildings.

This house was built for a parsonage to the adjoining church by the Rev. Thomas Marshall, its pastor, in 1786, so it can boast no Revolutionary fame, though the Scots' Church was used as a hospital by the British army after the battle of Brandywine ; and it is said that its floor still shows the ineffaceable stains of human blood.

The mansion, however, acquired honor from some of its first occupants ; for Mr. Marshall had boarding with him some of the members of the Convention who framed the Constitution of the United States in 1787, and within these venerable walls were its various clauses discussed.

When the Count de Noailles, during the French Revolution, sought refuge in Philadelphia, then the capital of the United States, he rented a part of Mr. Marshall's house, taking his meals at the parson's table. Here he lived some years ; and when, in 1796, Louis Philippe, in compliance with the requirements of the French Directory, and out of regard to his mother's wishes, sought the shores of America, he, too, found shelter under the Scottish parson's roof, where he remained during the weary months of waiting the arrival of his young brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, after their release from three years' imprisonment in Fort St. Jean, Marseilles. Their voyage was made in a ship crowded with American citizens, just released from slavery in Algiers, and occupied three months. On their arrival, they having brought a supply of money, the Duke of Orleans estab-

lished himself and his brothers in a house at the north-west corner of Fourth and Prune Streets, which has now been removed, the interest of the princes' visit to Philadelphia consequently centers in the Spruce Street house.

This house, in spite of its many alterations, wears some unmistakable marks of antiquity in its great chimneys and substantial walls, in which are visible at intervals rows of the black glazed English bricks which were in favor in the last century. An ancient English ivy, in spite of the ravages of our recent severe winters, still waves over the very tops of the chimneys, its wealth of sweet blossoms haunted by swarms of yellow, buzzing bees.

When the writer was familiar with this house some years ago it had many marks of the past which have now, perhaps, disappeared. In the wide-mouthed kitchen chimney with its elevated hearth still hung the old crane ; the doors displayed great brass locks with loop handles instead of knobs ; the front-door key was almost as ponderous as that of the Bastille itself ; the carved wooden mantel-pieces would have satisfied a modern æsthete ; while the worm-eaten attic floor and casement were the most reliable relics of the moldering past, having certainly not been renewed since the Duke of Orleans trod those somber rooms, if it be true, as tradition hints, that his poverty made him glad to occupy even a garret and to earn his support by teaching, as he had done in Switzerland in 1793.

During our late Civil War, as is well known, the grandsons of Louis Philippe, Comte de Paris, heir to the French throne, and his brother the Prince de Joinville, visited Philadelphia on their return to France after fighting in a campaign under our national flag.

At that time the Spruce Street house was occupied as a young ladies' school, and a gentleman was employed as French professor who had fled from France during the political difficulties following the revolution of 1848 which had driven Louis Philippe from the throne and placed Louis Napoleon in power. This refugee was a firm adherent of the Orleans house, and accustomed to talk with disdain of Napoleon III. as a usurper while Louis Philippe had been king by both blood and birth—king of the French—enthroned in the people's hearts.

It so happened that this faithful Orleanist was extremely ill with a cold the very week that the young French princes were in Philadelphia, which prevented him from executing a cherished plan of paying his respects to them and of taking them to see the old house which had been their grandfather's Philadelphia home. Of course there were no French lessons that week. The next week the poor professor appeared, looking more dejected than a week's illness ought to have made him.

" Ah," he said, " if I had not been confined to my house by a frightful cold, I meant to have brought ze Comte de Paris to visit you. I should have called on him and said, ' Prince, I am a French teachare. I have ze honor to give French lesson where a French teachare, your grandfather, formerly gave French lesson. Will you go with me to see zat little house ? ' And he would go with me ; for ze French princes are nevare proud. They are of too good family to be proud. I am

proud to give French lesson in ze house where my king taught—in ze very room ! He live here with ze good Mr. Marshall, and he not able to pay ze board ; and ze good Mr. Marshall say to him, ‘ You give French lesson, zen you pay ze board ; ’ so he give French lesson and he pay ze board.”

Yet this was the heir to the richest inheritance in France. His riches had taken to themselves wings. Well for him that he had been educated to “endure hardness.”

But, although the Count de Paris and the Prince de Joinville thus lost the opportunity of seeing their grandfather’s refuge, it has often been the object of more fortunate pilgrimages. On one occasion an aged clergyman sought permission to examine the premises from a desire to see the marriage-place of his parents, whose memoirs he was writing. It seems that during some parish troubles the Rev. Mr. Marshall had for a time held services in his own house instead of the church, so the marriage ceremony referred to was performed in the parsonage.

The inquirer was greatly chagrined to find that, in consequence of the alterations the house had undergone it was impossible to say whether the front room on the first floor or that on the second had been the best room in his parents’ time, so that he could not fix certainly on the scene of the ceremony.

On stepping into the little garden, however, he was delighted to find a gigantic old sweet-briar trained against the wall in full bloom. As Mr. Marshall had been devoted to rearing flowers it was fair to suppose that this hoary rose-bush was of his planting, and, as the old gentleman’s parents had been married in the month of May,

———“ The spring-time,
The only pretty ring-time,”

he felt morally certain that some of those very sweet-briar blossoms had adorned the wedding parlor, perhaps had even graced the bride’s hair or bosom, and he carried off a fragrant handful as precious souvenirs.

Beside the corner of the house in the old graveyard is an ancient tombstone of black slate whose inscription, no doubt, often caught the eye of Louis Philippe, and which many a passer-by on Spruce Street still stops to read :

“ Here lies the body of Jane Kennedy,
who departed this life Oct’ 29th 1769 aged 2 yrs, 2 months and 13 days.

“ Likewise Jane her Sister, who died
August 14th 1770 aged 10 months and 6 Days.

“ From death Sure nothing can us save
Seeing cradles rock us to ye Grave.”

There are other interesting tombs in this neglected spot. A marble slab set in the crumbling brick wall and half covered with the graceful festoons of the Virginia creeper gives a record of the worthy life of “ Robert Patterson, L.L.D., President

of the American Philosophical Society ; vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Director of the Mint, and for fifty years an officer of the Scots' Presbyterian Church." Evidently in his days there was no irreconcilable conflict between philosophy and religion.

The two little Jane Kennedys were not the first to be laid in the Scots' graveyard ; for another stone informs us

" I am the first that this churchyard
Did shade with funeral gloom ;
My infant age could not me guard
From lodging in the Tomb."

Down low among the grass is a tablet which tells of one "who departed this life in the full and uninterrupted possession of that best of all property An honest Man." Although the expression may be a little involved the meaning is clear, and it is a pity the stone is not set up where its inscription might be read and pondered by many in these corrupt times.

The period when Louis Philippe was in Philadelphia was an exceedingly interesting one. He had the opportunity of hearing Washington's farewell address, and of seeing John Adams, the second "Citizen-king," inaugurated. The lessons of freedom, of justice and of simple living were not lost on the receptive mind of the exiled prince, who, in course of time became the citizen-king of the French. He once boasted, in the height of his glory, that he was the only monarch in Europe fit to occupy a throne, because kings were at such a discount in these modern times that there was no knowing what reverses they might meet at any time, and he was "the only European Sovereign who had ever blacked his own boots and could do it again."

Report says that during his sojourn in Philadelphia Louis Philippe offered his hand to a young lady of the city. She was "willing" and referred the case to her father, but the prudent old gentleman, unlike the typical Philadelphian, who is said to dote on blue blood, would not consent, giving his reasons to the Duke thus : "As an exile destitute of means, you are not a suitable match for my daughter—should you recover your rights she will not be a suitable match for you."

Thus the Quaker City escaped as romantic a *mésalliance* as that which occurred a few years later in the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte with a Baltimore belle. A hard life the young lady would have had of it, for a while, at least, for the French princes were at that time so poor that they had not means to leave the city during the epidemic of yellow fever when nearly all the respectable part of the population fled. It is to be hoped that she never saw reason to regret her failure to share the French throne ; though many a woman lives to bite her lips over the later glory of a rejected suitor.

After leaving Philadelphia the Duke of Orleans and his brothers visited General Washington at Mt. Vernon, and afterward made on horseback an extensive

tour of the United States, occupying from time to time such rough lodging in the log cabins of the Western wilds that this Philadelphia asylum must have seemed palatial in contrast. It is recorded that after Louis Philippe's accession to the French throne he presented handsome clocks to several towns where he had been hospitably received in his wanderings ; but there is no record of his ever making Philadelphia the recipient of anything to mark the flight of time and to keep his memory green. The old parsonage on Spruce Street alone remains to tell the tale.

C. M. ST. DENYS

DEAF SMITH

Texas is a fine field for story tellers who make a business of engrafting fiction on a slender root of fact, and fabricators of this class at times strangely impose their transparent productions on respectable magazine writers. The romancers who effect this imposition have of late years found the name which stands at the head of this article a good plant for the engrafting process. So little was really known of the obscure hero that ample room was left for exaggeration. Had the gallant scout been known to tradition simply as John Smith, he would doubtless have escaped all the calumnious tales which have been tagged to his popular name ; but "Deaf Smith" was a designation too suggestive to be left in obscurity. By some yarn-dealers he is depicted as a deaf mute ; and by others as a blustering bully, who, though barely able to hear thunder, could imitate its stunning effect. By none of them is he represented as the brave, modest, frontier soldier that he really was. All that is known about Deaf Smith may, in a comprehensive way, be told in very few words.

Erastus Smith, for he had a Christian name, was an Anglo-American, born, I think, in one of the South-western States. Several years before the Revolution of Texas he settled in San Antonio, then a purely Mexican town of Texas, where he married a respectable lady of Spanish descent ; and he continued to reside there or in that vicinity as long as he lived, except when absent on duty. He was extremely, but not totally deaf, and had not lost his hearing too early to have a free use of language, English and Spanish. He was not a deaf mute ; but there was a singular peculiarity in his deafness. He could hear more readily and distinctly what was pronounced in a low clear tone close to his ear, than words uttered more loudly a few feet farther off.

Though not a wild man of the woods, nor a hunter by occupation, habitually clad in buckskin, but a mere Texas farmer and *ranchero*, he had by nature the instincts of a scout ; and he believed that his skill as such was increased by his deafness, as it sharpened all other senses than hearing ; and in his excursions he always had with him men whose ears were as quick as his eyes and thoughts.

He was no doubt, like his men, a good shot with the rifle ; but I never heard any miraculous skill attributed to him by those who knew him well. Like most good soldiers, he was modest in bearing and unpretending in speech, with no touch of boast or swagger. I never heard of his fighting a duel, or having a deadly feud or bitter quarrel with any one.

When the revolt of Texas against Santa Ana's usurpation occurred in 1835, Erastus Smith joined the insurgents, and was of good service in the capture of San Antonio. His fine qualities as a scout, and a leader of scouts, soon became manifest ; and in the campaign of 1836, when Santa Ana invaded Texas, Deaf Smith was at the head of the Scouting Department of Houston's Army, and did invaluable service. He took a prominent part in the victory of San Jacinto, and the steps which led to it. After the retreat of the surviving and uncaptured portion of Santa Ana's force, Smith continued at the head of a small company of scouts, ranging the frontier, and ready to serve wherever needed ; but his career was brief. Toward the end of 1837 his health broke down, and he went home to die. He expired in the presence of his family, I think, about a year and eight months after the battle of San Jacinto. I met with him a few times during the summer of 1837, when he seemed to be, as well as I recollect, about forty-five years of age. He left but one child, a daughter, who married a respectable Anglo-American resident of San Antonio ; and I trust that the gallant scout has some descendants in that vicinity.

In the *Century Magazine* for August, 1884, appears a sketch of the life of Gen. Sam Houston, in which Deaf Smith is resuscitated five years after his death, to figure in what is known in Texas as Houston's archive war against the city of Austin. The facts of that burlesque of civil contest, briefly told, are as follows : During the Presidency of Gen. Lamar, the seat of Government of the Republic of Texas was removed from the town of Houston to the new city (so called) of Austin, where public buildings were reared, and a population of perhaps a few thousand, for a time, was collected. Thither the public archives were carried ; and there one or two sessions of Congress were held. There Sam Houston was inaugurated for the second Presidential term to which he had been elected.

In the spring of 1842 a petty invasion of Texas by Mexico occurred ; and San Antonio was captured, and occupied for a few days. This invasion was no more than a harassing demonstration ; but it showed that a considerable town of Texas, quite distant from the Rio Grande, might easily be captured by a moderate Mexican force. The country between Austin and the Rio Grande, though a wide space, was a wilderness. The Texan seat of government had been imprudently located on the frontier of population, though not on that of nominal domain ; and a body of a thousand or two of Mexican cavalry might by a forced march surprise it. The law authorized the President, under any justifying emergency, to remove the seat of government to a safer place ; and he did so. It was taken back to the town of Houston ; but, in less than a year, was removed to Washington, on the Brazos. Austin was consequently in a great measure deserted ; but the few inhabitants who

still clung to their abodes, now wholly depreciated in value, suspected that Houston, so long as he continued at the head of the government, would never sanction its return to Austin, though the exigency which caused its removal should cease. In this suspicion they were probably correct, so they resolved to prevent, by force if needful, the removal of the public archives, and held them as a pledge for the return of the government to its lawful seat. Very few of the records had been taken away with the government. Public feeling was then in a very singular state. A third of the country, if not more, sympathized with the inhabitants of Austin; and the rest did not zealously sustain Houston. As Congress did not authorize energetic measures, Houston resolved to capture the records by a course which his enemies called theft.

On executive authority he sent a rather strong posse, not led in person by himself and Deaf Smith, deceased, as the writer in the *Century* asserts, but by one or two respectable men of Washington, whose names are not necessary to this narrative, with instructions to pack up and bring away all the public papers they could get hold of, and to do it in haste, before assistance could be rallied against them. The plan came near succeeding. The posse packed and loaded on wagons the larger portion of the archives and left town with them; but the inhabitants, some of whom had been out in the country, soon rallied, took to arms, and pursued and overtook the train of the spoilers. The Austinites were stronger in number, as well as more determined than the posse, and no fight ensued. The affair, which might have developed into a tragedy, resulted in a farce, and was accompanied by some ludicrous incidents. The records were put back into their former places of deposit, and remained there till the successor of Houston moved back the government to Austin. The embargo of the archives was never broken by Houston; but its continuance compelled him to move back the Land-office to Austin before his Presidential term expired, and while the seat of government was still at Washington on the Brazos, for the use of the land records could not be dispensed with; and as in the case of Mohammed and the mountain, since the records could not go to the office, the office had to go to the records.

Now let us see how this singular affair is narrated by the writer in the *Century* of August. He tells us the warlike occurrence took place two years after the Revolution of Texas; but it occurred in 1842, six years after the battle of San Jacinto, which may be considered the completion of that Revolution; but even two years after that action found Deaf Smith in his grave. The writer informs us that Houston demanded that the records should be sent to him at Washington on the Brazos. At this, four hundred of the armed men of Austin placed themselves about the State House to prevent the removal of the property; and Colonel Morton, a leading spirit of the Revolution of Texas, was at their head. Though I lived in Texas at the time referred to, I never heard of this leading spirit before; and I fear he is as much of a myth as the resurrected scout who is said soon after to have slain him. We are told that "Morton, whom Houston knew as a terrible

fighting man, wrote to the latter, that if the archives were removed, he (Morton), would hunt Houston down as a wolf ; " and that Houston replied, " if the papers are not sent, I will come and get them ; and if Col. Morton can kill me, he is welcome to my ear-cap." The guards at Austin " were at once doubled, and patrolmen placed on the roads, while a select committee went into permanent session in the city hall." Where all the men for these demonstrations in the half-desolate city came from, the writer does not inform us.

At this juncture Sam Houston sent Deaf Smith, deceased, not in a shroud, but in a suit of smoke-tinted buckskin, to hurl defiance at the rebels. Smith, who had become a deaf mute since his interment, finding no other mode of entrance to the State House or City Hall, climbed an adjoining live oak, and went in at a window. The four hundred men there on duty seem to have been lacking in vigilance. Notwithstanding the unceremonious mode of Smith's escalade and entrance, and the fierce resentment of Morton, the adverse parties, by means of pencil notes, came to a parley, which ended in a challenge by Morton and its acceptance by Smith ; after which the latter made his exit as he had entered, by the window and tree. Morton was then assured by his companions that he was a doomed man, as he was about to fight Deaf Smith, who never missed his mark ; but Morton could not be shaken in his resolve.

At sunset the antagonists met, in the presence of a vast crowd of interested spectators, " Morton dressed in broad-cloth and Smith in smoke-tinted buckskin." They took their stations a hundred yards apart ; and, at the signal agreed on, they fired simultaneously, when " Morton sprang into the air and fell dead, with a ball in his heart. Deaf Smith then quietly reloaded his rifle and walked into the forest." The vast crowd of lookers-on were evidently friends of fair play. Three days after, we are told, that " Deaf Smith returned to Austin, with Gen. Houston and ten others, when the archives were removed, without further opposition " from the hundreds of armed men who had been guarding them. The fierce Austinites seem to have accepted the decision of the question by single combat with as much panic as the Philistines did the fall of Goliath.

When romance is written to be passed off as history, it is quite harmless, if it be penned in such terms as cannot secure the belief of the most credulous ; and we may assign this merit, if no other, to the episode of Deaf Smith in Austin, a city which was founded two or three years after he was dead and buried.

I do not think it necessary here to examine as to how correctly the history of Sam Houston himself is narrated in the article of the *Century* of August, for Houston's strangely mixed character of good and evil, great and little, has sufficient historical strength to throw off what is legendary, whether it be calumny or false eulogy. But so obscure a hero as Deaf Smith, when misrepresented, may well claim the vindication of any one who knew him, though more obscure than himself.

I am aware that the heavy duties of magazine editors often prevent them

from detecting the historical perversions or errors of their contributors ; out there is less excuse for the contributor in regard to such faults than for the editor ; for the attention of the latter is divided between many subjects, while that of the former may for the time being be fixed upon one. The writer of historical essays by referring to accessible authority may generally avoid such an absurdity as assigning exploits or crimes to a man after he is dead, and by the exercise of ordinary judgment can detect the traits of impossibility or of extreme improbability in any story which the press or oral narration brings to his notice.

REUBEN M. POTTER, U. S. A.

THE LATE GENERAL AND ASTRONOMER O. M. MITCHEL

Of the many patriotic men who fell in the War of the Rebellion, few, if any indeed, were more deeply lamented than General Ormsby McKnight Mitchel, of whose splendid career as an astronomer there was much contemporary record, and there remain for posterity the splendid memorials of the Cincinnati and Albany Observatories. It is to be regretted that there is no copious biography of this noble man and distinguished scientist, whose whole career was eminently deserving of such a commemoration. He was a Kentuckian by birth (in 1810), and his death at Beaufort, South Carolina, while in command of the Federal troops there (in 1862), sent a thrill of sorrow through the heart of the nation, for he was honored and loved in the South as well as at the North. We have been led to this brief glimpse of his life by a beautiful tribute to his excellence of character and achievement which we find in Prof. Richards's "Science in Song," noticed in the February number of this Magazine. Prof. Richards was Prof. Mitchel's intimate friend, and thus the prelude to the "Episode of the Telescope" is the more interesting to the many who knew and loved the brave soldier, the learned astronomer, the courteous gentleman, and the sincere Christian it honors, and will be treasured as it deserves :

"Shall I forget while I remember aught—
 A name, a man, with soul and sweetness fraught ?
 Thy name, thyself, dear Mitchel, to forget
 Would leave me poor with all else memories yet.
 I count the years since thou wast rapt away,
 Each with a tear fresh as I wept that day
 When midst the horrid din of civil war
 The tidings smote me from the scene afar,
 That thou, in battle's harness for the right,
 Hadst left a living foe with Death to fight ;
 And 'neath the orange or palmetto shade,
 With sad and sudden burial rites wast laid.

Before that fatal strife through all the land
 Transformed the service of thy cunning hand,
 So it laid down the transit and the chart,
 And plied with patriot zeal the soldier's art,
 How oft I knew thy friendly foot's advance,
 How oft I felt the welcome of thy glance—
 As on the crest of Dudley Hill I came,
 To the fair temple of thy starry fame—
 To feed my hungering soul with bread of heaven,
 Raised with the magic of thy subtle leaven ;
 And slake its thirst with brimming draughts of wine,
 Pressed from the grapes of knowledge, near divine !
 What Science lost when thou didst draw the sword,
 This sole fame adds to patriotism's hoard—
 That thy great heart, supreme among the stars,
 Sank vainly in the maelstrom of our wars.
 Thy vacant seat in Dudley's trophied tower,
 Though filled anon—for me from that sad hour
 Was empty still, and is to this far day—
 A sacred vacancy—for thee alway."

WAR REMINISCENCES

The late General B. D. Fearing, in a letter to S. J. Hathaway, of Marietta, Ohio, wrote, in connection with an account of the battle of Shiloh :

"A Confederate General who was in the Confederate front on the morning of the 6th of April, pays the following tribute to the courage and endurance of the Union soldiers on that occasion :

"Our attack found the Federals entirely unformed and completely unprepared. The only feature of the battle more remarkable than this thorough surprise was the astonishing courage and tenacity with which your Yankee fellows fought under such circumstances. I never saw anything like that before or since. It was a wonderfully well fought battle on both sides, but my subsequent observation only confirmed the amazement I felt at the time to see such conduct on the part of troops taken at such disadvantage.' These volunteers planted across the main Corinth road knew enough of the science of war to know that the fate of the day might depend on the time gained at this precious position. So these brave men nobly devoted themselves then and there to the cause of their country, like Custer's gallant men at Little Big Horn, they determined to stay there and go down together. Two precious hours were gained, and Buell's men of the Cumberland were taking the long, eager, swinging stride, that veterans take marching to the music of distant battle."

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS *

IV

(Continued from page 202, vol. xiii.)

LITTLE VAN.—Martin Van Buren, eighth President of the United States.

Loco-Foco.—Thirty years ago the Democrats were quite generally nicknamed "loco-focos." Originally the term was invented as an advertising "catch" by a New York dealer in matches and cigars. Its political application came about in this wise: In 1835 there was a split in Tammany Hall over the nomination of a candidate for Congress. The friends of each attempted to pack a meeting, and in the scene of confusion which ensued, the gas was turned off by connivance of one faction. The other faction, however, had, in anticipation of such a crisis come provided with loco-foco matches and candles, and the room was at once relighted. The *Courier and Enquirer* dubbed the anti-monopolists who had used the matches, "Loco-focos," and the name was shortly affixed to the whole party.

LOG-CABIN AND HARD CIDER.—A war-cry of the Harrison campaign in 1839, when in honor of the candidate's supposed antecedents, log-cabins were erected in many large towns, and in miniature shape hauled through the streets in processions, with barrels of cider as fitting and certainly popular accessories. (See Wigwam.)

LOG-ROLLING.—Briefly "co-operation." Derived from the custom which prevails among lumbermen, of joining forces to roll logs to the water side. In politics Republicans may, for instance, say to Democrats: "If you will support Smith for Governor, we will support Jones for the Senate," thus co-operating for mutual advantage. The same system, it is almost needless to say, is carried into legislation.

MACHINE.—A Machine Politician yields unswerving obedience to the party leaders. Thus the "machine wing of the Republican party came to be known as such under the leadership

of Mr. Conkling, who was a strenuous advocate of the system." The word has been used in this general sense, however, since early in the present century.

MAHONIST.—A follower of Gen. Mahone, late of the Confederate service, who organized a revolt against the "Bourbon Democracy" in West Virginia in 1878. (See Readjusters.)

MASON AND DIXON'S LINE.—A boundary line surveyed in 1766 by two English surveyors named Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, to settle a dispute as to territory between Pennsylvania and Maryland. It follows the 40th parallel of latitude, and was originally marked by mile stones having on one side the armorial bearings of Penn. and on the other those of Lord Baltimore. "Hang your clothes to dry on Mason and Dixon's line" was a saying current with variations in the early days of the anti-slavery agitation.

MOREY LETTER.—Near the close of the Garfield campaign in 1880, a letter was published by one of the minor New York morning papers purporting to have been written by Mr. Garfield to "H. L. Morey, Employers' Union, Linn, Mass." It expressed sympathy with capital rather than with labor, and was evidently intended to deal a final blow at Garfield's chances for election. The letter was promptly proved to be a forgery, and no such person as Morey has ever been found.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—A name popularly given to an act of Congress passed in 1820 at the beginning of the anti-slavery agitation. It admitted Missouri as a slave-holding State, but prohibited slavery in advance in any State admitted thereafter, and lying north of latitude 36° 30', the northern boundary of Missouri.

MOONSHINERS.—Illicit whiskey distillers.

* Copyright by Charles Ledyard Norton, 1885.

Common in the mountain ranges of the Southern States. It is of Irish or Scotch origin.

MONROE DOCTRINE.—The theory on which the United States considers as dangerous to its peace and safety any attempt of European powers farther to extend their jurisdiction in the Western Hemisphere, and holds itself aloof from any participation in the political affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere.

MORGAN.—"Morganized," "A good enough Morgan," etc., are phrases now rarely encountered, but had a telling significance in 1826, when it was alleged that one Morgan was murdered by the Masons, and a bitter political war followed. A leading politician of the day, when reminded that the body which had been discovered was not Morgan's at all, said, well at any rate it's "a good enough Morgan," till after election.

MILL BOY OF THE SLASHES.—A nickname for Henry Clay, who in his youth tended a mill in a region known as "the Slashes," near his birthplace.

MOSSBACKS.—A subdivision of the Democratic party in Ohio.

MILEAGE.—A certain percentage per mile allowed by the United States Government nominally to defray the traveling expenses of members of Congress and others. It is estimated on the distance from Washington of the member's residence. "Constructive mileage" is paid whether the journey has actually been taken or not, as for instance, when an extra session of Congress is called, the members being still in Washington after adjournment. Many honorable men have refused to take advantage of this allowance, regarding it as an imposition upon the public.

MUDSILL.—A contemptuous epithet generally applied by Southerners to Northerners before and during the civil war. Also assumed by certain political associations in California in 1858.

MUGWUMP.—An Independent Republican; one who sets himself up to be better than his fellows—a Pharisee. On the nomination of the Hon. James G. Blaine for the Presidency (June 6th, 1884), a strong opposition developed among disaffected Republicans calling themselves "Independents." The movement originated at a meeting in Boston (June 7th), and was promptly taken up in New York and elsewhere. The supporters of the regular nomination affected to

believe that these Independents set themselves up as the superiors of their former associates. They were called "dudes, Pharisees and hypocrites," and on June 15th, 1884, the New York *Sun* called them "Mugwumps." The word was forthwith adopted by the public as curiously appropriate, though for a time its meaning was problematical. It appeared that the term had been in use colloquially in some parts of New England, notably on the Massachusetts coast. Thence it had been carried inland, and was used in large type as a head-line in the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, as early as 1872. This, on the authority of Mr. H. F. Keenan, who was at the time editor of that journal and had picked up the word in New England. In this instance it was used to emphasize some local issue. After this the word seems to have lain perdu until resuscitated by the *Sun*, on March 23, 1884, when it in turn applied it in a local issue at Dobbs Ferry, New York, printing "Mugwump D. O. Bradley" in large type at the top of one of its prominent columns. After the Independent movement was started the word was launched on its career of popularity, but not until September 6th, 1884, was it authoritatively defined. The *Critic* of that date contained a note from Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, to the effect that the word was of Algonquin origin, and occurred in Elliot's Indian Bible, being used to translate such titles as lord, high-captain, chief, great man, leader, or duke. In Matthew, vi. 21, it occurs as *Mukquomp*, and again in Genesis, xxxvi. 40-43, and several times in Second Samuel, xxiii. The word aroused wide-spread philological discussion, which continued long after the campaign had ended. As is frequently the case in American politics, the word was used as a term of derision and reproach by one section, and accepted with a half-humorous sense of its aptness by the other.

MULTIPLICATION, DIVISION, AND SILENCE.—Ascribed to William M. Tweed (*circa* 1872), as his definition of the proper qualifications of a contractor, under the administration of the "Ring" (*q. v.*).

MULLIGAN LETTERS.—James Mulligan, book-keeper for Mr. Warren Fisher, of Boston, was summoned as a witness before a Congressional Investigating Committee in 1876, and testified

regarding a number of letters written by James G. Blaine to Mr. Fisher. These letters were read by Mr. Blaine in the House. Other similar letters have since been produced by Messrs. Fisher and Mulligan. The prominent place occupied by these documents in the public press is due simply to the dispute over the question whether they are or are not discreditable to Mr. Blaine.

NULLIFICATION.—In 1832 leading politicians in South Carolina advocated the right to "nullify the United States tariff," which was held to be oppressive to the interests of the State, and legislative measures were adopted to that end. Andrew Jackson, then President, held the act to be treasonable, and sent General Scott to Charleston to maintain the authority of the United States. This he did so effectually that the act was repealed.

OLD WHITEY.—The name of the horse ridden by Gen. Taylor during the war with Mexico. This animal was popular as a political symbol during the presidential campaign of 1849, which resulted in Taylor's election to the presidency.

OLD ZACH.—Major-General Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States. He was also called "Old Rough-and-Ready," by his soldiers.

OUTS.—Opposite of "Ins," *i. e.*, the party that is not in power, whether local or national. Thus the Democrats may be "Ins" in one section and "Outs" in another. The two words are in reality far more definite and expressive politically than are the ordinary party names, which often mean one thing in one State, and quite a different thing in another.

PAIR-OFF.—This verb is used when two members of a legislative or other body agree to refrain from voting, so that one or both of them may be absent when a vote is taken without affecting the final result. Pairing-off was first practiced during a contest for the Speakership of the House in 1839. It was at first regarded with disfavor.

PARMATEER OR PALMATEER.—Equivalent to "electioneer." A local phrase, confined, it is believed, to Rhode Island. Derived, no doubt, from the same source as parliament (French *parler*, to speak).

PARTICULARISTS.—A wing of the post-revo-

lutionary Whigs, which favored State-rights as opposed to the "Strong Government Whigs," who were the "centralizers" of that early period. They were also known later on as "Anti-Federals."

PASTERS.—Narrow slips of paper gummed on the back and bearing printed names of candidates. These are distributed by local political leaders prior to or during an election, so that voters may readily re-arrange ballots to suit their own individual preferences. Pastors, in short, reduce "scratching" (*q. v.*) to a system.

PATCHED BREECHES.—A nickname applied to William L. Marcy, of New York, by his detractors, alleging that he had upon an occasion made the State pay a certain personal tailor's bill.

PATHFINDER.—A nickname of Gen. John C. Frémont, given him on account of his distinguished services as an explorer (1837 to 1853) of the then unknown West. The nickname was very popular during Frémont's unsuccessful campaign for the Presidency as the candidate of the Free Soil Party in 1856.

PATRONAGE.—The offices of which a politician has, or pretends to have control, and which he promises to his followers as the reward for their services. (See Spoils.)

PAW-PAWS.—Equivalent to "Bushwhackers" (*q. v.*) current in Missouri. The paw-paw is a wild fruit of the genus *Asimina*, on which the bushwhackers are supposed to subsist.

PECULIAR INSTITUTION.—In full "the peculiar domestic institution of the South"—meaning negro slavery. It is believed to have been first used in the South Carolina *Gazette*, which advised that all strangers from the North should be kept under surveillance because of "the dangers which at present threaten the peculiar domestic institutions of the South" (*circa* 1852). The phrase is found in the N. Y. *Tribune* of October 19, 1854, and soon became part of the current speech of the time.

PIPE-LAYING.—Making arrangements to procure fraudulent votes. It is said to have been first used about 1848, in connection with a plot to import voters to New York from Philadelphia. Extensive works in connection with laying Croton water pipes were then in progress, and thence the phrase acquired its accepted signifi-

cance. The Whig leaders were actually indicted for the alleged attempts at fraud, but were acquitted by the jury by whom they were tried.

PLANK.—See Platform.

PLATFORM.—A statement of the principles avowed by a political party. The word used in the same general sense and applied to declarations of faith and the like, was used as long ago as 1576. (See Tomson's Revision of the Geneva Bible.) The subdivisions of the platform are often referred to as its "planks."

PLUG UGLY.—See Ashlander.

PLUMED KNIGHTS.—Republican campaign clubs formed during the presidential campaign of 1884, in honor of Mr. Blaine, the Republican candidate. The name "Plumed Knight" was given to Mr. Blaine by Mr. Robert Ingersoll, who described him in an address as the "plumed knight of the debate."

POKE-BERRY JUICE.—A punning reference to the surname of the Hon. James K. Polk (pron. *poke*) who was chosen President of the United States in 1845. Banners and transparencies were loyally stained with the dark purple juice of the common poke-berry during the campaign which resulted in Mr. Polk's election.

PRIMARY.—A preliminary meeting held by the voters of a district, usually for the purpose of making nominations or electing delegates to nominating conventions.

PROX OR PROXY.—Formerly used in Rhode Island and Connecticut to denote an election at which voting by proxy was allowed under certain conditions.

PROHIBITIONIST.—A political party which favors the prohibition by law, of the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits. It scored its first great success in the passage of the Maine Liquor Law in 1851, and now places local and national candidates in the field in all important elections.

RADICAL.—The converse of Liberal (*q. v.*).

RAIL-SPLITTER.—A nickname for Abraham Lincoln, one of the incidents of whose early career was the fact of his having earned money for his education by splitting rails for a neighboring farmer. Clubs of "Rail-Splitters" were formed during the campaign which resulted in his election, and alleged genuine Lincoln-split

rails were carried in the processions of the period. These were almost invariably of black walnut, such was the cheapness and abundance of that now scarce and valuable wood in Mr. Lincoln's youth.

READJUSTERS.—A local Virginia party formed by Gen. Mahone, late of the Confederate service, in 1878. It opposed Democratic ascendancy in the State.

READ OUT.—A man is read out of a party when he is denounced as a deserter from its ranks.

REPUBLICANS.—The name was curiously enough originally suggested by Thomas Jefferson, as a desirable substitute for "Anti-Federalist" (*q. v.*), though there was at the first an attempt to name it "Democratic-Republican." Partisan lines were distinctly drawn between Federalists and Republicans as early as 1793. In 1805 the Republicans all became Democrats by the simple and harmless process of changing their name. It is somewhat appalling to reflect what would be the result of such a change if effected nowadays. The name was revived in 1856, and adopted by the disaffected elements of the other parties, mainly Independent Democrats and Whigs opposed to slavery, and Abolitionists (using the word in its Northern sense). Its first national convention was held at Philadelphia in 1856, nominating John C. Fremont, who was defeated by James Buchanan in the subsequent election. Four years later the party came into power, and retained it until 1884, when Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York, was elected by a very close vote.

RIDER.—In legislative practice a "rider" is a bill added to another bill, though not necessarily belonging with it, so that the two may be passed together as one bill. This is usually done in the case of a measure which is sure to be vetoed if presented by itself, but which, if attached to some important appropriation bill, must necessarily be approved. In common speech, a rider is the top-rail of a zig-zag fence. Such a fence is "staked and ridered" when stakes are driven in the angles and a rider laid on top of them. A rider is not an essential part of the fence, but it adds considerably to its effectiveness.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

THE NEW GARDEN OF EDEN—The eighteen thousand square miles, within the boundaries of Canada, which Mr. Eden complains have been ceded to the United States of America will, it is said, be insisted upon by England, in order to lay it out in parterres, arbors and alcoves, according to the description in Milton's *Paradise Lost*; after which it is to be called the new Garden of Eden.
—*Newspaper clipping of 1783.*

PETERSFIELD

WHY NEW JERSEY WAS DECLARED A FOREIGN COUNTRY—New Jersey is sometimes jocularly referred to as a foreign country by persons who do not know the origin of their little joke. After the downfall of the first Napoleon, his brother Joseph, who had been King of Spain, and his nephew, Prince Murat, sought refuge in the United States, bringing with them great wealth. Joseph tried to induce several States to pass an act to enable him as an alien to hold real estate, but they all refused. Finally the New Jersey Legislature granted to him and Prince Murat the privilege of purchasing land. They bought a tract at Bordentown, built magnificent dwellings and fitted them up in royal style with pictures, sculptures, etc. Joseph Bonaparte's residence was the finest in America. He was liberal with his money and made many friends. The Philadelphians were envious of the good fortune of the Jerseymen in securing the two millionaires, and taunted them with being "foreigners," and with importing the King of Spain to rule over them. The taunt stuck and is still repeated by

many people who have no idea of how it originated.—*Atlanta Constitution.*

E. F. DE L.

WASHINGTON AN ABOLITIONIST—*Thursday, May 26, 1785.* Mr. Asbury [Francis Asbury, Bishop of the M. E. Church] and I set off for General Washington's. We were engaged to dine there the day before. The General's seat is very elegant, built upon the great River Potomawk; for the improvement of the navigation of which he is carrying on jointly with the State some amazing Plans. He received us very politely, and was very open to access. He is quite the plain, Country-Gentleman. After dinner we desired a private interview, and opened to him the grand business on which we came, presenting to him our petition for the emancipation of the Negroes, and intreating his signature, if the eminence of his station did not render it inexpedient for him to sign any petition.. He informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the State; that he did not see it proper to sign the petition, but if the Assembly took into consideration, would signify his sentiments to the Assembly by a letter. He asked me to spend the evening and lodge at his house, but our engagement at Annapolis the following day would not admit of it. We returned that evening to Alexandria.
—*Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke.*

W. K.

PICTORIAL ERROR—When De Soto made his tour through what are now the Southern United States, in the years

1539 to 1544, he left his small field-piece at a village in Georgia. In a battle near Mauvila he and his troops lost all their spare clothing. On leaving Chicaca they lost almost everything. Clothed in skins and having lost their saddles and arms, they must have been in a sorry plight when they reached the Rio Grande or the Mississippi. Notwithstanding all this, which could have been learned from any school-book, Powell, in his large picture at the Capitol, has represented the Spaniards as being fully equipped, with armor, arms, flags and a cannon. This error should be noticed.

J. C. B.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME "HERKIMER"—The word "heim" ("dwelling," "hamlet," "home") frequently occurs as a significant affix in German names of places, just as the cognate "ham" is found in English topography. Of instances of its use I have collected a great many, of which the following will suffice as examples: Hildesheim, Bockenheim, Nordheim, Oppenheim, Mergentheim, Rudesheim, Hochheim, Ingelheim, Kirchheim, Mannheim. Family names have, again, been formed from these topographical names by the addition of the syllable "er," which, in this connection, in German, as in English, means "an inhabitant of." Now, the Hercynian forest (the *Hercynia* or *Orcynia Silva* of the Roman writers) is supposed by some to have been so named from the German "Harz" ("resin," from the character of the trees), and by others, from the word

"Erz" ("ore," from the character of its mountains). Whether either conjecture be correct, there is no doubt that the adjectival form "Hercynian," is expressed in German by "Hercynisch," and from this we can easily imagine a "local habitation and a name," "Hercynheim," or by contraction, "Herchheim," which in due course would give the patril family name "Herchheimer" (Herkimer). Q. E. D. R.

MONTREAL, CANADA

PRINCETON COLLEGE—We copy the following from the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of June 29, 1758, dated "Princetown (in New Jersey) June 23": "Yesterday his Excellency. Francis Bernard. Esq. Governor of this Province, attended by a number of Gentlemen of this and neighbouring Towns, passed thro' here on his way to Burlington. His Excellency, while he stayed in Town was pleased to accept an Invitation from the Trustees of the College to view the Buildings and Curiosities. The President attended by the Tutors, in the most respectful manner, received His Excellency at the Door, and conducted him immediately into the Hall, to a seat prepared for him. The students being all seated in order, arose and addressed his Excellency in a short, handsome Latin oration, delivered by Mr. Philip Livingston, one of the Senior Class: to which his Excellency, after rising up, returned a very elegant and polite Extempore Answer in Latin."

M. M. L.

HAMBURG, N. J.

QUERIES

PARENTS OF DR. JOHN OGILVIE—*To the Editor* :—Can you or your readers inform me of the names of the parents of Dr. John Ogilvie, Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, who died in 1774? Dr. Bolton's account is incorrect.

J. ARCHIBALD MURRAY,
35 Wall St.

A DOCTOR'S CHARGES IN 1679—I herewith inclose, for the readers of the Magazine, the transcript (*verb. et lit.*) of an original document which seems to have been an account rendered to the executors of Richard Wheelwright, for professional services rendered to the deceased by some physician, whose name, however, does not appear. The charges seem high for that time (1679), but the patient may have been a "Worshipful" man of means. The original is written in a clear and beautiful style of chirography; the marginal note, and that at the end of the document, in a very fine, small hand, and with a darker ink. The items which I have marked with an * have been changed in the original (the 10 reduced from 20, and the 60 from 80), and the original footing altered from 300 to 265. Those changes show a darker ink, and (I think) a different hand; as does also the "300 lb" added in the indorsement. It is not improbable that these changes, notes, etc., were made in explanation of, or in compliance with, the objections of Mr. Wheelwright's executors. I cannot believe that the "lb" (which, by the way, is the "avoir-dupois" sign) indicates that the footing of this account should be taken as *pounds*

sterling. It was, probably, simply intended for shillings.

The *locale* of the document I am inclined to place in the Massachusetts colony.

Can any of your readers inform us concerning this Richard Wheelwright, or afford us any clue to the *doctor* who filed these charges against his estate?

HENRY R. STILES, M.D.

[THE DOCUMENT.]

Richard Wheele Right dettor this 19 daye of
aparill 1679

To a visitt From My quarter to his house	30
To a vomith for himselfe	30
To a prise Cordiall Confortatiue &c narcoticke pills to take att neight	20
Sendet his To lett his winch seruant man feth me blood in y ^e arme ... again y ^e 21 of aparill, sendeth	10*
to Richard Woodhouse to fethe some meanes to make a Clyster.	30
To an once of oyntment to anoynt his brasth	30
To a prise of Cordiall &c Confortatif pills	20
To a dyaphoretick potion &c very Cordiall	35
ffor two visitts besides y ^e first, Cares &c troubles	60*

y^e last visitt he desire me to nott
Come to him, now more. = 000 = ■

265

(Indorsed)

Richard Wheele
Right Exeecuttors

—
accounte = 300 lb
—

THE FOUR LAKES OF WISCONSIN—In 1817, Major Long, in the midst of a voyage up the Mississippi in a six-oared skiff, writes :

"Rock River, in high water, is navigable about three hundred miles to what are called the Four Lakes." P. 74. Can

the name Four Lakes be traced to any earlier date? One would judge, by the words *are called*, that the name was already in use. Was it translated from French, like *Riviere de Roche*?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, Wis.

REPLIES

GRICOURT [xii. 472-569 ; xiii. 103-207]—As early as the year 1546 the Crommelins resided at St. Quentin, department of Aisne, in the north-east division of France. There on the 17th day of September, 1623, Jean Crommelin was married to Rachel, the only daughter of William Tacquelet, gentleman, of *Gricourt*, a village on the river Aisne, in the district of St. Quentin and canton of Vermand. Jean was blessed with a family of eight sons and seven daughters.

Daniel, the thirteenth child, born 1647, married 1674, Anne, daughter of Pierre Testart, of St. Quentin. He removed to Paris, and later came with his family to New York. He named his purchase in the Wawayenda patent *Gricourt*, after the birthplace of his mother.

The city of Gray and its neighboring village of Greucourt in the Upper Saone, more than two hundred miles from St. Quentin, have both erroneously been credited with furnishing the name in dispute, to the hamlet in Orange County. Mr. Rutenber will, no doubt, in his next publication correct the blunder of Eager, and restore the correct spelling.

W. K.

GIVE 'EM JESSE—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Pardon me if I point out one unquestionable inaccuracy

in Mr. Norton's valuable paper on "Political Americanisms" in your last number [xiii. 201]. The phrase "Give 'em Jesse" was a familiar New England objurgation in my boyhood, twenty years before the Fremont campaign, to which he attributes it. The application to that campaign and the change in spelling proceeded first, I believe, from Dr. William Francis Channing (afterwards the inventor of the telegraphic fire alarm), who devised for that campaign a series of motto wafers, on one of which was inscribed "Give 'em Jessie." I remember well the amusement created by this new application of an old phrase, and am not surprised that the new form has driven out the old one.

T. W. H.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Mr. Edward Channing in his query in the January number of your Magazine [xiii. 103] suggests the probability that the landing of the forefathers at Plymouth, December 11, 1620, was at a point in an opposite direction from Plymouth, apparently from his reference to it as a "most inviting headland over against Clark's Island," meaning Captain's Hill in Duxbury, or a projecting hill about a mile and a half north of Plymouth Rock, called High Cliff; the

description might refer to either point. Most convincing evidence of the landing on the rock has been published before this, but there are one or two points in reference to the tide in that vicinity which seem worthy of note. It must first be borne in mind, however, that Mr. Channing's reference to the rock as "nearly to the southern end of the harbor" is hardly correct, the southern end of Plymouth harbor being quite as far from the rock as one of the headlands above referred to.

Clark's Island, where the landing, on Saturday, December 1st, was made, is so shaped as to offer a most attractive sheltering cove, facing almost seaward, and in which any boat seeking a landing would surely anchor. This is near the present Watson's landing, and it hardly admits of a doubt that there the Pilgrims landed, and from thence set out on the following Monday.

The nearest land from there going inland is the point of Plymouth Beach which stretches out from the mainland to nearly opposite Clark's Island, and though now a barren sand spit, was then covered with forest trees and shrubs. It would, apart from the question of tides, be an easy row from Clark's Island, and but a short distance therefrom. Assuming Mr. Channing's statement as to the time of high tide to be correct, nine o'clock in the morning, he may also be right that they would naturally have left the island by eight o'clock, quite likely much earlier. Leaving at eight they would have availed themselves of the incoming tide, and the earlier they left the stronger would have been the tide which rushes in in the channel between the Gurnet Point,

Laquish, Clark's Island, and the Plymouth Beach with great force.

The very strong probability would be that any boat exploring that vicinity from Clark's Island would make first for the Plymouth Beach Point, either upon the theory of its being main land or as furnishing a protecting barrier against the rough open sea. The course to that point would be almost a direct line from the island to Plymouth Rock, and here is where the element of tide is of importance. All boating men in that vicinity know that a row-boat leaving Clark's Island for the mainland upon the flood-tide would soon strike strong conflicting currents, one setting toward Duxbury (but not the Captain's Hill region), and the other as strongly toward Plymouth harbor, and neither of them toward the "inviting headland opposite." A boat previously heading for the Duxbury neighborhood would be certainly carried by the tide in that direction, while just as certainly, if heading toward Plymouth, would it be carried, with the rush of the tide, toward and round Beach Point, and up into Plymouth Harbor.

All this assumes Mr. Channing's statement as to tide to be correct, if not, or if the boat left the Island later, the evidence in favor of Plymouth Rock would be stronger yet, from the great exertion it would require to take a row-boat up against the outgoing Duxbury tide, the proximity of Beach Point, and shelter within it, and the greater ease with which that point could be reached; or, if the departure was at low water, a clear channel exists now and always has existed leading from the Beach Point almost to Plymouth Rock, formed by

the scouring of a small river and creek running down from the southerly ends of the harbor.

I purposely avoid allusions to the "corn fields and little running brooks," described by the Pilgrim narrators, and so exactly fitting the Plymouth Rock neighborhood, or to the Pilgrim narrative of subsequent discoveries on the mainland in the direction of Kingston and Duxbury, because these points have been enlarged upon by other writers, nor does it seem necessary to suggest what must be patent to all that a row-boat seeking a landing would rather avoid headlands, and head for a low shore where landing could be most easily effected.

WINSLOW WARREN

BOSTON, Mass.

BUNGTOWN COPPERS [xiii. 206]—The name Bung-town is from the slang term *to bung*, meaning *to lie*, or *deceive*. A great many counterfeit English half-pence, known as Birmingham Coppers, were in circulation in New York State in 1785-86. They were made in Birmingham, England, by order of a New York merchant, and imported in casks under the name of hardware or wrought copper. These were the coins referred to as Bungtown Coppers, but the same name was afterwards given to all spurious copper coins.

In 1787 the Assembly of New York State received a petition from John Bresley and Ephraim Brasher in relation to the manufacture of copper coins, which was referred to a committee, with instructions to prepare a bill to regulate the copper coin circulating in the State. This committee reported March 3d, 1787, and called especial attention to "a

very great number of pieces in imitation of British half-pence, but much lighter, of inferior copper, and badly executed." It was with special reference to these coins that the Assembly passed a law, April 20, 1787, "That from & after the 1st day of August next no coppers shall pass current in this State, except such as are of the standard weight of one third part of an ounce avoirdupois, of pure copper, which copper shall pass current at the rate of twenty to a shilling of the lawful current money of this State, & not otherwise. Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to extend to any copper coin to be struck by the United States of America in Congress assembled."

About this time Congress ordained that no foreign copper coins should be current within the United States after Sept. 1st, 1787.

There is a tradition that some counterfeit coins were made about this time in a town in Massachusetts now named Rehoboth, and that this place was then called Bung-town.

C. ESTABROOK

NEWBURGH, New York

THE FIRST THREE-MASTED SCHOONER [xiii. 208]—The schooner *Owanungah*, built in 1836, on Grand Island, Niagara River (village of Whitehaven), by the East Boston Timber Company, I saw launched, and was the first craft of that rig ever floated on the Western lakes, and, I believe, the first one in this country. Not being deemed a success, her rig was, two years after, altered to a hermaphrodite brig.

OLD SALT

Feb. 6, 1885

SOCIETIES

THE FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on Thursday, January 15, in the Supreme Court room, in the State House, at Trenton. The President, the Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Hamill, in his opening address alluded to the fact that it was just forty years since a few gentlemen, of whom he was one, had met at Trenton and appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the Society. Of those who had subsequently met on February 27, 1845, to aid in framing the constitution, there were but two survivors—the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Courtlandt Parker, of Newark. The correspondence of the Society showed the general interest felt in its work, and the committee reports indicated that the Society's affairs were in excellent condition. Nearly one hundred new members were elected, by far the largest number ever added to the rolls at one meeting. The following officers were chosen for the ensuing year: President, the Rev. Dr. S. M. Hamill, of Lawrenceville; Vice-presidents, the Hon. John T. Nixon, of Trenton, Judge of the United States District Court of New Jersey; the Hon. John Clement, of Haddonfield, Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey; Dr. Samuel H. Pennington, of Newark; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Stephen Wickes, of Orange; Recording Secretary, William Nelson, of Paterson; Treasurer and Librarian, Frederick W. Ricord, of Newark; Executive Committee, ex-Congressman George A. Halsey, of Newark, Chairman; the Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., of Flemington; ex-Governor Joel Parker, of Freehold, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey; Joseph N. Tuttle, of Newark; John F. Hageman, of Princeton; the Hon. David A. Depue, of Newark, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey; ex-Speaker Nathaniel Niles, of Madison; John I. Blair, of Belvidere; Gen. William S. Stryker, of Trenton. Ex-Mayor Garret D. W. Vroom, of Trenton, was added to the Committee on Colonial Documents, which is charged with the publication of the "New Jersey Archives," the eighth volume of which is about to issue from the press. The committee now consists of ex-Speaker Niles, Judge Parker, William Nelson, and G. D. W. Vroom, the last-named succeeding the late Mr. Whitehead. Mr. Vroom is a gentleman of ripe culture, familiar, as very few are, with the history of New Jersey's colonial epoch, and is deeply solicitous that the "Archives" shall have an editor worthy, in some measure, to take the place of Mr. Whitehead. It was resolved to widen the scope of the Society by recognizing the general interest felt in genealogical matters, and a Standing Committee on Genealogy was appointed: Judge Clement, of Haddonfield; Gen. Stryker, of Trenton; Edwin Salter, of Freehold; Rev. Dr. Mott, of Flemington; Edmund D. Halsey, of Morristown; Elias N. Miller, of Newark; Charles H. Winfield, of Jersey City.

Gen. H. B. Carrington, U. S. A., retired, of Boston, then delivered an admirable address on "The Strategic Relations of New Jersey to the War for

American Independence." He drew a curious parallel between the Revolutionary War and the late War of the Rebellion, showing how Washington's movements in fighting on the inside of a line of defense were imitated later by General Lee in resisting, evading, and occasionally repelling the advances of the Union armies. He dwelt particularly on the defensive lines held by Washington behind or west of the ranges of Jersey hills sheltering Middlebrook, Princeton and Morristown, and insisted that in his movements behind and occasionally in front of those hills, Washington exhibited the highest generalship. In moving a vote of thanks to General Carrington for his interesting address, Judge Nixon said he had found fault some years ago with the action of Congress in retiring comparatively young army officers, but if they all made as good use of their enforced leisure as General Carrington had done, he would be in favor of retiring them still earlier.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—"Ezra Stiles and His Diary" was the subject of a paper of more than local interest read before this Society, January 18, by Professor Franklin B. Dexter. This diary was confined to that portion of President Stiles's life which was spent in Rhode Island from 1769 to 1776, and was bequeathed at his death, with numerous other manuscripts of the same authorship, to his successors for the time being in the Presidency of Yale College. Professor Dexter's paper was prefaced with an outline sketch of President Stiles's youth, from his birth, the son of a country parson, on the outskirts

of New Haven, touching his entrance to Yale at the age of fifteen, an enthusiast in mathematics and astronomy, and his graduation, in 1746, at the age of twenty-nine, to become tutor till called to a New York pulpit, nine years later. It was while pastor of New York's Second Congregational Church that he developed what approached almost a mania for keeping a diary. He had always at hand a home-made note book, in which, says Professor Dexter, he noted fragments of information, extracts of conversations, or from manuscripts, on every sort of subject that came in his way, as he met citizen or stranger, at home or abroad. These valuable though miscellaneous jottings, which he called his "Itinerary," and kept up during his life, amounted finally to near 3,000 quarto pages. It was not, however, until he was in his forty-second year that he undertook the more serious work of keeping a continuous diary of public and private events suited for permanent preservation, and valuable for its historical information—diaries which have been liberally consulted by Bancroft and other seekers after trustworthy history.

THE NEBRASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its meeting, on the 14th of January, 1885, elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President, R. W. Furness; First Vice-president, J. M. Woolworth; Second Vice-president, E. S. Dundy; Secretary, Geo. E. Howard; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Clara E. Colby; Board of Managers, ex-Governor Silas Garber, J. Sterling Morton, H. T. Clarke, Lorenzo Crounse, and I. J. Manatt. Miss Alice C. Fletcher was

elected an Honorary Member as a recognition of her valuable ethnological work among the Indians of Nebraska.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting was held Wednesday afternoon, February 5, at the Society's house, 18 Somerset Street. In the absence of the President, Colonel Wilder, Rev. Edmund F. Slafter was chosen Secretary, pro tem. After the announcement and exhibition of several important donations, Hon. George Sheldon, of Deerfield, read a paper entitled "The Pocomtuck Indians: A Chapter from an Inchoate History of Deerfield."

Midway, he said, between the plantations of Pilgrim and Puritan on the seacoast, and the Dutch settlements on the upper Hudson lay a region scarcely mentioned by the earlier writers of New England history, on which lived a people of whom the information they give is still more scanty. It is only here and there that a glimpse appears through a narrow vista of the primæval haze; but when these are concentrated there appears standing boldly out a powerful confederation of natives, dominating the Connecticut Valley from Brattleborough to Hartford. This power may well be called the Pocomtuck Confederation. The Pocomtucks were the acknowledged head, and their chieftains the leaders of all their warlike expeditions. The allied tribes or clans often spoken of collectively as the Pocomtucks, were the Squakheags, Nannatucks, Waranokes, Agawams, Tunxis and Podunks. The Pocomtucks proper were located at Deerfield; the Squakheags at Northfield were perhaps a fragment of the Mahi-

cans, driven off by the Mohawks about 1610; the other clans lay on the Connecticut River below. As the Pocomtucks rarely appear in history except in their wars with other tribes, their relative localities were given, with a brief view of the causes which led to their connection with the Pocomtucks either through war or in peace. The paper was particularly interesting, and at its close remarks were made on the subject by several gentlemen present and thanks were voted to its author.

THE BANGOR HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The following officers were elected at its recent annual meeting: President, Hon. Hannibal Hamlin; Vice-President, Geo. A. Thatcher; Corresponding Secretary, Prof. John S. Sewall, D.D.; Recording Secretary, E. F. Duren; Treasurer, T. U. Coe, M.D.; Librarian, N. S. Harlow; F. H. Clergue, O. H. Ingalls, H. N. Fairbanks, Rev. A. Battles, E. B. Nealley, Executive Committee.

THE WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY celebrated, January 19, the birthday of the great statesman, with an annual meeting held in the old South Meeting-house, Boston, Massachusetts, and a banquet at the Revere. In the absence of the president, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder presided. The officers selected for the ensuing year were: President, Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain; Vice-Presidents, Hon. James G. Blaine, Austin F. Pike, George F. Edmunds, Alexander H. Rice, Henry Howard, Rev. Noah Porter, William M. Evarts, Thomas F. Bayard, J. Henry Stickney, J. C. Mellig, D. W. Manchester, John Wentworth, Lucius F. Hubbard;

Executive Committee, Hon. Stephen M. Allen, Edward F. Thayer, N. W. Ladd, Edmund H. Bennett, Hon. Albert Palmer; Finance Committee, Hon. Henry L. Pierce, Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford, Wm. B. Hood, H. P. Kidder, E. F. Thayer; historiographers, Rev. Wm. C. Winslow, Rev. Edward J. Young, Rev. T. A. Hyde; Committee on Future Work, Hon. N. F. Safford, Hon. E. S. Tobey, Hon. Stillman B. Allen, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, Thomas H. Cummings; Treasurer, Thomas H. Cummings; Recording Secretary, Nathaniel W. Ladd; Corresponding Secretary, Arthur Warren.

Rev. Thomas A. Hyde, of Cambridge, delivered an excellent address entitled, "National Standards; their origin, history and symbolization." At the banquet there were numerous speeches of much interest.

THE NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY held a meeting at the Society's Rooms, on Monday afternoon, January 26, Hon. Francis Brinley presiding. The committee on the change of by-laws reported through Mr. Harris, who read the proposed new laws. The various sections were taken up and discussed at length, Drs. Turner and Storer and Messrs. Sheffield, Southwick, Mason and Harris participating. Several amendments were made to the committee's report, and the new by-laws were finally adopted.

By these new rules the annual fee of membership is placed at \$2; the annual meeting is fixed for March 18; stated business meetings will be held on the third Tuesday in May, August, November and February; the old board of

trustees is abolished and the management of the affairs of the Society is placed in the hands of a board of directors composed of the regular officers; meetings for the reading of papers will be held on the second Tuesday evening of each month; the treasurer is authorized to issue certificates of membership upon the payment of dues; auditing and entertainment committees are to be regularly elected; and that persons who contribute the sum of \$50 be life members.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

—The Sixty-third Annual Meeting was held at the Cabinet Building, January 13. The officers elected for the ensuing year were: President, William Gammell; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Francis Brinley, Dr. Charles W. Parsons; Secretary, Amos Perry; Treasurer, Richmond P. Everett. After the transaction of the business of the meeting, President Gammell presented his annual address—a most able and interesting paper. On the 24th of January Professor Albert Harkness read a paper before this Society on "Athens in the Age of Pericles." It was a masterly production, and from beginning to end was received with the most cordial expressions of approbation. At the conclusion of the reading the Rev. W. F. B. Jackson moved the usual vote of thanks and expressed his high appreciation of the lecture. Mr. Amos Perry seconded the motion and expressed gratitude to the learned professor for this opportunity of reviewing scenes visited many years ago. After remarks by ex-Gov. Hoppin and the Rev. Dr. Stockbridge, the meeting adjourned.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. By the Rev. LEONARD WOODS, D.D. First Abbot Professor of Christian Theology. 8vo, pp. 638. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1885.

The recent agitation in connection with the questioned orthodoxy of theological instruction at Andover, invests this elaborate volume with special value. It is edited, with painstaking care, by the Rev. George S. Baker, grandson of the venerable author, of St. Luke's Hospital, New York. More than thirty years have passed away since its composition. Age removes it from all suspicion of partisanship, and makes it a competent witness to the truth of history.

As an exposition of the state of theological education and theological opinion in New England, previous to the founding of the seminary at Andover, it is invaluable. The author speaks with the authority of personal knowledge. Ministers then received their preparation for pulpit and pastoral duties under the guidance of prominent and active clergymen, such as the Rev. Doctors Bellamy, Smalley, Hopkins, Dwight, Barton, Emmons, Charles, Backus, Spring, Lathrop, and Hooker. Individuality and thoroughness in particular departments were among the necessary results of this imperfect but practical system. Theological opinions and parties were diversified, positive and aggressive. Edwards, Emmons, Hopkins, and others had their respective followers, and each cherished some speculations, and used some forms of expression that varied from the Westminster formula and from those of prior Calvinistic writers. Still, all were Calvinistic at the core.

Love of the truth, desire for uniformity, and intention to secure the highest possible efficiency of the ministry, actuated Samuel Abbot, of Andover, and the other founders of the Theological Seminary to attempt its establishment. Doctor Woods describes all the steps that led to success. Independent thinkers were induced to inquire for points of agreement rather than of difference, and to unite their energies in the construction of a theological platform on which all might conscientiously stand. That platform is found in the First Article of the Additional Statutes, "which contains the common and permanent Creed agreed upon."

Subscription by the professors to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and to the Associate Creed is required by the wish and will of the founders. Declaration of faith in the doctrines contained in the Catechism is to be repeated every five years. In spirit, intent, and constitution the Andover Theological Seminary is decidedly, thoroughly, and unalterably Calvinistic. Old faiths may be set in new lights, but the

faiths themselves must be of the precise, rigid, unyielding character of those of the founders.

Whatever may be thought of the creed of the seminary, it must be conceded that it has sent out a noble army of ministers and missionaries, as well qualified to rescue from sin and error, and to build up in truth and righteousness, as an equal number from any other institution. The first five professors—Doctors Pearson, Griffin, Stuart, Porter, and Woods, were men of mark, piety, and power. The Education Society, the American Tract Society, and the American Temperance Society grew mainly out of the Andover Theological Seminary. In the work of foreign missions it holds honorable pre-eminence; nor is it less distinguished in the work of Home Missions.

The solicitude of the founders and first teachers for the preservation of doctrinal orthodoxy, and of the evangelical spirit was really painful in its intensity. They could not forget the "awful lesson furnished to Christianity from the school of Doddridge, from the schools of Scotland, of Geneva, and of Germany." Therefore they made every provision possible to their foresight and resources to assure the indubitable Calvinism of future teachings, and that "with out the smallest deviation from their pious design."

The world moves, thought moves, the church moves. The spirit of Christianity is changeless; its expression changeful. With these two facts the Andover Theological Seminary must, under constitutional restrictions, reconcile itself as best it may.

THE HISTORY OF DETROIT AND MICHIGAN; or, The Metropolis Illustrated. A Chronological Cyclopaedia of the Past and Present. By SILAS FARMER. 8vo, pp. 1024. Detroit, 1884. Silas Farmer & Co.

The history of a city two hundred years old, or nearly, that has twice been besieged by savages, once captured in war, once destroyed by fire, whose allegiance has been claimed by three different sovereignties, and whose flag has changed five times, cannot otherwise than possess a charmed interest for the American people. Mr. Farmer's work seems to have been undertaken in the true historical spirit, and executed with painstaking and conscientious care. The author tells us, in his preface, that he found it impossible to carry along in one narrative all the various themes pertaining to the history of the City of Detroit and its surrounding territory, therefore he classified the different branches of the subject and treated each in a special manner by itself. This method, with its many objections, has a decided advantage.

age in respect to the result as a work of reference, as some matters are amplified which could not otherwise have been done with propriety. One notable chapter of some thirty pages is devoted to the British and Indian wars, the French and Spanish intrigues, and the war of the Revolution. Another chapter treats of the Indian wars from 1790 to 1812; and two chapters (XLI. and XLII.) contain the history of the war of 1812. Mr. Farmer has written this portion of the work admirably, bringing forward fresh information of priceless value.

The "Conspiracy of Pontiac," and the "Biography of Cadillac," also form chapters of peculiar attractions. The "Founding and Growth of Detroit," with its manners and customs from time to time, are given much less space in the volume than the accounts of sieges, battles and wars. One third of the work is occupied with matters appertaining to Michigan in general, owing to the close relation of the city to the territorial government. A novel feature of this history is nearly one hundred pages of continuous city—the homes of the citizens of Detroit—illustrated. There are not less than one hundred and seventy houses thus pictorially presented in well-executed engravings. Following these, the chapters of ecclesiastical history are also illustrated with seventy or more churches. The great blemish of the book is in its unnecessary display of business blocks and warehouses, as illustrations, giving to the really valuable record the general effect of an advertising medium. There are hundreds of these, together with pictures of factories, hotels, railroad stations, etc., quite overtopping the more quaint and interesting maps and relics of various kinds.

The preparation of the work has involved more than ten years of persistent and faithful labor, and it is one of those productions which no library in the country can afford to miss from its shelves. It is printed on extra fine paper, and elegantly bound in genuine Turkey morocco with cloth sides.

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By

ISAAC N. ARNOLD, Late President of the Chicago Historical Society. 8vo. pp. 462.

Chicago, 1885: Jansen, McClurg & Company.

"Few had known Mr. Lincoln better than Mr. Arnold, and no man was more familiar with the life of the greatest personage of our times, or had studied more profoundly his personal and political character or his public career." Thus writes the Hon. E. B. Washburne in a brief introduction to this excellent work, which was completed only a few days before the death of its distinguished author. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Arnold had been personal friends for a quarter of a century. They were much together in the

courts and often associated in the trial of causes, and had also been opposing counsel in important litigation. No one better understood Mr. Lincoln's thoughts, sentiments, and intentions, or enjoyed his confidence to a higher degree than Mr. Arnold. No one was better able to furnish the complete story of a career that was so eventful and important, or to present with greater clearness the historical relation of Mr. Lincoln to the momentous events of his administration—the emancipation of the slaves and the restoration of the Union.

The book is particularly rich in incidents connected with the early career of Mr. Lincoln; and it is without exception the most satisfactory and well-informed record of his life that has yet been written. Readers will also find that, in its entirety, it is a work of absorbing and enduring interest, that will enchain the attention more effectually than any novel. The lighter portions will attract less attention than Mr. Lincoln's historical situation before the world, which Mr. Arnold has sketched so truthfully and forcibly; but in the matter of illustrating character these side-lights are of exceptional value. "When a member of Congress," writes Mr. Arnold, "Mr. Lincoln made a very amusing campaign speech, in which, alluding to the custom of exaggerating the military services of candidates, and ridiculing the extravagant claims to heroism set up for General Lewis Cass, then a candidate for the Presidency against General Zachary Taylor, he referred with great good humor to his own services in the Black Hawk war as follows:

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, do you know I am a military hero? Yes, in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but bent my musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is he broke it in desperation. I bent my musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

THE MONEY-MAKERS ; A Social Parable
16mo, pp. 337. New York, 1885 : D. Apple-
ton & Co.

This novel satirizes some of the vices of the day, but it appears to have been designed chiefly as a reply to the much-discussed "Bread-winners." It is decidedly readable, and is written in a vigorous style ; although the author's name is withheld, for reasons not given, it is evidently the work of a practiced story-teller. Some of the characters are recognized, or supposed to be recognized, by many readers of vivid imagination, as well-known figures in the social and political life of the metropolis.

TENANTS OF AN OLD FARM. Leaves
from the Note Book of a Naturalist. By
HENRY C. MCCOOK, D.D. Illustrated from
Nature. Square 12mo, pp. 456. New York,
1885 : Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

The object of this work, as the author tells us in his Preface, is to present a series of exact truths from Natural History in a popular form. It dwells chiefly upon his own specialties—ants and spiders—but it embodies a great variety of information about all sorts and conditions of insects, and is scientifically as accurate as it is instructive. The essays have been given a colloquial form, introducing thereinto something of that interest which attaches to the play of various human characters. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is "The Cricket on the Hearth," in which the "Music of Insects" is discussed in the most picturesque manner. The illustrations are exceedingly good, and the author's clever style of presenting his themes render the work as delightfully entertaining as it is valuable and useful. It is provided with an excellent index.

THE SOLDIER IN OUR CIVIL WAR.
A Pictorial History of the Conflict, 1861-
1865. Illustrating the valor of the soldier as
displayed on the battle-field. Edited by
PAUL F. MOTTELEY. With an introduction
by ROBERT B. BEATH. Vol. I. Large
quarto, pp. 420. New York, 1885 : J. H.
Brown Publishing Company.

The first volume of this pictorial history of the Civil War, just issued, carries the reader from the election of President Lincoln, in 1860, to the repulse of the Confederate Army at Antietam. The illustrations are from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Paper*, collected and chronologically arranged, and accompanied with sketches of the scenes which they represent. The work will be completed in two volumes, and as it has

been very ably compiled, it will prove a most valuable record in all the future. Many of the portraits are not easy to obtain in any other form, and the sketches will always possess interest from having been drawn by eye-witnesses at the time. The frontispiece to the new volume is a copy of Carpenter's celebrated portrait of Lincoln, on steel.

UNITED STATES PUBLICATIONS
MONTHLY CATALOGUE. No. I, Vol.
I., 8vo, pp. 22. J. H. HICKOX. January,
1885. Washington, D. C.

The initial number of a most excellent periodical publication has found its way to our table. It is a perfect list of all the publications of the Government, the titles of which are arranged after a strict and well-considered system for the benefit of the public. Such information does not exist in any other form. It is proposed by the projector of this enterprise to publish monthly, and furnish to subscribers at \$2 per annum, the *titles* of every document and report printed by order of Congress, or any of the departments of Government (including the *titles* of all laws passed), during the month preceding the date of publication. By this means those who are interested in knowing what our Legislators are about will not have to wait for months for the desired information, and perhaps never obtain it. The typographical features and bibliographical details of this publication cannot fail to attract attention. We heartily commend the work and trust it will receive the encouragement it deserves.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN. Royal
8vo, Vol. I. (Abbadie-Anne). pp. 474. 1885.
New York : Macmillan & Co. London :
Smith, Elder & Co.

The appearance of the first volume of this herculean work, which is expected to occupy at least fifty volumes, is in itself an event of more than common interest. It is a well-arranged and ably-edited Dictionary of National Biography, not exactly what its title implies, as it has its limits—in no sense reaching beyond the British Islands. It necessarily comprehends the progenitors of the most distinguished names in the United States, but no mention is made of any British subject who subsequently became an American citizen, however high he or his descendants may have been enrolled upon the pillar of fame. Living persons are also excluded. The explanation is simple. A rigid line must be drawn somewhere, and to include all the eminent characters from the earliest period of English history (many centuries), particularly

with such fullness as to embody the latest results of historical research, would swell the work to as great a magnitude as it could well bear without further additions. The omission, however, of all American names is in itself suggestive. Have we not sufficient ability and enterprise on this side of the Atlantic to take up the thread, join it where it belongs, and produce an elaborate Dictionary of "National" Biography, strictly American?

As a matter of curiosity we should like to inquire why the word "National" is used in the title to this English Dictionary, when its scope is so manifestly local? The three Adamases—Samuel, John, and John Quincy—were born in the British dominions; yet they are wholly ignored! Washington was born a British subject; will he also be excluded from the "National" Dictionary?

The biographies in the volume before us are exceptionally well written. The editor's own sketch of Addison is one of the best; it is full, without any waste of words, and most agreeably informing. Professor Freeman contributes the account of Ælfred, King of the West Saxons, which is also admirable. The sketches are nearly all from the pens of the best and most competent writers. In its literary quality and good taste, as a whole, this dictionary is without question superior to any literary work of the kind in the English language. Mr. Stephen is a man of letters, thoroughly equipped, patient and painstaking, has so far shown excellent judgment, and may justly be styled a model editor. The volumes are to be issued quarterly, and are in a specially convenient size for library use. The price is so moderate that we predict a very large subscription.

EDUCATION IN ITS RELATION TO MANUAL INDUSTRY. By ARTHUR MACARTHUR. 12mo, pp. 393. 1884. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

What is industrial education? What are its merits and objects, and, above all, what power does it possess of ministering to some useful purpose in the practical arts of life? These are the questions that the author of this work has aimed to elucidate with a reasonable degree of exactness and precision. He dwells upon the education of children before the period of school, and the mission of the senses and physical organs. "Education," he says, "is bestowed upon the mind, while all the executive functions of the physical system are neglected." Our boys and girls know enough, for the most part, when they leave school, but can do nothing; "they have learning, but no capacity." He then goes on to show the importance of a knowledge of the laws of physical development. He says: "Our external faculties are few, being computed at five, yet in their endowment and operation they

are so intermingled and combined as to impart to our outward movements and actions an almost infinite variety of use and expression. When properly trained they work together like the parts of a well-regulated machine." Mr. MacArthur goes into many details concerning industrial schools in Europe and in the United States. But the chief value of the work lies in its practical lessons for the general reader. Art ideas must be supplemented by practical workmanship; beauty is a salable commodity; all the mechanic arts have advanced to their present state of perfection by a gradual process of invention and adaptation; the manner of educating youthful artisans; manual training in the public schools; American inventive genius; classical learning; the moral influence of industry; and the application of art to industry—are among the important topics of which the volume treats. It is a book of exceptional household value, and should be thoroughly read and its lessons carefully studied.

WHO SPOILS OUR NEW ENGLISH BOOKS? Asked and answered by HENRY STEVENS, of Vermont, Bibliographer. A paper read before the Library Association, at Cambridge. Small square 16mo. 1884. London: Henry Newton Stevens.

The author of this unique little volume calls attention to many defects in the manufacture of books. He says it is as difficult to teach without example the philosophy of art and of mechanics, as of history. There are not less than ten parties directly interested in the production of a beautiful and durable book—the author, the publisher, the printer, the reader, the compositor, the pressman or machinist, the paper-maker, the ink-maker, the book-binder, and "the last not least, the consumer, often ignorant and careless of the beauty and proportions of his books—a great sinner." Mr. Stevens does not attempt to point out who is the greatest or the least of these ten sinners, but he goes to prove with unquestionable logic that either one of them can spoil a good book in spite of the combined efforts and merits of the other nine; and that when two or three unite in their ignorance and mechanical blindness, nothing but accident can save the production. The question of honesty or good intentions does not come into the discussion at all, but the clumsy manipulations through which harmony is defeated, in spite of the excellence of the great majority of the parties to the manufacture.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—The Magazine will publish in April an interesting group of portraits—"The Framers of the Constitution."

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tion." But the feeble successor of that renowned Congress which had brought into existence the thirteen States, was averse to excluding itself from the right to inaugurate changes in the government, and did not comply with the request with alacrity. It questioned the constitutionality of a Convention, until thoroughly alarmed at the riotous condition of affairs in Massachusetts; and when it yielded, and advised the States to confer power upon a special assembly to convene in Philadelphia on the 14th of May, 1787, the act was not performed with special grace. Thus when the delegates had been appointed by their respective States, the situation was far from enviable. America fixed its critical eye upon them, and a general distrust of the policy of their undertaking prevailed. Their genius in government-making was yet to be displayed; and it was well known that the little which could be borrowed from experience was foreign in its character and irreducible to the exigencies of affairs in the New World.

Our present concern is with the framers personally, rather than with the grand result of their summer's work. Each one of the illustrious fifty-five will furnish a prolific theme for future and elaborate study; but we group them for the advantage of renewing our acquaintance with them in one body, for convenience in portraiture, and for ready reference.

It would be difficult to find in any age or country of the world a more interesting assemblage of public characters. They were well educated, at least four-fifths of them were college bred, and in all branches of scholarship and gentlemanly culture they, as a rule, excelled. They were astute, discreet, energetic, disinterested. They represented the highest civil talent of their respective States, were familiar with the principles of ancient and existing confederacies, had nearly all acquitted themselves nobly in some arm of the public service, and were admirably prepared for serious, searching, conscientious, and discriminating investigation and deliberation. They were of conflicting opinions, and of all ages from twenty-five to four-score. Curiously enough at least one-third of the number were under forty; and only seven of the fifty-five had passed sixty. They assembled in Philadelphia in the leafy months of May and June, 1787. They came from all points of the compass; some journeying in their own chariots drawn by four and six horses, others in springless stages, and not an insignificant few on horseback. Philadelphia was in hospitable humor, proud of being chosen as the place for the Convention, and her private citizens graciously entertained the distinguished statesmen as far as practicable. Pennsylvania provided eight delegates,* the largest number of any of the States,

* The eight Pennsylvania delegates were: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson Gouverneur Morris.

Virginia having only seven, although she initiated the movement. North Carolina, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware each sent five delegates. Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Georgia four; New York and Connecticut three; and New Hampshire two; Rhode Island was not represented. Each State acted its own pleasure in regard to the number of delegates



ROBERT MORRIS.

chosen. New York struggled for five, but her inflexible Senate decreed there should be but three.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin, President of Pennsylvania, was the leading delegate from that State; and he was the oldest man in the Convention. He had recently returned from his ten years' absence in Europe, crowned with glory, and had been welcomed home with addresses of congratulation, in which he was styled "the great philosopher," "the great politician," and

"the illustrious and benevolent citizen of the world." He was quickly elected to the Presidency of Pennsylvania, an act which restored harmony to a community almost on the verge of civil war—and the day of his election was also the day of his inauguration. He resided in Market Street with his daughter and her seven beautiful children. His house was surrounded with pleasant and tastefully cultivated grounds. Prior to the meeting of the Convention he had added a new wing to his dwelling, in which he fashioned a commodious library, and contrived the "long arm" for taking books from high shelves, which he delighted in exhibiting to visitors. His public business not being arduous, he spent much time in his garden, and with his books, and in playing cribbage with his grandchildren. Writing to David Hartley of his domestic life at this period he said: "As to public amusements we have assemblies, balls and concerts, besides little parties at one another's houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music; so that we jog on in life as pleasantly as you do in England."

Washington, the conspicuous leader of the Virginia delegation, was the first of the Framers to arrive in Philadelphia, and with characteristic promptness on the precise day appointed. He left Mount Vernon in the latter part of April, traveling with his own equipage. At Chester, fifteen miles from the city, he was met by General Mifflin, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and other gentlemen of distinction, and from Gray's Ferry was escorted by the city light-horse into Philadelphia—the bells ringing meanwhile—where public honors awaited him. His first act was to pay a visit of respect to Dr. Franklin.

The other delegates came slowly; day after day passed and still the majority of the States were not represented. In the mean time Washington was *fêted* by the leading residents; and according to the newspapers of the day, he "went out one evening when the weather was very tempestuous, accompanied by a brilliant crowd of his friends of both sexes, and proceeded to the University to hear a lady deliver a lecture on the Power of Eloquence." He was also the guest of honor at a stately dinner-party given by Dr. Franklin, on which occasion a cask of porter fresh from London was broached, and its contents, wrote Franklin, "met with a most cordial reception and universal approbation."

Franklin was then eighty-one years of age, and Washington fifty-five. Franklin was of average height, stooping a little as he walked, full, broad physique, and benign, spectacled countenance.* His intellect was never clearer, more acute, more active, more fruitful. Washington stood six

* This Magazine has recently published [IX. 401, XII. 14.] two portraits of Franklin.

feet and three inches in his slippers, as straight as an arrow, and was evenly developed. He had a long muscular arm, and a singularly large hand. His gravity and sublime self-poise were as notable as Dr. Franklin's wit, anecdotes and whimsicalities.* Each of the two was gifted with worldly wisdom in liberal measure, and each had in his own line of the public ser-



THOMAS MIFFLIN.

vice won world-wide fame. To a country groping in the dark for political guidance the successful soldier and the eminent diplomat were radiant beacon lights. The Convention was not formally organized until Friday, May 25, and then, as soon as the preliminary business was concluded, it

* This Magazine has published at different dates fourteen portraits of Washington. [III. 81, 465, IV. 1, V. 85, VI. 81, VII. 80, X. 177, XI. 513, XII. 550, 552.]

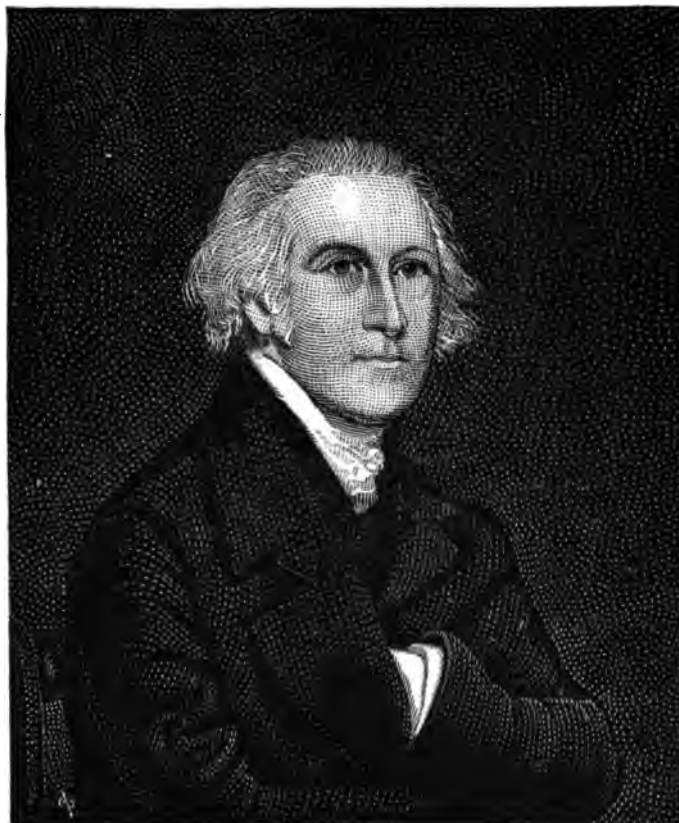
adjourned until Monday. Pennsylvania gracefully proposed Washington as the President of the Assemblage, a ceremony that was to have been performed by Franklin in person, had not a severe rain storm prevented his attendance on the occasion. Robert Morris made the motion, which was promptly seconded by John Rutledge, of South Carolina, and Washington was placed in the chair. Franklin was in his seat on Monday, and attended the Convention regularly, five hours every day afterwards for four months, his friends declaring that he grew in health and vigor under the daily exercise of going and returning from his house to Independence Hall. The Convention bound itself to secrecy and proceeded to its work with closed doors, "lest the publication of their debates" says Mr. Bancroft, "should rouse the country to obstinate conflicts before they themselves should have reached their conclusions."

In the midst of this assembled greatness, Franklin in his well-fitting, picturesque costume was the observed of all observers—as he advocated a government unimposing, inexpensive. Thomas Mifflin, the general and statesman, but little more than half the age of Franklin, with his quick movements, his sanguine temperament revealing itself in every turn of his finely poised head, and his military bearing, attracted scarcely less attention. He had lived rapidly and learned much, and thus was older at forty-three than most men. He was of Quaker parentage, and when in the ardor of his patriotism he joined the Revolutionary army his peace-loving people "read him out of meeting." His importance in public affairs appears from his having been chosen president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in 1788, and governor of the State from 1791 to 1800.

Robert Morris, the great financier, was fifty-four, one year younger than Washington. He was large and florid, bright eyed, pleasant faced, magnetic, just as we see him in his portrait, and in the very prime of his noble manhood. He was a fluent and impressive orator, and whether in public speaking or in private conversation, overflowed with a rich fund of political knowledge and general and trustworthy information. He was born in Liverpool, coming to this country with his father, an eminent Liverpool merchant, at the age of thirteen, and was bred to mercantile pursuits. He had been one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the magic of his genius had at a later moment lighted the impetuous pathway of the American Army on to victory. But for his magnanimity and fertility of invention, it is doubtful whether, after all, the Independence so dearly bought could have been maintained.

George Clymer, who occupied a seat next him, was also one of the signers. He was six years younger than Morris, of middle size, erect in

person, of fair complexion, and features radiant with intelligence, resolution and benevolence. He rarely made a speech, through extreme diffidence, but when he did his gifts of expression were wonderful, and no man in the Convention commanded a more attentive and appreciative audience. He was a close student, and wrote with grace and accuracy, and his opinions were always treated with respect. He was a refined gentleman ✓



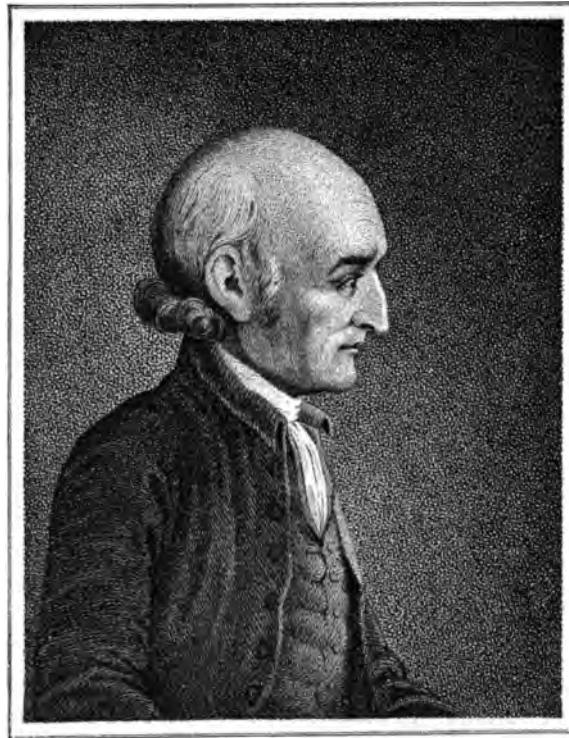
GEORGE CLYMER.

of ardent attachments, and the delight of the social circle. It is said of him that he never was heard to speak ill of the absent or known to break a promise, and he was ever ready to promote any scheme for the improvement of the country in science, agriculture, polite learning, the fine arts, or objects of mere utility. Thomas Fitzsimmons was of Irish birth and forty-six; a prominent and successful merchant of the house of George Meade & Co., who in 1780 supplied the army with some \$25,000. He had been a

member of the Old Congress, and was subsequently chosen to the first Congress under the Constitution. He was furthermore president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. The name of Jared Ingersoll, following that of Fitzsimmons in the roll call, brings to mind some of the exciting incidents of the Stamp-Act rebellion, in which it will be remembered that his father, Jared Ingersoll, figured in the valley of the Connecticut. Being Connecticut's agent in England he had ably and persistently opposed the passage of the odious bill; but when it became a law, he was duly qualified to officiate as stamp master. From New Haven, on his return from Europe, he started on horseback for Hartford. As he rode leisurely through the woods near Wethersfield, accompanied by a guard, he suddenly met five horsemen, who turned and joined his party. Ten minutes later he met thirty horsemen, who wheeled their horses in like manner. Not a word was spoken. All rode on together with the silence and solemnity and decorum of a funeral procession. On reaching a fork in the road they met a body of five hundred men, chiefly farmers, armed with ponderous white clubs, and led by an officer in full uniform. These knights of the forest opened a line from right to left, and received Ingersoll in the center with profound courtesy. Then martial music echoed through the woods and all moved forward; a halt was ordered in the broad street of Wethersfield. Ingersoll was there commanded to resign. He expostulated and said he must "wait to learn the sense of the Government." "Here is the sense of the Government," was the quick retort. "If I refuse to resign, what will follow?" he asked. "*Your fate*," said the officer. "The cause is not worth dying for," replied Ingersoll, after a moment's hesitation, and wrote his name to the formal resignation prepared for him to sign. He was then required to shout "Liberty and Property" three times, after which ceremony he was escorted to Hartford. He rode a white horse, and as they ambled along some one asked what he was thinking about. "Death on a pale horse and hell following," was his response. His son had been in London with him, and remained there to study law in the Middle Temple; in Paris afterwards he made the acquaintance of Dr. Franklin, who became very fond of him. He resided in Philadelphia upon his return to America, where he became a prominent jurist, and twice was attorney-general of the State; he also for many years was presiding judge over one of the courts. In 1812 he was the Federal candidate for Vice-President of the United States. At the time of the Convention he was thirty-eight years of age.

James Wilson was forty-five, a Scotchman by birth, but thoroughly American in all his attachments and sentiments. He had studied at Glas-

gow, St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and completed his legal education in the office of John Dickinson, of Delaware. He was a member of the Old Congress of 1775, and voted in favor of the Declaration. During the war he always considered the States, with respect to that war, as forming one community, and he did not admit the idea that when the colonies became independent of Great Britain they necessarily became independent of each other. He was a clear, sagacious, forcible political writer, and a statesman



GEORGE WYTHE.

of high order. The eighth Pennsylvania delegate was Gouverneur Morris, a New Yorker by birth and ancestry and subsequent residence. He was one of the younger men, only thirty-five, and one of the most fearless, self-sustained, sharp-witted, clever, versatile and useful of the Framers.

Virginia's representatives had been chosen with consummate discretion.* The central figure was Washington. Madison, who had already

* The Virginia Delegates were : George Washington, James Madison, George Wythe, Edmund Randolph, George Mason, James Blair and James McClurg.

displayed his statesmanship in a multitude of ways, and was a veteran despite his having seen but thirty-six years, took a prominent part in all the debates, speaking on every momentous question that came before the Convention.* He had been one of the signers of the Declaration, one of the framers of the first constitution of Virginia, an active member of its first legislature as a State, and a member of Congress. He had applied himself untiringly to the study of government. His answers to the objections raised, when the scheme of preparing a new Constitution in place of an amended Confederacy was fairly before the house, were among the ablest of his efforts. At one time he had been a pupil of the eminent George Wythe, Chancellor of Virginia; and now teacher and pupil were sitting side by side, gravely working together on the solution of one of the most difficult problems of the age. The Chancellor was a man whom once to see was never to forget. He was of venerable aspect, aged sixty-one, and the expression of his face told the story of his firmness and integrity. He signed the Declaration in 1776, and was from first to last a courageous champion of liberty—even before it became popular to oppose England.

Edmund Randolph, Virginia's brilliant young governor, as yet only thirty-four, with a reputation for ability equal to his high position, went into the Convention in the firm belief that the prophesied downfall of the United States could be averted by correcting and enlarging the Articles of Confederation. He opened the business of the Convention on the 29th of May, saying: "The Confederation was made in the infancy of the science of constitutions, when the inefficiency of requisitions was unknown, when no commercial discord had arisen among states, when foreign debts were not urgent, when treaties had not been violated." He explained the defects in the Confederation, and proposed fifteen resolutions, which he explained one by one. As an orator Randolph had exceptional command of language, and his voice was musical and his gestures graceful. He was large, portly, of commanding presence, with bright, animated, handsome features, and most engaging manners.† He voted against the new instrument, but afterwards in the Virginia Convention urged its acceptance; and when the new government was duly organized and in successful operation he accepted the appointment of Secretary of State under Washington, serving from 1794 to 1795.

By the side of Governor Randolph stood George Mason, an old-school gentleman, majestic in size and of princely bearing, austere, courtly, self-willed, his face browned with sun and wind, and his hair flecked with the

* This Magazine recently published [XI. 100, 392] two portraits of Madison.

† This Magazine published [XI. 393] the portrait of Edmund Randolph.

snows of sixty-one well rounded years. He was a man of profound learning and took a leading part in the debates, proposing many curious schemes. He advocated the election of President directly from the people, and for a term of seven years, with ineligibility afterward. He had a mortal hatred to paper money, and disapproved of the slave-trade. In a speech of blazing eloquence he said: "Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant; this infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants; the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it;" and he thought the general government should have power to prevent its increase. He had fourteen years before given expression to



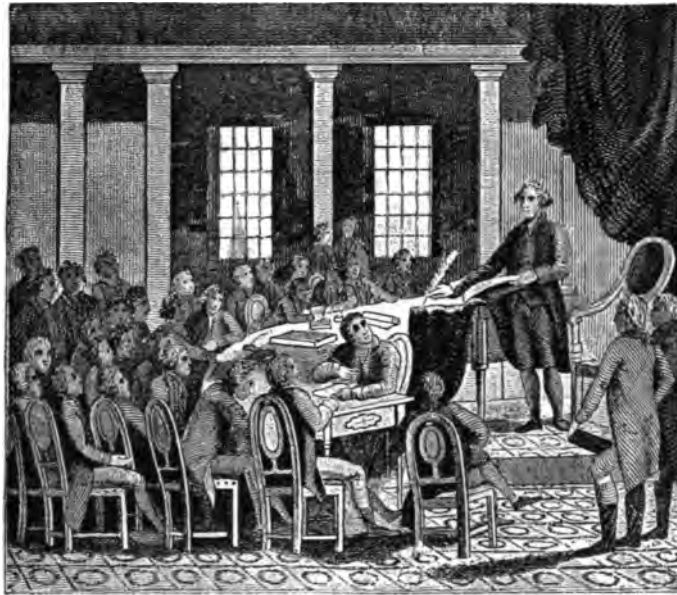
JOHN BLAIR.

sentiments of a similar character in the Virginia legislature. He was dissatisfied with several features of the Constitution as it approached completion, and withheld his signature. "The government will surely end either in monarchy or a tyrannical aristocracy," he said. He did not hesitate to dissect and denounce the instrument before and after its adoption as the "sum of every evil." He built Gunston Hall, on the Potomac, where he spent the greater part of his life.*

John Blair was a jurist of great acumen and ability, who had been chief justice of Virginia, and judge of the High Court of Chancery. He was of the same age as Washington, fifty-five. In 1769 he had been one of the

* The picture of Gunston Hall [XI. 387] and a rare portrait of George Mason [XI. 385] were published by this Magazine in May, 1884.

famous party of patriots who met at the Raleigh Tavern and drafted the non-importation agreement. His law studies were prosecuted at the Temple, London; and he was a man of wide reading and general culture. In 1789 President Washington appointed him justice of the United States Supreme Court. He was distinguished for the excellence of his private character, no less than for his public services. James McClurg was a physician, who took his degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1770, and continued his studies at Paris and London, where he published a medical essay that



CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1787.
[From an antique print.]

was so highly popular as to be translated into all the languages of Europe. He resided in Richmond, and aside from having risen to the head of his profession, had for a long time been one of the Council of State in Virginia. He had just passed his fortieth birthday. In the Convention his voice was often heard; one motion that he made was, that the term of

the presidential office should be good behavior, "to escape corrupt cabals and yet preserve a good officer in place."

The first two months of the Convention were much occupied in discussing the terms upon which states as small as Delaware and Rhode Island could safely and justly enter a confederacy with such large states as Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York. The smaller were unwilling to be overshadowed or oppressed, and the larger declined to forego the importance due to their superior wealth and population. The small states demanded an equal representation in the national legislature, and the large states pronounced such a claim preposterous and unreasonable. They held it

to be manifestly wrong that a state sixteen times as large as Delaware should have only the same number of votes. The debates were eloquent and earnest, then hot and acrimonious. Washington with lofty and severe dignity in the chair, and Franklin with contagious good humor on the floor, tried in vain to cool the heats of disputation. Delaware, the smallest state represented, contended with the most spirit and persistence for an equality absolute and entire.* No compromise would be considered for a moment. With the larger states the contest was for power, with the smaller states for existence. George Read held his position with calm, judicial, convincing logic. John Dickinson was more intense and fiery in his arguments, spoke oftener, and on several occasions introduced a whole chapter of bitterness into his powerful speeches. George Read said—"The confederation was founded on temporary principles; to patch it up would be like putting new cloth upon an old garment. If we do not establish a new government on good principles, we must either go to ruin or have the work to do over again." He moved that the Senators should hold their office during good behavior, which was seconded by Robert Morris. The idea not being generally supported, he moved that the term of Senators be nine years, one-third going out triennially. Nathaniel Gorham, of Massachusetts, inquired: "What would be the situation of Delaware in case of a separation of the States? Would she not be at the mercy of Pennsylvania?" John Dickinson said that the proposed national system was like the solar system, in which the states were the planets, and should have free scope to move in their proper orbits. He declared that "rather than be deprived of equality in the legislature of the nation, he would choose to be the subject of a foreign power." The eminent chief justice of New Jersey, David Brearly, vehemently exclaimed: "If thirteen sovereign and independent states are to be formed into a nation, the states as states must be abolished, and the whole must be thrown into a hotchpot, and when an equal division is made there may be fairly an equality of representation. New Jersey will never confederate on the plan before the committee. I would rather submit to a despot than such a fate." Gouverneur Morris said, speaking for Pennsylvania: "If persuasion does not unite the small states with the others, the sword will." Madison encouraged the large states to oppose the demands of the smaller ones steadfastly. Others, among whom were Elbridge Gerry and George Mason, saw that there must be some compromise or secession would follow. It really seemed as if that one perverse rock was about to shipwreck

* Delegates from Delaware: George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

the whole fleet. But Delaware carried her point in the end. Franklin came to the rescue with an amendment, or accommodation, to prevent the dissolution of the Convention, and after considerable wrangling, the simple, sensible and satisfactory settlement of the vexed controversy was that every state should have equal representation in the Senate without regard to size, and in the House every state should have a representation proportioned to its population—and no ill-feeling ever resulted therefrom. "Thus," writes James Parton, in his "Life of Franklin," "Rhode Island and Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York were made equal members of the same confederacy, without peril to the smaller and without injustice to the larger. Of all political expedients (in a great emergency) this was perhaps the happiest ever devised. Its success has been so perfect as scarcely to have excited remark. The nation is as unconscious of the working of the system as a healthy man is of the process of digestion."

George Read, the leader of the Delaware delegation, was the only Southern statesman who signed all three of the great state papers on which our history is based—the original Petition to the King of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. He was the eldest son of John Read, a public spirited and wealthy Southern planter, born in Dublin in 1688—a descendant of the eminent Reads of Berkshire and Oxfordshire, England—who removed to this country, and died in 1756, possessed of several plantations in Maryland, as well as a handsome landed estate in Delaware. Among the fellow-pupils of George Read, in acquiring his education, were Hugh Williamson, Charles Thomson, the famous Secretary of Congress, Dr. John Ewing, the well known mathematician, astronomer and college president, and John Dickinson. In legal learning Read was excelled by none, and as soon as admitted to the bar rose rapidly to distinction. In 1763, at the age of thirty, he was appointed attorney-general by the crown, from which time he continuously held public office in Delaware until his death, in 1798, as chief justice of the State. He resigned his office of attorney-general to accept a seat in the first Continental Congress, and was subsequently elected to the second. Concerned in all the great measures of independence he was one of the "Fathers and Founders of the Republic;" but he was also in a peculiar sense the "Father of Delaware," for he was the author of her first Constitution, in 1776, and of the first edition of her laws. He figured in her assembly not less than twelve years, was vice-president of the State, and at one period her acting chief magistrate. He penned the addresses from Delaware to the king, which Lord Shelburne said "so impressed George III. that he read them over twice." He is the most con-

spicuous figure in the Delaware record, for Thomas McKean and John Dickinson were more closely allied to Pennsylvania than Delaware; and while Cæsar Rodney was prominent at the time of the Declaration, and afterwards as president of Delaware, his premature death in 1783 cut short



JOHN DICKINSON.

his career. In person Read was tall, slight, graceful, with a finely-shaped head, refined features and dark brown lustrous eyes.* His manners were dignified, bordering upon austerity—he could not tolerate the slightest familiarity—but courteous and at times captivating, and he dressed with the most scrupulous care. He commanded the perfect confidence

* See Frontispiece.

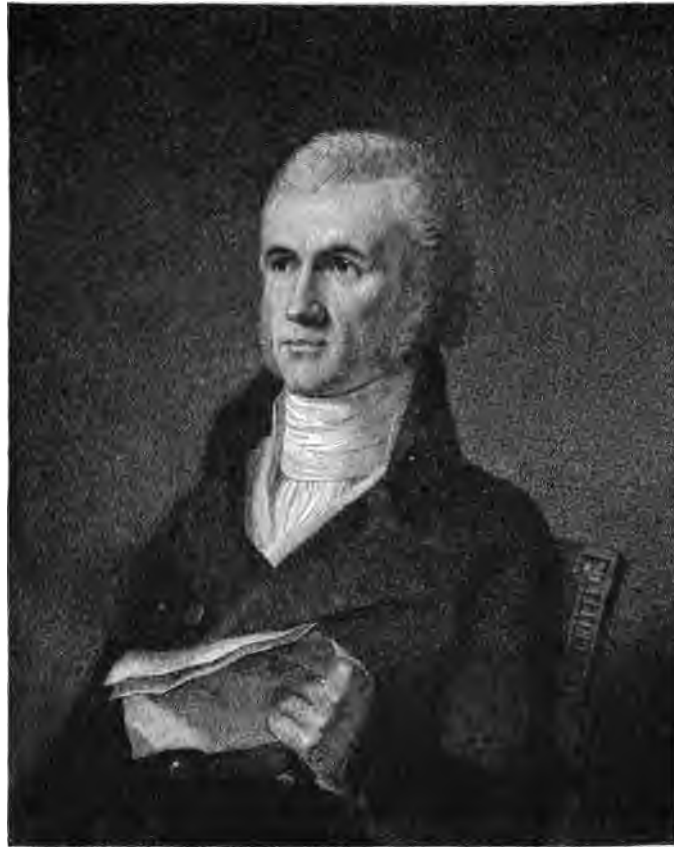
of Delaware, not only through his profound legal knowledge, sound judgment and impartial decisions, but through his severe integrity and estimable private character. Those who differed from him in opinion believed he was acting from a sense of duty, and declared "there was not a dishonest fiber in his heart or an element of meanness in his soul." John Dickinson was fifty-five, one year older than Read. The character of this much misunderstood man was not a chapter of contradictions. His charming scholarship, gifts as a writer and forensic ability had been recognized long before his rare powers in public debate found expression and appreciation. In opposing and refusing to sign the Declaration of Independence he lost his popularity. But through the friendship and political and personal influence of George Read he was after a time restored to public life, and had been president successively of the states of Delaware and Pennsylvania prior to the Convention. He was tall, straight and thin, with pleasing address and polished manners, earnest, affectionate and tender-hearted. He was of a nervous temperament, exceedingly sensitive, and often over-anxious, even to timidity. Dickinson College, which he founded and liberally endowed, perpetuates his name and services to the country. Gunning Bedford, Jr., was the first cousin of Governor Bedford of Delaware, a handsome man of forty, and a fluent and agreeable speaker. He participated in the debates of the Convention, and on the question of representation expressed his views with warmth so near to intemperance that he was sharply censured. He was, soon after the Convention, appointed attorney-general of Delaware, and from 1789 to 1812 filled honorably the high office of judge of the United States District Court of Delaware. Jacob Broom was younger, only thirty-five, and less prominent. Richard Bassett was a lawyer of fine standing, who for some years occupied the bench; he was also governor of Delaware. His daughter married James A. Bayard.

In this connection it should be said of Delaware that she was the very first state to ratify the Constitution, "leading the way at the head of the grand procession of the thirteen states," on the 7th of December, 1787, without asking for one amendment. Rhode Island, who was not represented in the Convention, was the last of the states to come into the Union, and before doing so sent in a polite request for twenty-one amendments.

North Carolina was not behind the other states in contributing merit to this august body.* Hugh Williamson, M.D., was by birth a Pennsyl-

* North Carolina delegation: Hugh Williamson, William Richardson Davie, William Blount, Richard D. Spaight, Alexander Martin.

vanian, a thorough scholar in divinity, in mathematics and in medicine. He was an accomplished writer on a great variety of abstruse topics. He had studied medicine in Edinburgh and Utrecht, and had served in the Continental army as chief of the medical department of the troops of North Carolina, under Governor Caswell. He was a bachelor of fifty years, who



WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

lost his heart in New York while—two years later—a member of the first Congress under the Constitution, and married the daughter of Charles Ward Apthorpe. He had in the course of his useful career gained such a reputation for integrity that it was said no one dared approach him with either flattery or falsehood. The youngest man from North Carolina was William Richardson Davie, then but thirty-one, of commanding presence, an accomplished orator, with a voice of peculiar melody, and remarkably

winning and handsome features. He was a general favorite; one of the most affable, hospitable and delightful of companions. He was by birth an Englishman, but was graduated from Princeton College: he served as commissary-general of the Southern army under General Greene. At the end of the war he began the practice of law, and had already become one of the most distinguished lawyers in the state. He was for many years a member of the state legislature. In 1799 he was made governor of North Carolina, and was subsequently sent by the President on a mission to France. William Blount had been North Carolina's delegate to the Old Congress for several years. He was eminently qualified for the duties of a legislator. In 1790 he was appointed governor of the Territory of Ohio, and in 1796 was president of the convention to form the state of Tennessee, and subsequently was appointed president of that state. Richard D. Spaight had also been a member of the Old Congress. During the war he served as an aid of Governor Caswell, and was at the battle of Camden in 1780. The next year he entered the House of Commons of North Carolina. In 1792 he was chosen governor of the State. Alexander Martin was an ex-governor, and an ex-speaker of the Senate. He had been much in public life, and had commanded a regiment in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He was again chosen governor of North Carolina in 1789, and was United States Senator from 1793 to 1799. He gained in addition to this considerable distinction through his literary attainments.

The most notable and industrious delegate from Georgia was a son of her adoption, Abraham Baldwin.* He was a young Connecticut lawyer of thirty-three, a graduate of Yale, and four years one of its tutors (the brother-in-law of Joel Barlow), who at the request of General Greene had removed to Savannah in 1784. He was one of the best classical and mathematical scholars of the age. In the Georgia legislature he originated the plan of the State University, drew up the charter by which it was endowed with 40,000 acres of land, and with the aid of Governor Milledge carried it through successfully; after which he was several years its president. He had been a delegate to Congress since 1785, and was re-elected continuously until 1799, at which time he was chosen to the Senate, where he remained until his death in 1807. William Few was an able jurist, and had served in the Old Congress, afterwards becoming a Senator.† William Pierce and William Houstoun were both men of eminence and influence. Pierce was a Virginian by birth, and in the war had been an aid to General Greene, and was now a member of Congress.

* Georgia Delegation: Abraham Baldwin, William Few, William Pierce, William Houstoun.

† This Magazine published [VII., 321] the portrait of William Few.

From South Carolina came a brilliant and accomplished delegation.* John Rutledge, who, like his brother Edward, had received legal training at the Temple, and become versed in all the intricacies of the English law, had been one of the active members of the Stamp Act Congress, held in New York twenty-two years before (in 1765), when but twenty-six years of



ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

age. He was now forty-eight. Of Irish descent, with the quick wit of the race, and possessed of marvelous boldness and decision of character, he had risen to a high place in the confidence of his state; indeed he was the pride of South Carolina. Washington said he was the greatest orator in the Continental Congress. At the time of his appointment to that Congress

* South Carolina Delegation: John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

the Boston Port-bill had just been read in Charlestown, and expresses had been sent all over the state to call the general meeting of the inhabitants. Everybody was in a fever of excitement. When the question arose as to how far the delegates might go in supporting the people of Boston, John Rutledge exclaimed, with incomparable energy, "No instructions to the representatives, but full authority to exercise their discretion, and a pledge to the men of New England that South Carolina will stand by whatever her delegates promise for her." One of the opposition asked, cynically: "What shall we do if the delegates make an improper use of this large grant of power?" The answer came like the sharp crack of a volley of musketry—"Hang them!" The effect was irresistible, and the delegates *did* go to the Congress unhampered by directions and ready to help Boston as far as among the possibilities. Rutledge was re-elected to the Congress of 1775, and in 1776 was chairman of the committee that prepared the constitution of South Carolina, of which state he was elected the first president. In 1779 he was chosen governor, and clothed with dictatorial power. Retiring from the office in 1782 he was once more elected to Congress, and in 1784 made chancellor of the state, and was still holding that office when appointed a delegate to the Convention. With such wide experience in public affairs he naturally bore a prominent part in the work of framing the Constitution.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, son of Chief-Justice Charles Pinckney, was younger than Rutledge by seven years. He was an elegant scholar, and socially one of the most charming men of his day. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford, England, read law at the Temple, and spent some months in the Royal Military Academy at Caen, France. Returning to South Carolina in 1769, he established himself in the practice of law; but during the war he passed through every vicissitude of a soldier's life. His celebrity at a later day is well known. He declined successively the places of judge of the Supreme Court, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State offered him by Washington; but in 1796 accepted a mission to France, which, however unsuccessful, gave him great renown. He was President-General of the Cincinnati from 1805 to 1825.* His kinsman, Charles Pinckney, was but twenty-seven when he came into the Convention, yet his education and his ability won a high place for him among the law-makers. He spoke with great force and effect upon nearly all the important questions before the Framers, who lost sight of his youth in the maturity of his thought. In the debate on Slavery he took

* This Magazine, in September, 1873 [X., 179.] published the portrait of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

part with fervid eloquence. He had been four years in the Old Congress prior to the Convention; and subsequently was governor of South Carolina, in the United States Senate at three different periods, and minister to Spain, where he negotiated a release from that power of all right and title to the territory purchased from France by the United States. He was a



JOHN RUTLEDGE.

gentleman of varied culture and great polish of manners. Pierce Butler was a learned and popular man of forty-three, of Irish birth, and of the family of the Dukes of Ormond. He, too, had been a member of the Old Congress. When it was proposed in the Convention that persons fleeing from justice should be delivered up on demand of the executive of the state from which he fled, Butler proposed that "fugitive slaves should be delivered up like criminals," but afterwards withdrew his motion, and

offered another in its place. When the new government was organized, South Carolina sent him to the United States Senate.

From New Hampshire came John Langdon, subsequently three times governor of that state, a severely practical republican, of sterling good sense, social habits and pleasing address.* He was forty-eight, while Nicholas Gilman, his colleague, was but twenty-five. It was John Langdon who furnished means to equip Stark's Militia in the dismal days prior to the battle of Bennington, pledging his plate among other personal valuables for the purpose. Young Gilman was already a member of the Old Congress, despite his boyish appearance, to which he had been chosen in

1786, and he subsequently served in both houses of the national legislature.

The quartet from Massachusetts were strong mentally, morally and politically.† Caleb Strong, born in Northampton thirty years before the breaking out of the Revolution, a graduate from Harvard, and a student of law in all its varied features, was admirably fitted for the important constructive work before the august body. He was a statesman of inflexible adherence to principle, a man of spotless private character, affected no elegance of style, was tall, angular, with a somewhat large head, dark



NICHOLAS GILMAN.

complexion, hair but slightly powdered resting loosely on a high, thoughtful brow, from beneath which blue eyes of singular beauty beamed with gentleness and kindly warmth. There was firmness in the expression of his face, however, and in the study of his portrait one is not surprised to learn of his high-handed action twenty-five years later when, as governor of Massachusetts, during the war of 1812, he denied the right of the President, upon constitutional grounds, to make requisition upon the state for troops. In

* New Hampshire delegates: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

† The Massachusetts delegates: Caleb Strong, Elbridge Gerry, Rufus King, Nathaniel Gorham.

marked contrast, as far as concerns personal appearance, was Elbridge Gerry, aged forty-three, one year the senior of Caleb Strong, who was small and slight of stature, and of extreme urbanity of manner. He, too, was a graduate of Harvard, was a master in questions of commerce and finance, and had seen much service in the councils of state. He was in



CALEB STRONG.

Congress from 1776 to 1785, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He was subsequently in the Federal Congress some four years, was sent on a mission to France, served as governor of Massachusetts and Vice-President of the United States.* Nathaniel Gorham was a merchant of Boston, and familiar through his own experience with commercial affairs in all

* This Magazine published in November, 1884 [XII. 389], a portrait of Elbridge Gerry.

countries. He had been a member of the Old Congress, of which he was president in 1786. In the Convention he served on some of the most important committees, and his opinions were held in great respect. He was the oldest of the Massachusetts delegates, having reached his fiftieth year. Rufus King was the youngest, being only thirty-three. He was already a legal luminary, and his vigorous oratory and rare combination of personal and intellectual endowments made him a notable figure in the Convention.* His voice, like that of Madison, was lifted in every debate, and his influence was very great. His subsequent life was closely identified with New



WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

York, where he married and made his permanent residence. His public career covered a period of more than forty years, six of which were spent at the Court of St. James as minister to England. He was a scholarly politician and an accomplished diplomatist; as a man he was universally respected and beloved.

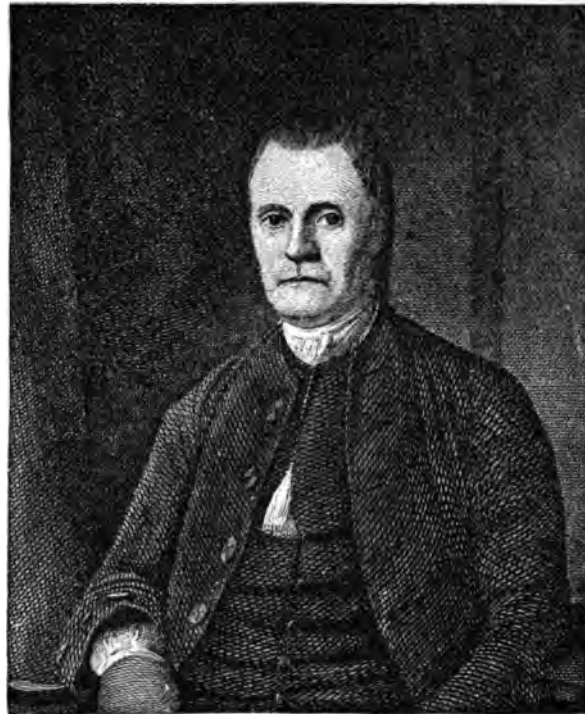
Connecticut sent three of her brightest and best men.† William Samuel Johnson, sixty years of age and a college president (having just been elected to preside over Columbia College), was not only an eminent lawyer and a judge of distinction but one of the most accomplished scholars of his

time in science and in literature. He was the son of Rev. Samuel Johnson, D.D., first president of Columbia (King's) College, and with the exception of Rufus King was the only New England Episcopalian in the Convention. He had been an important member of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and assisted in writing its address to the king; he was the able agent of Connecticut in England before the war, where Oxford made him a doctor of the civil law, and where he was on intimate

* This Magazine published in November, 1884 [XII. 395], a portrait of Rufus King.

† The Connecticut Delegation: William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth.

friendly terms with Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the privileged guest in the cultured circle of which that literary colossus was the acknowledged chief. On his return to Connecticut he was made judge of the Superior Court, and subsequently was the leading commissioner in adjusting the territorial disputes with Pennsylvania. He also served in the Old Congress from 1784 to 1787. Roger Sherman was six years older than Johnson, and in many respects the most remarkable man in the Convention. No one cer-



ROGER SHERMAN.

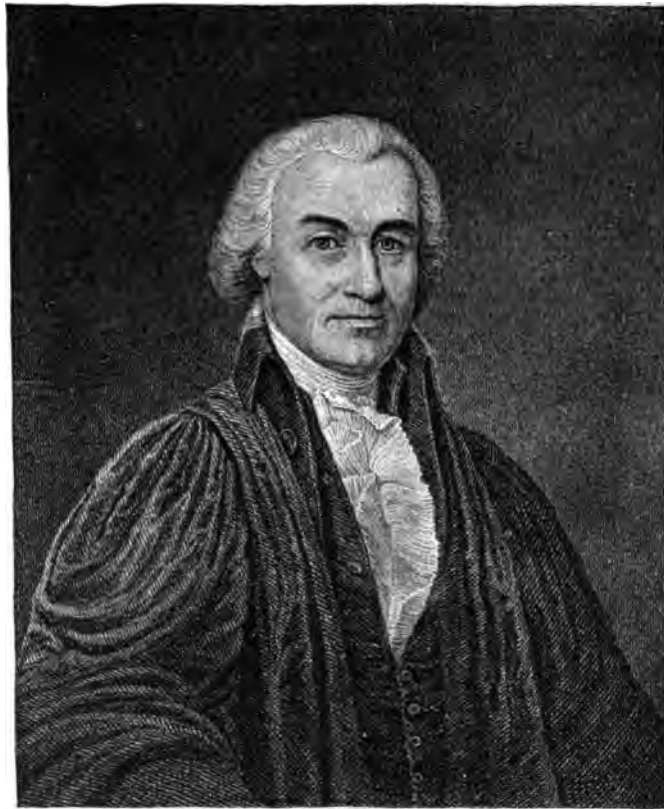
tainly had had so broad an experience in legislation. He was sent to the first Continental Congress in 1774, and to every other Congress to the end of his life. He was the only Northern statesman, as George Read was the only Southern statesman, who signed all three of the great state papers which gave birth and power to a mighty empire; Sherman did more, for he signed in addition the Articles of Confederation—which he helped to construct; he was the only American statesman who attached his name to the *four* important documents. The son of a New England farmer,

Sherman was bred to industry, hardly ever knowing an idle hour. He studied law under many difficulties; but few excelled him in acumen and sound judgment, as soon as he had once established himself in practice. In the language of Mr. Bancroft, "The country people among whom he lived gave him every possible sign of their confidence. The church made him its deacon; Yale College its treasurer; New Haven its representative, and, when it became a city, its first mayor, re-electing him as long as he lived. For nineteen years he was annually chosen one of the fourteen assistants, or upper house of the legislature; and for twenty-three years a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, or of the Superior Court." His knowledge of human nature seemed intuitive; he was calm, grave, self-poised and saturated through and through with practical wisdom. According to Jefferson he was a man "who never said a foolish thing in his life." He was tall, well-proportioned, of fair complexion, but by no means handsome. In the Convention he never wearied his hearers with long speeches, "but would seize on the turning-point of a question and present it in terse language, which showed his own opinion and the strength on which it rested." Oliver Ellsworth, subsequently chief justice of the United States, was only forty-two, but, like his colleagues, rich in experience. After two years in Yale he graduated from the College of New Jersey; was early admitted to the bar, and became state attorney and a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, taking part in all the revolutionary political discussions and measures. He was a member of the Old Congress for several years, and in 1784 was appointed judge of the Superior Court. He was an unassuming man; always self-possessed, cautious, and independent in utterance whenever his opinions were once formed. No one was more impressive and convincing in debate. In his private character he combined all the charms of the best species of good-breeding with the excellences of the Christian gentleman.

At the head of the New Jersey delegation* stood her famous war governor, William Livingston, who had reached his sixty-fifth year. He had been an eminent member of the New York bar as early as 1752, and was one of the most caustic and forcible essayists in the country; he was also one of the few poets of his time. It was next to impossible for him to make a speech that was not seasoned with dry humor and stinging satire. He was probably the best classical scholar in the assemblage. He had through a long career of active public and political service acquitted himself with honor. He had been a member of the first and second Conti-

* The New Jersey delegates were: William Livingston, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton, David Brearly, William C. Houston.

mental Congresses, and from 1776 until his death in 1790 was governor of New Jersey, conducting her affairs, particularly during the Revolution, with great judgment and energy. He was a most ardent hater of all monarchical forms, a political prophet, and a sagacious adviser. David Brearly, the chief justice of New Jersey, was a much younger man, only forty-one,



OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

and an able, active, and important member of the Convention. William Patterson was one year his senior, a man of great learning and many accomplishments. He was a lawyer, admitted to the bar in 1769, and a member of the New Jersey constitutional convention in 1776, after which for ten years he was attorney-general of the state. When the new government went into operation he was elected to the Senate, and in 1791 became governor of New Jersey. He subsequently was appointed a justice

of the Supreme Court. In 1798 he revised by legislative authority the laws of New Jersey. Jonathan Dayton was a young lawyer of much promise, aged twenty-seven, a native of Elizabethtown. From 1795 to 1799 he was speaker of the House of Representatives; and during the next six years was United States Senator from New Jersey.

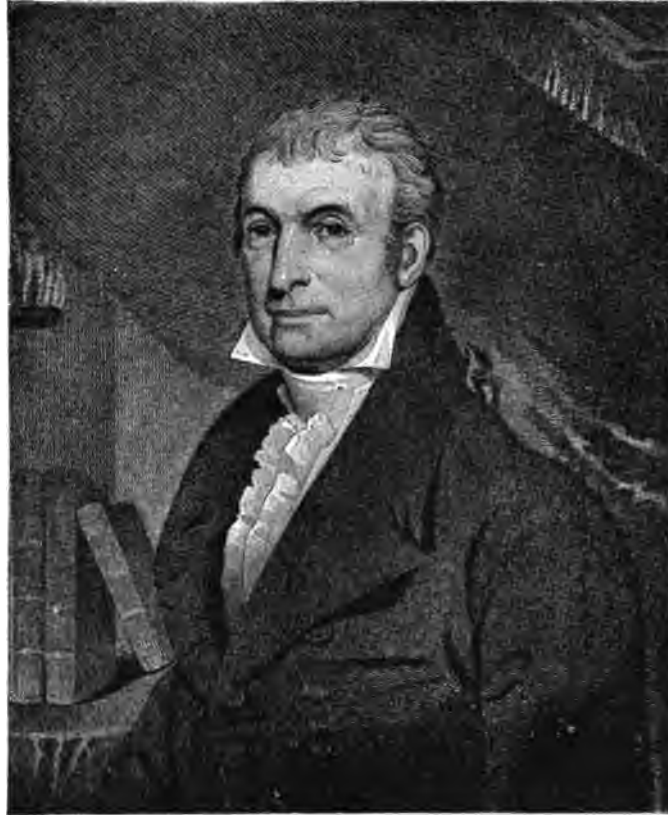
The most prominent of the Maryland delegates* was Luther, Martin, attorney-general of the state, a lawyer of commanding influence, and a violent politician. He grew exceedingly warm over the question of equality of votes, and on one occasion declared that "each state must have an equal vote or the business of the Convention must come to an end." He was a pungent political essayist, and wrote on many subjects. In his celebrated report to the Maryland legislature on the doings of the Convention, he said there was "a distinct monarchical party" in that body. He opposed the Constitution with all his strength. Twenty years later, at the age of sixty-three, he was a firm personal and political friend of Aaron Burr, whose acquittal he was instrumental in procuring when tried for treason, in 1807. John Francis Mercer was a shrewd and capable young man of twenty-nine, a graduate of William and Mary's College, and a Virginia delegate to Congress from 1782 to 1785. He was subsequently a member of Congress from Maryland, and the governor of Maryland from 1801 to 1803. Daniel Carroll was a cousin of Charles Carroll, the signer, a well-educated gentleman of thirty-two, who did not, however, arrive in Philadelphia until the 9th of July. He was sent to Congress in 1789, and in 1791 was one of the commissioners for surveying the District of Columbia, his farm occupying a portion of the site of the present city of Washington. James McHenry was two years the senior of Carroll, thirty-four. He was the aide-de-camp of Lafayette in the war, with rank of lieutenant-colonel, and a delegate to Congress from 1783 to 1786. In 1796 he was appointed Secretary of War, serving in that capacity from 1796 to 1800. Daniel Jenifer, of St. Thomas, was sixty-four, nearly twice as old as either of the three last named Framers. He signed the Constitution, as did both McHenry and Carroll. He was in Congress two years. It is a noteworthy fact that all but twelve of the fifty-five Framers of the Constitution had at some period been in the Continental or Old Congress.

New York, the Empire state, conscious of her prospective importance, jealously resisted the national scheme.† Of her three delegates Robert Yates and John Lansing were notably in favor of preserving the individual

* The Maryland Delegation were : Luther Martin, John Francis Mercer, Daniel Carroll, Daniel Jenifer of St. Thomas, James McHenry.

† The New York delegates : Robert Yates, John Lansing, Alexander Hamilton.

powers of the State. Yates had been in public life many years; was in the famous Committees of Safety, in the Provincial Congress of New York, and in the convention that framed the state constitution in 1777; had also been a judge of the Supreme Court and chief justice of the state. He was fifty years of age, and distinguished for his moderation and impar-



LUTHER MARTIN.

tiality. John Lansing studied law in Chief Justice Yates' office. He was thirty-three, brilliant and versatile; was seven years in the state legislature, four years mayor of Albany, and in the Old Congress from 1784 to 1788. He was appointed chief justice of the state in 1798, and from 1801 to 1814 was chancellor. Both Yates and Lansing vigorously opposed the Constitution, and when it was found impossible to patch up the Articles of Confederation to meet the emergency, they took the ground that the

Convention was transcending its powers in attempting to construct a new instrument, and went home.

Hamilton, undaunted at being thus left alone to represent so large and important a state, marshaled his marvelous gifts and forces into full play. By the action of the majority of her delegates New York had lost her vote in the Convention, and little dreamed that the boldness, energy, acute sense, and well-balanced intellect of her youthful statesman, was to overbear by eloquence, interpret essential needs by illustration, usurp powers with imperious will, and then convince by argument a large proportion of



JAMES MCHENRY.

her population that he was in the right, and compel in the end a public recognition and justification of his conduct. But such were the facts. He was but thirty, and in size probably the smallest man in the assemblage. Yet in certain respects he was the greatest of them all. He unquestionably evinced more remarkable maturity than was ever exhibited by any other person at so early an age in the same department of thought. His views, although held with great tenacity, were also held in subordination to what was practicable. Franklin opposed every proposition that tended

towards arbitrary government. He thought the Chief Magistrate should have no salary and little power, and that the government should be a simple and ingenious contrivance for executing the will of the people. He said that ambition and avarice, the love of power and the love of money, were the two passions that most influenced the affairs of men, and argued that the struggle for posts of honor which were at the same time places of profit, would perpetually divide the nation and distract its councils; and that the men who would thrust themselves into the arena of contention for preferment would not be the wise and moderate, those fitted for high trusts, but the bold, the selfish and the violent, and that in the bustle of cabal and the mutual abuse of parties the best of characters would be torn in pieces.

Hamilton went to the other extreme. He did not want a monarchy, but he was for having a perpetual senate and a perpetual governor. The great principle he cherished acknowledged the inalienable right of the individual state to control absolutely its own domestic and internal affairs, because better able to do it intelligently than any outside power, but which also recognized the desirability and necessity of a central government that should settle and determine national questions. To embody such a scheme, with all its delicate details and shadings, in a written document, was the puzzle of puzzles. The prudence of Franklin was one of the great influences that ruled the hour. His well-timed anecdotes and quaint observations created many a burst of genuine merriment, despite the serene grandeur and dignity of the presiding power. The day after Hamilton was deserted by his New York colleagues, Franklin, in a characteristic speech, attributed the "small progress made to the melancholy imperfection of the human understanding;" and urgently recommended that the sessions be opened every morning with prayer. The builders were some weeks in hewing their timber after this. All through the hot July and August days the work went on. Washington was a close observer and could give excellent advice, but he was wholly innocent of constructive aptitudes. Madison's far-reaching logic and Rufus King's magnetic efforts were of the first consequence. Gouverneur Morris demolished many impracticable notions. But Hamilton, with less direct agency than some of the others in framing the chief provisions of the structure, was essentially the guide of the workmen. Never untimely obtrusive with his opinions, nor backward about giving expression to them when discussion was in order, he brought all the political systems of the civilized world into grand review, and with deferential, courteous and yet authoritative air compelled the ear of the Convention.

Whenever the frame-work misfitted he came to the rescue. In the early days of September the instrument had so far assumed shape that light began to gleam through the shadows. A committee of five—William Samuel Johnson, Hamilton, Madison, Rufus King and Gouverneur Morris—were appointed to revise its style and the arrangement of its details. Amendments, however, were proposed, discussed and adopted until the very last day of the session. A series of concessions greatly facilitated the final work, some of the most prominent of the Framers yielding points for the general good which they had hitherto held with great tenacity. Wash-



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

ington, Franklin, Hamilton and others accepted certain features they did not approve, because they believed it was the best government that the genius of America could frame, or that the nation could be induced to experiment upon. The finishing touches to the document were delegated to Gouverneur Morris, whose graceful pen gave to the substance its order and symmetry, and to the text its distinguishing elegance. Finally, as the delegations came forward in procession to sign the Constitution, Hamilton inscribed upon the great sheet of parchment the name of each state in its regular order.* New York not being regarded as officially present the registry reads: "Mr. Hamilton from New York." During the performance

* This Magazine recently published [X., 178] the portrait of Hamilton.

of this ceremony Madison writes that the irrepressible humor of Franklin found expression in pointing to a sun painted upon the back of Washington's chair, remarking with a smile that painters had generally found it difficult in their art to distinguish a rising from a setting sun. "I have often and often," he continued, "in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now I have the happiness to know that it is the rising sun."

Mr. Bancroft says: "The members were awe-struck at the result of their councils; the Constitution was a nobler work than any one of them had believed it possible to devise. They all on that day dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other."

Such an assemblage for such an object the world had never before witnessed. In parliamentary talent and civic wisdom it proved itself superior even to that famous Congress which twelve years before occupied the same hall, and upon which Pitt lavished his rhetoric of praise. When the Constitution was subsequently submitted for the ratification of the several states, the debates in popular meetings and in state conventions summoned to the front every giant mind. But the Framers had built their foundation upon solid rock. They had grasped the principles of freedom and invested them with the breath of perpetual life. They had produced a written instrument—capable of taking in whole sermons between its lines—which was an exact form of government, to be deliberately adopted by the American people themselves, for public administration. The value of their legacy, to a countless posterity, is beyond measurement or expression. The Framers of the Constitution must ever preside in the national memory; and this great and prosperous country is their everlasting monument.

Martha J Lamb

[FOR nearly all the rare portraits illustrating the text of the above article, the Magazine is indebted to the generous courtesy of the eminent and liberal-minded collector, Thomas Addis Emmet.—EDITOR.]

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BELLOMONT AND RASLE IN 1699

Before me lie two letters, written in a fair and clear hand, on gilt-edged paper, now yellow with age.* They immediately relate to an incident of some historic importance; and they are connected with events which caused great excitement at the time, and which were afterwards interwoven with the strifes of parties in England, and bequeathed one black name to the chronicles of crime. They, moreover, introduce us to two interesting personages, one, the writer of these letters—one of the most accomplished and popular of the royal governors sent over to these colonies—the other, the Jesuit missionary among the Indians, Father Rasle.

The closing part of the seventeenth century was a period of deep gloom in the Northern colonies, on account of Indian wars, heavy taxes entailed by unsuccessful military expeditions, unsettled currency and government, loss or curtailment of chartered rights, and conflict with ruling powers in the mother country, and, to cap the climax of horrors, the outbreak of devilish malice in the form of "witchcraft." It seemed as if the infernal fires were kindling the dusk of the waning century with their lurid light. Another crime, from which some northern seaports were said to derive a clandestine profit, was piracy. In a loose state of international law, privateering easily degenerated into piracy. King William III. made strong efforts to suppress it. The royal Governor of New York, Fletcher, was charged with guilty connivance. A new governor was now appointed, with quite extensive authority, being made the representative of royalty at once in New York, in Massachusetts, which included the province of Maine, and in New Hampshire. The person chosen for this comprehensive office was an Irish nobleman, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont. He was appointed in 1695, but remained in England for two years longer. He was puzzled to know which of his governments he ought to visit first; he was told in London that "the merchants and others belonging to New England did little stomach the discourse that had been about the town, of his going first to New York, as if the people of New England (who are the bigger body of people and far more considerable than the others) were thereby slighted." But he went to New York first, arriving there in April, 1698. The voyage had taken him nearly as many months as it now would days.

* The original letters are in the collection of Autographs belonging to the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Before leaving England, he conferred with various persons from America, among whom was Colonel Robert Livingston of New York. The proper means of dealing with piracy were specially considered. Bellomont asked to have a national vessel of war fitted out to chase and seize piratical craft; but the war with France engrossed the whole naval force.

An enterprise was then started which was destined to have unfortunate results. A private vessel of about 270 tons was bought and armed, and sent out with a royal commission, at the expense and for the profit of the "adventurers" in this scheme. Among these were several prominent Whig noblemen, as well as Bellomont and Livingston. Bellomont was especially charged with its outfit. The king was to have one-tenth of the profits of the adventure. The commission authorized the commander of this vessel to act as privateer against the French. A distinct commission relates that certain inhabitants of New England, New York, and other American plantations, have in company with others committed piracy on "the seas in the parts of America and other parts," and authorizes the commander to seize and bring to legal trial all such "pirates, freebooters, and sea-rovers." It was thought that the capture of pirates and their plunder would be a profitable business. Livingston recommended to Bellomont for commander a person whom he had known to be a brave and skillful captain of a privateer, who knew the pirates and their places of rendezvous. This man was appointed to the command, and was to share in the expected gains. The name of the person thus selected to be the agent of English noblemen and ministers of the crown, to share in their enterprise and vindicate the majesty of law on the high seas, was William Kidd. The name had a gentler sound, more suggestive of peaceful and rural associations, then than now.

Kidd sailed from England to New York in 1696, there shipped several new men, making a crew of more than 150, and steered for the Indian ocean, where instead of hunting pirates he turned pirate himself. He waylaid and plundered vessels of different nations indiscriminately on the great highways of commerce in the Eastern seas. Among the spoils I find mentioned opium, coffee, sugar, silk, "callicoes," etc. He returned to New York in 1698. Meanwhile, Bellomont had arrived there, and taken the place of the supposed abettor of piracy, Fletcher. Kidd did not find the opportunity he expected for disposing of his ill-got gains. He deposited some of his treasures at different points on Long Island Sound, let his crew disperse, and soon after appeared in Boston, where we shall meet him by-and-by.

Bellomont entered with energy into his administrative duties in New

York, which were complicated by the misconduct of his predecessors, by recent bitter disputes in that province, and by threatening relations with the French and Indians. He made a pleasant impression by his activity and winning manners, and by the impartiality which arose from his not having been entangled in previous quarrels. He remained there during the greater part of his stay in America, and died there after a short illness, March 5, 1701, lamented, if we may believe the historians of New York, with more than merely official regrets. His remains still rest in that city. He had been in this country a little less than three years.

Of this period, a little more than one year was spent in New England, mostly at Boston. He was the second royal governor of Massachusetts. He reached Boston May 26, 1699, and had a warm welcome, and made friends. A good Churchman, he knew how to conciliate the still dominant Puritanic element, whose hold on the religious sentiment of the town was beginning to be relaxed, as shown by the formation, during the very year that Bellomont was in Boston, of that "Manifesto" church, in Brattle Square, whose venerable edifice so long

—"wore on her bosom, as a bride might do,
The iron breastpin that the rebels threw."

He attended the service of the English Church, and brought over a present of books from the Bishop of London, and an assistant rector. But he was also seen at the Thursday lecture. Owing to his conciliatory course, he won unprecedentedly large grants from the General Court for his maintenance in proper state. He was polite to the country members, and is said to have told his wife, who was much younger than himself, and perhaps wearied of the cares of entertaining company in the provincial capital, "Dame, we should treat these gentlemen well; they give us our bread."

I will venture to quote a few sentences from his first address to the Massachusetts Legislature—sentences courtly and formal, and which must have grated on the ears of some Puritan leaders: "I should be wanting to you and myself too, if I did not put you in mind of the indispensable duty and respect we owe the King for being the glorious instrument of our deliverance from the odious fetters and chains of popery and tyranny, which have almost overwhelmed our consciences and subverted all our civil rights. There is something that is god-like in what the King hath done for us. The works of redemption and preservation come next to that of creation. I would not be misunderstood, so as to be thought to rob God of the glory of that stupendous act of His providence, in bringing to pass the late happy and wonderful revolution in England. His blessed work it

was without doubt, and He was pleased to make King William immediately the author and instrument of it. Ever since the year 1602, England has had a succession of kings who have been aliens in this respect, that they have not fought our battles nor been in our interest; but have been in an unnatural manner plotting and contriving to undermine and subvert our religion, laws and liberties, till God was pleased, by His infinite power, mercy and goodness, to give us a true English king in the person of his present Majesty," etc.

This was rather strong language to apply to a king who was born in the Low Countries, and as Macaulay says, "never became an Englishman"—never, that is, in ideas and feelings. Bellomont's sweeping reproach of the English kings in the century then nearing its close, runs back to the accession of James I., who was no papist if he was an alien, and was a pretty small pattern for a tyrant; and glides silently over the glorious parenthesis of the Commonwealth and its great Protector.

Bellomont had hardly arrived in Boston when our old friend Captain Kidd appeared there, finely dressed in the style of the time, and accompanied by his wife with her maid. He had a somewhat equivocal safe conduct from Bellomont: "If your case be so clear as you have said, you may safely come hither,"* etc. The governor must have laid great emphasis on his *if*; for Kidd was soon arrested, after a show of resistance, and lodged in prison. Bellomont must have felt some responsibility for the captain's career. At the same time his administration was specially pledged to the suppression of piracy.

Before all this, under the rule of Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, one Joseph Bradish, with some of his men, had been apprehended. He had been boatswain's mate in a vessel sent from London for Borneo, and part of the crew had turned pirates, left the captain and several of the men on an island near Sumatra, and made Bradish their captain. After sharing the profits of several piracies they came to Long Island, and are said to have left part of their treasures there. They next appeared at Block Island, and their ship being suspected as a pirate, two of their men who came to the main-land were seized. The sea-rovers soon deserted their vessel, scattered on shore, and several of them were arrested. Bradish was taken within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and lodged in Boston jail. Just before Kidd was arrested in Boston, Bradish escaped from jail with a companion named Wetherley.

Among his many duties, Bellomont had instructions to inquire into certain grave charges against the Rhode Island government. That uneasy

* See Memorial History of Boston, II., 177.

colony was a thorn in the side of its neighbors; even on the map, Massachusetts looks like a human foot with prolonged toe curving into the hook of Cape Cod, while Rhode Island represents a peg worrying the tenderest part of its sole. Bellomont visited Newport in September, and after his return he wrote, on October 2d, to Governor Cranston, thanking him for his hospitality, and directing the arrest of Bradish, who was thought to have escaped to Rhode Island. He afterward made severe charges against the little colony; and his attack on her administration came near upsetting the government under the charter of 1663; which, however, was destined to last almost a century and a half longer, till it had to yield to changes in the comparative growth of towns and in prevailing political sentiment.

But Bradish was not found in Rhode Island; and only seventeen days after writing to Governor Cranston, Bellomont addressed the following letter to Captain John Hill, commander of the fort at Saco, in the province of Maine:

"Boston, the 19 Oct^r, '99.

"Capt. Hill, I desire you will not faile to be extreemly secret in the busineses I now commit to you. If Bradish and Wetherley the two Pyrates that escaped out of the Gaol of this town be not taken and brought back by the last day of this moneth, I desire you will then send this Inclosed Letter of mine to the French Jesuit or Fryar that is with the Indians at a Fort called Norocomecock, and that by some very trusty Indian, to whom you must give a double reward, and charge him to deliver my Letter to the Fryar privately, that no body may see him deliver it, if he can. If you manage this matter prudently, I doubt not but Bradish and his companion will be retaken and brought back; and your chief care must be to keep it secret that I have writ to the Fryar, wherein you will oblige

Your friend and servant

Bellomont."

The inclosure is as follows:

"À Monsieur le Père Missionnaire à Norocomecock.

"de Boston, ce 19^e Octobre, '99.

"Monsieur, L'on me donne avis aujourd'hui que deux Pyrates Anglois, nommez Bradish et Wetherley, qui se sont eschappez hors de la prison de cette ville il y a plus de trois mois, se sont retirez au chateau des Indiens appellé Norocomecock, où vous tenez vostre residence à present. Je ne crois pas que vous pretendiez garentir ni couvrir deux scelerats de la main de la Justice: et si vous vous piquez d'en faire de bons Catholiques Romains, je suis seur que vous vous y tromperez, comme je suis persuadé que des Gens comme ces deux-là qui sont capables de Pyraterie (que j'estime le dernier des crimes) se rendroient demain ou Juifs ou Mahometains, pourveu qu'ils peussent se sauver la vie. Vous vous ferez donc plus d'honneur et en mesme temps plus de service au bon Dieu, en faisant renvoyer ces deux scelerats icy à Boston, afin qu'ils reçoivent le chatiment qui leur est dû. Je donneray deux cent escus de Bradish, et cent escus de Wetherley, à celui qui me les rameneront, et de plus je payeray les frais du voyage. J'ose dire que Monsieur de Callière,

Gouverneur de Canada, vous fera ses remerciements du service que vous ferez au public en m'accordant la grace ou plutôt la justice que je vous demande : peut-estre aussi pourray-je trouver l'occasion de vous en rendre une pareille, quand je ne manqueray pas de vous marquer que je seray,

"Monsieur, vostre très humble serviteur

"Bellomont."

I venture to translate the Governor's French into the King's English :

"To the Missionary Father at Norocomcock.

"Boston, 19 October, '99.

"Sir,

"Information is brought me to-day that two English Pirates, named Bradish and Wetherley, who escaped from the prison of this town more than three months ago, have taken refuge in the post of the Indians called Norocomcock, where you are now residing. I do not think you intend to protect or shelter these two criminals from the hand of Justice. And if you are bent on making good Roman Catholics of them I am sure you will be disappointed ; as I am persuaded that fellows like these who are capable of piracy (which I deem the worst of crimes) would turn Jews or Mahometans to-morrow if they could save their lives by it. You will then do more honor and service to the good God, by procuring the return of these two guilty wretches to Boston, so that they may receive the punishment they deserve. I will give two hundred crowns for Bradish and one hundred crowns for Wetherley, to any who will bring them back, and will moreover pay the expenses of the journey. I dare say that Monsieur de Callière, the Governor of Canada, will thank you for the service you will do the public, by granting me the favor or rather the justice I ask. Perhaps I may find opportunity to return a like service, when I will not fail to show that I am,

"Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"Bellomont."

There can be no doubt that the "French Jesuit or Fryar" to whom this appeal is made was "Father Rasle" ; and that the Indian post was at Norridgewock, Maine, its name somewhat altered. This point is at a bend of the river Kennebec, about ninety miles beyond the fort at Saco, and a hundred and sixty miles this side of Quebec, and on the natural line of travel between the two.

The Jesuit missionaries of the North and West gained great influence among the Indian tribes by their suavity and devotion, aided by all the pageant and ceremonial attractions that were possible in the wilderness. By the English they were regarded with peculiar dislike, as political emissaries, unscrupulous in serving the interests of France, wielding great power over the red men, and not unwilling to renew the horrors of savage warfare, which had hardly yet ceased. Most prominent among them was Father

Sebastian Rasle. He was born in France, and came to Quebec at the age of thirty-two, ten years before the time that Bellomont was in Boston. He lived a while at an Indian village near Quebec, learning the language and customs of the natives, and training himself for his life's work. He was sent in about two years to Illinois, and served as missionary there, and was next assigned to a mission at the settlement of Indians on the Kennebec, near the present town of Norridgewock. Here he lived about twenty-eight years, becoming more and more an object of mingled hatred and dread to the English, till in 1724 he was killed in an attack made by an expedition sent to break up his village. His church was burned, and he fell at the foot of his rude cross. Letters from Canadian officials to Rasle, found among his papers, were said to show that priests were active emissaries of the French government, and aided in its military transactions with the Indians.

In the letter to Rasle, which is in Bellomont's handwriting throughout, we recognize the stately courtesy of his style, and also a chivalrous appeal to the rectitude of an alien and foe. Apart from his easy use of the French language, there is something in its spirit, a generous and cosmopolitan tone, which we cannot easily imagine to have come from either of his immediate predecessors in Massachusetts, the bluff seaman Phips, or the hard and stern Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton—the magistrate whose rulings in the court which tried the “witches” at Salem turned the scale against them, and insured the death of some, and who to the end of his long career never owned that he repented of his part in that wretched delusion. Signatures of the three are now on my desk, and all are characteristic: Phips' illiterate, cramped, almost every letter formed separately; Stoughton's upright, positive, distinct and angular; Bellomont's rotund and flowing, the crossing of his final *t* undulating in a half-flourish, as we may imagine him to have waved his hand in addressing a colonial legislature.

Kidd was at last sent to England, convicted of murder and piracy, and hanged. Bradish was caught (I have not ascertained where), and suffered the same fate. After Kidd's trial, inquiry was made into the relations between him and the “adventurers” by whom he had been started in his career. Certain Whig lords, among them Somers, who had been Lord Chancellor when the adventure was undertaken, were called, but no guilty intent on their part was proved.

Charles W. Benson.

WORK AS AN EDUCATING POWER

In trying to discover the means by which we can reach the best discipline of our powers, the life of Moses, with its three stadia of schooling, is a fit and convenient model—convenient, because in his case each of the three periods was so prolonged and so distinct from the other two as to enable us to appreciate it with ease and state it with precision; fit, because the purposes subserved by each period had to do with what is essential and permanent in all personal discipline, and is, therefore, as strictly relevant to the substantial matters of life-training to-day as it was in an age and country as far removed as that of Moses and the Egyptians.

The first period, covering his residence in Egypt, was spent by Moses in the discipline of the schools. It was the season in which he accumulated those first materials of wisdom and power, out of which, later on, he molded the words and fashioned the works that have made him forever memorable in both the religious and political history of mankind. His scholarly training was prosecuted in entire unconsciousness of the particular services which that training was, by and by, to be called upon to render, so that his education was not narrowed to the gauge of any sharply defined purpose, but as the years rolled by, and events and opportunities transpired, his purposes were able to enlarge and widen themselves out over all the broad platform of preparation laid for him in a scholarship that was careful, thorough, and comprehensive. His forty years of quiet nurture in the Egyptian schools was succeeded by another forty of retirement amid the sheepfolds and pasture-grounds of Midian. That, too, has its faithful counterpart in every successful life that is lived now and among us. It typifies, perhaps, the quiet measurement of our own powers, and the steady poising of ourselves in preparation for overt act. It prefigures, certainly, that searching scrutiny of the times amid which our own work is to be done, and that affectionate conference with the needs of those times that shall in that way enable current wants to make their own appeal to our powers, stimulate those powers into act, and draw them out upon the line where they can work with most justice to themselves and with richest results to the world. The final stadium of Moses' career, that of his public ministry, was likewise forty years in duration, extending from the Burning Bush to his death and mystic burial upon Nebo at the age of one hundred

and twenty. Having alluded to the educating power of study and the educating power of reflection, our particular concern now is with the educating power of *work*. The Moses that we know is the Moses that was revealed through, as well as consummated by means of, his own personal activities. We shall do well to remember that it was by the discipline of work that his cowardly declination of responsibility at the age of eighty was converted into his triumphant resignation of responsibility at the age of a hundred and twenty. Even when the scholarly facilities of Heliopolis and the reveries and searching inquisitions of Midian had done their utmost for him, he was still but a barren figure-head and a limp possibility, till his accumulated resources of wisdom and energy had felt the weight of heavy events pressing upon them, and until he had become personally mixed in the interests and the movements out toward which his life hitherto had been gradually tending and his heart unconsciously drifting.

In order to develop the matter in hand, we shall specify three ways in which work accomplishes in the worker its educational effects:

1st. Work intensifies power. Work is a sort of voice of command addressing imperiously the scattered ranks of our energies and consolidating them into close and effective phalanx. What is latent it makes patent. It renders to us something the service that the boiler does to steam, which does not develop steam, but so confines and constrains it as to check diffusion, induce concentration, and lead forth energy along a single line of effort. The philosophy of the matter, so far forth, is wrapped in the single word "dissipated," which means scattered as opposed to compacted. We use the term in a special sense of such as have fallen into loose and abandoned habits of life. But there is a meaning underneath in the primary sense of the term richly worth our husbanding. It denotes the unbanding of personal powers and their free evaporation in all directions and at all angles, volatilized into tenuity on every side, instead of bound down into productive pressure on a single side. Herein lies much of the observed difference between men; it is far less disparity of power than it is disparity in the concentration of power, and consequently in the practical efficiency of power. A vast majority of the world's effect is produced by a small minority of its potency of effect. In this sense it is, pretty nearly always, a good thing to get into a tight place. The very pressure of the occasion so crowds our fibrous energies upon each other as to compact them into a solid bar of power. Why, even so stupid a thing as Balaam's ass found an angel when it had gotten itself wedged in between two confining walls. This explains Spurgeon's remark that "difficulty is the raw material out of which to build success." Work gathers a man together;

hard work solidifies him. There is no such thing as striking fire without friction. Men that live on other men are regularly aborted. Drummond has copiously illustrated both the physical and metaphysical effects of parasitism. Parasitic life is degenerative. In the serious relations of life "dead-heading" is the most expensive means of reaching one's destination. It is simple matter of biology that whatever makes an animal's food and security easily attained works in the animal degeneracy. More men are ruined by prosperity than are helped and promoted by it. It would be interesting to know just how many of the most successful members of any one community have had to work and fight their way to success. Few of them probably would have gained success if they had not been obliged to work and fight for it. Work collects a man, girds him, checks dissipation, vaporization. Moses crossing the Red Sea is the same man that was just now supplicating God with craven excuses, only now he is Moses with six hundred thousand Hebrews on his hands, and all his energies reined down to a working purpose. It requires but a small charge to drive a rent clear across and through a ledge of granite, if only there is no surface outlet when it is exploded. "Necessity is the mother of invention," which is but another way of saying that we never know what we can do till we have to do it. Difficulty is one of man's best friends. The longer time a boy has to get his lesson the less he will get it. It is astonishing how quickly Moses found his tongue after he had gotten a great cause on to his hands and heart. At the outset, in deference to his diffidence, Aaron was assigned to be his spokesman; but only a little farther on, when Moses came down from Sinai and beheld the Hebrews at their idolatrous and adulterous orgies, it was Moses and not Aaron that did the talking. To a tongue-tied man like Moses pressure is as good as Pentecost. The effect of honest work of every kind is practically to increase our resources by so marshaling what we already have as to conduct them to a solid issue of effect; and that effect, when we see it, gives to us assurance and sense of power, and draws our energies into closer array for battle that is fiercer and victory more complete.

2d. Work tests our judgments and opinions, reveals their concealed flaws, and shows how much (or little) of our learning is possessed of objective worth. All Egyptian schooling is subject to the corrections of an Arabian campaign. We acquire our permanent lessons in the field. A theory is like a new vessel, upon which we prefer not to take passage until it has made its trial trip. Practical activity is a sieve through which the chaff we gather up with the kernels needs screening. Permanent wisdom is reached by experience, and experience means experiment. All theory has to ap-

peal to practice. The Ptolemaic conception of the universe was good till it was discovered that it wouldn't work—would not go in the ascertained facts without a remainder. No idea can pass as legal tender till it has been indorsed by experiment. And one trouble with our friends, the physicists, is, that they insist on issuing so much paper and throwing it upon the market that has not been certified to. Things never lie in the books exactly as they do in the facts and in the field. An American student said to Dr. Tholuck that he was never going to speak a word of German till he had learned all the rules and could speak it correctly. Experience is revelation. Even speech clarifies thought. A teacher is taught by teaching. Deed is tuitional. "If any man will do he shall know," say the Scriptures. A great many things can be demonstrated in the class-room that require to be reconsidered and corrected outside. *Vis inertiae* is nowhere but in the books. Things do not feel as they look. Calculations have to be corrected for gravity and atmospheric resistance. The physician kills the poor fellow in the hospital by drugging him and cutting him according to the exact phrase of the book. We pay the doctor for giving him the opportunity to learn something from us by treating us. Young ministers derive their creed from their preaching fully as much as they do their preaching from their creed. The theologian will get brains in the seminary, but his theology he will pick up in his pulpit, on his knees, and in the sick chamber. The test of a doctrine is the strain it will bear when set at work in the open air. Cloister piety is without the brawn that would make it a match for the world's brunt. Religion is stinky and sallow unless it spends a good deal of its time out amid the sun and wind, the noise and jostle. The questionable element in clergymen's holiness is that it rarely gets the full perpendicular pressure or side thrust of secular life and contacts. Professional piety is abnormally environed. I wish it were possible for the clergy to get farther into the world and into an appreciation of its experiences, difficulties and exposures. If only it did not spoil them morally it would work a rectification of doctrine and sentiment that would put clergy and laity in a more appreciative and respectful relation. There is a strand of good, practical, sterling sense that can hardly form itself in the character of a Christian except as he lives out in the midst of things and grasps things by their rough and every-day handles. All that is illustrative only. Action quickly detects the weak spot in our school learning. Arabia is indispensable to Egypt and Midian, and it would save a great deal of foolish writing and speaking if there was a law against a man's saying anything about a matter that he had not had a hand in.

3d. Work enlarges our thoughts and hearts by holding us in intelligent relation with the general current of interest to which our own efforts are contributed. The care that every man has to take is lest he contract to the dimensions of the place he occupies while doing his work, or narrow to the size of the particular forms of work he happens to be turning out. The mason can reduce, and without care will be likely to, to the proportions of the brick he is laying, or the manufacturer to the dimensions of the shoe-peg he is making or driving. Men are made near-sighted by continuously scrutinizing what lies close to them. Hardly can anything better be done for men and women of small employment than so to instruct them in the history, principles and wide contacts of their occupation as to show to them the far reach and multiplied relations of that occupation. It is far less the size of the workman's work than it is the felt relations in which that work stands to the general concern that determines whether the workman is to be enlarged or belittled by it. It ought to be recognized by every employer, as his conscientious duty, to see to it that his employes do not dull and deaden into machines in the performance of the tasks that they are paid for doing. A mother may do the commonest kind of things in her home, or teach the letters of the alphabet in tiring reiteration to her little fidgety, frolicking four-year-old; but if it is done with the expectation that he will grow up into man's estate by and by, and that then, by virtue of the intelligence and character that she is just now nurturing, he will possibly be in position to mold the opinions and shape the destiny of the generation in which he will stand, then her thoughts will no longer reduce themselves to the size of the little, dirty, dog-eared primer out of which she instructs him, but be as wide and strong as the beneficent power that the boy, when he becomes a man, will be in condition to exercise. The fly on the window-pane gains vastly in size if we will give it distance, and think of it instead as creeping athwart the sky. There is no brook so small but what, if you will follow it closely down in all its meanderings, it will at last conduct you to the sea. If a man is mixed in some large enterprise like Moses and David, Solomon and Cyrus, then this sense of the broad reach of our work is easy. It is much easier for great men to become greater than it is for average men to keep from becoming smaller. But conspicuous men, and deeds that are *evidently* world-deeds, are infrequent, which must be part of the reason why Scripture is continually putting small acts to the front, to remind us that even such are large enough to come into a volume of divine revelation, and have a world-reference when surveyed by divine eyes. There is a great uplift in feeling that though we do but little, that little is a necessary part of the whole. It serves us as the small

wire serves the telegrapher, which, though small, and lying down in the silence and the dark, is large and nimble enough to let his thought slip along it and across to towns and continents the farther side of the sea. I would have the child taught that every footfall of his changes a little the position of the globe, because that is one of those parables of God outside of Holy Writ from which a larger lesson can be drawn and the child encouraged to feel that he may every day do something that will be a benefit to the one next him, and that in this way his little deed, like his little footfall, will run out and extend till it has at last touched everybody everywhere. There is much that is broadening and quickening in this. We really determine how large our horizon shall be, and lengthen or shorten the diameter of our world at our own individual option. Our largest deed is but small, yet pregnant with large discipline for mind and heart when held steadily in relation with what is present, past and to come, like the little eye-piece of the telescope, through which, nevertheless, we come into conference with the remote features of our own landscape, and even the distant and glowing magnitudes of the sky. And the best of it all is, that this broadened regard not only expands us beyond the confines of our daily routine work, and effects in us new vigor of thought, but draws us away from ourselves, helps to emancipate us from the thralldom of our own particular interest, draws us into near identity with society and the world at large, and so makes the world's cause our cause and its interests our own interests. So far as the press is clean and truthful, bringing before us day by day, as it does, the photograph of scenes that have in the twenty-four hours transpired all along the rim of the world, I would distinctly and gratefully recognize the press as so much chosen enginery of evangelization. It gets us under the burden of other men's burdens. It draws us out in long regards and remote affections, and with stronger enticement than we know allures us into magnificent sympathies, that are computable only in terms of the earth's axis and equator. Here lies a good half of all the value there is in the conferments of thought and prayer and money that we make to the less favored portions of the earth. This is why young people are being taught to contribute of their time and effects to the poor, needy and untutored, whether at home or abroad. It is not the tension of their thoughts simply, nor the money value of their contributions, so much as it is that in their own act and work they pass beneath the splendid discipline of the great world-interests and needs of the times. It gives the necessities and events of the world opportunity to work back upon them in priestly tuition. We are made stalwart by every world-burden that lets its own weight down upon us, and enriched by

every world-distress that through the medium of our act we come into any kind of conference and communion with. So let us turn our eyes out instead of in. Though we have to do little things repetitiously in a small place, let us do them in the strength of the inspiration that flows back upon us from that whole world of which this small place of ours forms a necessary part—something as the Lord had the heart to die on Golgotha, in that in dying there he knew he was dying for the world at large; as the apostles were stimulated to preach in Jerusalem by the contact in which by the terms of the Lord's command their labors there were held with the evangelization of the earth's remotest bounds, and as we are stimulated and empowered to pray for the smaller and closer necessities of daily life by having been taught first of all to pray, "Thy kingdom come."

C. H. Parkhurst

ANCIENT CHICAGO *

And not yet fifty years old! The title of our paper must seem jocose to a foreigner. It is very well for Layard or Rawlinson to write of Ancient Nineveh, or for some Old Mortality to work up the Roman Chester of England, or London Town or Santa Fé or Boston Town. The relics and skeletons, dust, cobwebs and broken slumbers make very entertaining reading, with no violence to our respect for chronology, or denial of our notions about antiquity. We rise up before the hoary head of those old human centers. But this Chicago is an affair of last week, with an antiquary, —the growth of some stray seed from Jonah's gourd. The persons are alive, and yet have business in them, who attended the meeting in 1833 for incorporating this town, and saw the city charter for Chicago granted in 1837 by the Illinois legislature. They can stand yet in the door-ways of their memories, if not of their original log-cabins, and correct the proof-sheets of this chapter on Ancient Chicago.

With a little free play, backward and forward, we propose to keep beyond those two dates of incorporation in this historical study.†

When Marquette, in his Christian mission, lay ill in his cabin, at the Portage de Chicagau and mouth of the Calumet, in the winter of 1674-75, the fur traders came to his relief. They were usually in advance of the explorer and the priest, and they early opened what in railroad parlance is now called the "Chicagou route" between Canada and Louisiana. It was in 1718 when Governor Keith of Pennsylvania sent out James Logan to explore for routes westward to the Mississippi, and of one line he reports thus: "From Lake Huron they pass by the Strait of Michilimakina four leagues, being two in breadth, and of a great depth, to the Lake Illinois; thence one hundred and fifty leagues to Fort Miamis, situated at the mouth of the River Chicagou. This port is not regularly garrisoned." Of the history of this fort there are no extant records yet found, and at the council for the treaty of Greenville, 1795, no Indian could give information concerning its origin.‡

† Since this article was written, the first volume of a valuable History of Chicago, to be published in three volumes, has come to hand. With its aid this article has been revised, and credit has been given in the cases of new information. The work of Mr. Andreas is eminently elaborate, and must have cost much patient, painful and expensive research.

‡ Andreas, I.: 79.

In 1773, one William Murray, an Englishman, residing at Kaskaskia, then so eminent, held a Council there with the chiefs of the Illinois tribe, and purchased of them two immense tracts of land. One of these tracts embraced the most of the grand delta between the Illinois and the Mississippi, with a very large area farther north, and had substantially these boundaries—quite generous, considering the price—from the mouth of the Illinois and up it “to Chicagou or Garlick Creek,” about 275 miles; thence northerly “to a great mountain to the northward of the White Buffalo plain,” about 280 miles; and thence direct to the place of beginning about 150 miles. The outline of the other tract is not at hand. For the two tracts Murray says that the purchase was made “to the entire satisfaction of the Indians, in consideration of the sum of five shillings to them in hand paid,” together with some goods and merchandise. Before the contract was consummated, other Englishmen united with him under the title of “The Illinois Land Company.” The whole affair carries a very modern air, specially with that addition of “other Englishmen,” and illustrates some of the broader processes of to-day in civilizing and Americanizing the Indians. But five years later General George Rogers Clark put that magnificent quadrant between the Ohio and the Mississippi under the American flag, and so swept the acres and Indians of Murray, with his English associates, into the young Union. In 1781, the Company pressed their claims for ratification by Congress, and the Senate entered this opinion in the words of the Committee, which became a precedent: “In the opinion of the Committee, deeds obtained by private persons from the Indians, without any antecedent authority or subsequent information from the Government, could not vest, in the grantees mentioned in such deed, a title to the lands therein described.” These primitive “Indian Contractors” worked their “ring” around Congress till 1797, and then abandoned their project for civilizing the North American Indian. But they made another point in history for Ancient Chicago. *

The earliest trace of any occupant at Chicago is that of Guarie, a Frenchman, the corn-hills of whose cabin patch were traceable in 1818, though overgrown with grass. He located there prior to 1778, and had his hut on the river bank, near where Fulton Street now meets it. †

This was the year in which General Clark, under the sovereign instruction of Virginia, and with a commission signed by Patrick Henry, Governor, conquered from the English the region between the Ohio, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. In October of that year Virginia erected the

* Andreas. I.: 69, 70.

† The Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest. By Rufus Blanchard.

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same into the "County of Illinois in the State of Virginia." Then the laws of the Old Dominion were as sacred at the mouth of the Chicago as at the mouth of the Potomac, and Chicago, equally with Richmond, was in Virginia.

But we have yet to find the first settler in Chicago, though the whole region is occupied by the Pottawatomies. After the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, which divided Hayti and gave the eastern shore to Spain, her colony there languished. The French negroes in it, many of whom were free, educated in France, wealthy, but denied political privileges, grew uneasy, and crossed over to the Louisiana, where they were welcomed by the French and became readily assimilated to the Indians. One of these made his home at Chicago, among the Pottawatomies, in 1779, and remained there till 1796. His name was Baptiste Point De Saible. He was "a handsome negro, well educated and settled at Eschikagou, but much in the French interest." So runs the old record of Colonel De Peyster, then, 1779, British commander at Mackinaw. Another record says: "At a very early period there was a negro lived there, named Baptiste Point De Saible. My brother, Perrish Grignon, visited Chicago about 1794 and told me that Point de Saible was a large man, that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular office or from what Government, I cannot now recollect. He was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely." *

So far as yet appears, De Saible was the sole settler of Chicago for seventeen years, when he sold his cabin and other local interests to Le Mai, a French trader. Other fur traders were there, meanwhile, but only transient, for Burnett, trading on the Kankakee in 1790-91, says: "The Pottawatomies at Chicago have killed a Frenchman about twenty days ago. They say there is plenty of Frenchmen." † As a dwelling-place, therefore, with historic germs, this cabin is the embryo of Chicago and her history proper dates from it.

Yet only in his last three years there was Baptiste on ground fully and absolutely owned by the United States, for the Indian title was not extinguished till the treaty of Greenville, 1795. From the opening of the French war, 1754, the northwestern frontier had been sorely tried and wasted by Indian wars. When General Wayne assumed command over that district, he moved with so much rapidity and force as to gain from the Indians a name translated The Tempest or Big Wind; they probably meant Cyclone. He soon bore down all opposition, and brought twelve of the subdued tribes to the council of Fort Greenville, by the treaty of which

* Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, iii., 292.

† Chicago Antiquities, 57.

an immense region west of the Ohio and south of the Lakes was ceded, as well as a large square embracing each of the military posts, not included in the general cession. This treaty extinguished the Indian title to Chicago and its environs, by these words: "One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of the Chekajo River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan." Soon after that region came into American hands, by the treaty of Greenville, there were anticipations and rumors of a garrison at Chicago; and an energetic and adventurous trader thus writes to a Mr. Porthier, a merchant at Mackinaw: "I have reason to expect that they [the garrison] will be over there this fall, and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already, and a promise of assistance from headquarters, I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors and some other articles for that post. Therefore, should there be a garrison at Chicago this fall, I will write for an addition of articles to my order."

The garrison was not long in coming, and no doubt "a good deal of liquors" soon followed. In 1803, Captain John Whistler, of the army at Detroit, was ordered to build and occupy a post at Chicago. From the mouth of the St. Joseph the officers, father and son, with their wives, came down the lake in a row-boat, and so the first two white women entered Chicago. The settlement then consisted of four traders' cabins, the occupants of which were Canadian French, with their Indian wives. The post was named Fort Dearborn, in honor of General Henry Dearborn, then Secretary of War.

The year following, the first white family moved into Chicago. This was John Kinzie, wife, and infant son John H., from the vicinity of Niles, Michigan. He bought of Le Mai the old cabin of De Saible, which he enlarged and improved, and for many years it was the only dwelling of white men in that settlement of now much more than half a million of people. He was properly called the Father of Chicago, and yet he died as recently as 1828, nor, as a city father, did he live long enough to see great results. Three years before he died the village consisted of only fourteen houses—all log-cabins—with a total town tax of \$90.47. The first frame building for business was not built till he had been gone four years.

When Fort Dearborn was built, the government also established, under its guns, an Indian Agency and Trading House for the four nearest tribes, with the purpose that all business between them and the United States, and questions of trouble between the Indians and other parties, might there be peaceably and justly disposed of. It was also the plan of the government to draw, through such agencies, the Indian trade under its own control, and shield the Indians from the corruptions and abuses of the

Indian traders. But the system failed. The agents selected from the East in the way of favor, ignorant of Indian and border life, proved no match for the old border traders and wily half-breeds. An extract from one Report will sample the results:

"An intelligent gentleman, who has just visited Chicago, informed me, July, 1820, that there were goods at that place to the value of \$20,000, which cost more at Georgetown than the traders ask for their goods at the post of delivery; and that the goods are inferior in quality, and selected with less judgment than those of the traders; that only twenty-five dollars worth of furs was sold by the factor at Chicago; that the Government makes no profit on its capital, and pays the Superintendents, factors and sub-factors, and their clerks out of their funds."*

The citation takes us back three-quarters of a century, yet we need not go back the tenth of a decade to find appointments to the border as inapt for the good of the Indian or of the United States. A civil service reform, in our time, with competitive examination of candidates for salaries and chances there, and on such topics as Indian history, Indian nature, habits, and present condition; the scalp dance, green-corn feast, and drunken rows around smuggled whisky, and plots of speculators for making treaties and seizing reservations, would set aside many tide-water applicants, "totally unacquainted with the Indian country." And an extension of this "service reform" to organizations and offices not civil, might stay some from rashly assuming official and public work and honors beyond the Mississippi, who had never yet seen the waters of that river, or even Cincinnati and Chicago.

The early years of this century moved on with a weary sameness by Fort Dearborn. A morning and evening gun could wake the primeval stillness of that far northwest village, where now human voices and the locomotive and mill-whistles and the rattling industries of half a million of people are making a perpetual riot of civilization. Indian bands came and went stealthily and in absolute silence, with moccasin and paddle; packs of peltry and fur made no noise, as red trappers and white traders laid them down on the mud levee of the North Branch and South Branch; Pottawatomies, and Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos came in, early and unfailing, for their payments; and the "good deal of liquors" of Porthier strengthened their patience in waiting; rarely an immigrant or traveler was challenged by the sentinel at this extreme point of American life; and much more rarely the birth of a child broke the monotony. But the commotion of a storm was soon to put an end to sameness.

* Report on Indian Affairs, to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, from a Tour made, 1820 By Jedediah Morse, D.D., 48.

Prior to the war of 1812 there was a growing and hostile uneasiness among the Indians of the Northwest of that day. They regarded with anxiety the approaching and constantly aggressive power of the whites, while English influences over the border turned this toward an embittered hostility. Tecumseh, a Shawneese, with his brother, the Prophet, sought to organize a great Indian Confederation against the white movement into the Northwest. To this end he visited all the tribes on the borders of the lakes Michigan, Huron and Superior, and in the South, the Choctaws, Cherokees and Creeks, as well as the tribes bordering on the west bank of the Mississippi. His success was not perfect but formidable, and had not the Prophet precipitated the result, it must have proved most disastrous to our whole frontier. While Tecumseh was in the South his brother brought on the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, in which General and Governor Harrison gained the day decidedly, and if the English had not come to the rescue, with aid and comfort, the Confederacy would probably have then come to an end. War with England was declared the next June, Fort Mackinaw was surrendered to the English, and orders were received to abandon Fort Dearborn, which was done on the 15th of August. In conference with the Indians, then surrounding the Fort, it was agreed that this should take effect in mutual peace and safety. But the Indians proved treacherous, and when the garrison and outside families had proceeded but a mile or more, the five hundred Pottawatomies, who had agreed to be escorts, fell murderously upon the small band. Of the company there were sixty-eight soldiers, but a large number were on the sick-list, leaving perhaps forty fighting men. With these were ten or twelve women and twenty children—about one hundred souls. It was hardly an hour's bloody work, and twenty-five of the soldiers and eleven women and children remained, and surrendered. The fight, after the first onset, was hand to hand, and terribly earnest, the women even doing their full share. Hopelessness created desperation, and about fifteen Indians paid the penalty of their faithlessness.

The months were long and painful before it was known who were saved, and who the captives were, and much longer before they were redeemed and restored to kindred and friendly hands. The next day the Fort and the Indian Agency were burned. The day of the massacre was marked, also, in the dark calendar of the frontier, by the surrender of Detroit to the English by General Hull.

For four years the charred remains of the government buildings lay untouched, and the five cabins—all there was of Chicago, as a settlement—stood vacant, and only the wolves cared for the bodies and bones of the

men, women and little ones who perished—more than sixty in all. Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816 and garrisoned with two companies of infantry. One of the first pious acts of the commandant, Captain Bradley, was to gather tenderly such remains of the massacred ones as the elements and wild animals had left, and give them a Christian and sacred rest. One by one the fugitives came back timidly and nervously, as on bloody ground and among graves. Kinzie led the way, and took his old cabin again—the house of Le Mai, and of De Saible.

Very little is to be said of changes in Chicago between the rebuilding of the Fort and 1830. At the latter date Chicago was not born, nor did it by incorporation and organization enter the list of American towns till 1833. Meanwhile a stray explorer or adventurer, and a fugitive fact enable us at this late day to keep trace of the frontier waif; yet much as a handful of ashes in the drifting sands tell where the Arabs camped once or twice. In 1817 the Honorable Samuel A. Storrow, Judge-Advocate of the Army, visited Fort Dearborn, where, he says, "Major Baker and the officers of the garrison received me as one arrived from the moon."

Strangers arriving in that city now do not so surprise it, nor is it as difficult to find it as in those earlier days, when one was liable to miss the trail and pass the town without seeing it, as one incident will show. In 1827 Colonel Ebenezer Childs contracted to supply Fort Howard, Wisconsin, with beef, and left for Illinois or Missouri to purchase cattle, and he says: "We started for Chicago, took the wrong trail and went too far West. * * * We got out of provisions the fourth day. I found an Indian who had a large quantity of muskrats; I bought a number, and had a fine feast. We got the Indian to take us and our baggage across the Eau Plaine in his canoe, making our horses swim alongside. We learned that we had passed Chicago, having gone some fifteen miles to the west. The Indian put us on the right track, and we arrived at Chicago the next morning, pretty well used up."

Three years later Schoolcraft found four or five families there and among them our old friend John Kinzie, whom, in 1822, Charles C. Trowbridge met there. Kinzie was then the agent of the "American Fur Company," that is, John Jacob Astor. The year following is marked by a more distinct and emphatic record. Colonel Long, of perpetual memory on Long's Peak, then spoke of the place as consisting of three log cabins, "inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indians from whom they had descended;" their cabins were "low, filthy and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort," and the place "affording no inducement to the settler."

Ebenezer Childs of La Crosse speaks of Chicago, as he saw it in 1825: "At that time Chicago was merely an Indian Agency. It contained about fourteen houses, and not more than seventy-five, or one hundred inhabitants, at the most. An agent of the American Fur Company, named Gurdon S. Hubbard, then occupied the Fort. The staple business seemed to be carried on by the Indians and run-away soldiers, who hunted ducks and muskrats in the marshes."

As to the number of the houses and of the population about this time, there are apparent discrepancies in the authorities. The statements of Mr. Childs apply to 1825, and yet we are informed in 1830 "Surveyor Thompson found seven families only outside of the Fort." The infant settlement was exposed to a second massacre. "In 1828, Indian hostility threatened a general attack on the settlements; but after the murder of a few immigrants, a large volunteer force added to the regulars of Fort Dearborn and Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, over-awed the savages for the time."

The "Chicago Directory" for 1830 was not a very portly volume. The Commercial and Business sections of it condensed, stand thus: Taverns, two; Indian Traders, three; Butchers, one; Merchants, one. The poll list for the county election that year embraces thirty-two voters.

Religious germs did not appear till the following year, and Mr. Andreas well says: "As a whole the Chicago of 1831 could not have been considered a pious town." The Methodists were first on the ground, as is usual on the frontier, always excepting the Jesuits, where there are Indian and Canadian villages. Protestantism would spread more rapidly and vigorously if its adherents were as faithful as the Catholics in carrying their religion always with them. The quality of the two forms of Christianity is, of course, another matter, but they carry their best.

The opening of the School System in Chicago is quite romantic. In 1810 a spelling-book found its way to this lone village in a chest of tea from Detroit, and came into the already historic house of Baptiste Point De Saible, then occupied by Kinzie. In the family was a son, John H., and his cousin, Robert A. Forsyth, afterward paymaster in the United States Army, who assumed the position of instructor. The teacher was thirteen years old, his pupil six, the course of study, this spelling-book, and the school-building was the "Kinzie House."

While these varied items of fur trade, fighting and education were working into a thread of history on that section of the "Chicagou route" between Canada and the Louisiana, the coming civilization was agitating the Northwest Territory. Immigration had made its trail along the borders of the lakes, had quite generally prospected the valley of the Ohio, and ex-

tended to the Mississippi. As early as 1802, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, were in the Union. In 1809 the northern boundary of the Illinois Territory was run due west from the southern point of Lake Michigan, which left Chicago, the Kinzie boy, and his spelling-book of the next year, in Wisconsin Territory. After the rebuilding of the Fort, Astor's fur-trading schooner began to visit the lonely town, sitting there among innumerable water fowl, once or twice a year. Excepting canoes and batteaux, this was the only water craft that greeted it for many years. In 1818 Illinois came into the Union and Chicago came back into Illinois. Between 1830 and 1836 there entered the town in close and tumultuous succession, the usual staples of a young, and of course, ambitious, frontier settlement—a post-office and town incorporation, several denominational religions by organization, a newspaper, a stage line, Indian raids, rude bridges, critical foot-walks, a land office, and a Canal Company incorporated in 1825. The capital of it was \$1,000,000, while the total valuation of all the land within the present city limits was under \$25,000; and the town effected a loan of \$60.00 for street improvements. In 1880 the valuation of Chicago was \$115,003,561; its taxes were \$3,829,618, and its bonded debt \$12,752,000. Scientific accuracy finds a striking illustration in this canal project. Five routes for it were surveyed between Lake Michigan and the Illinois; the lowest estimate of construction was \$639,946, and the highest \$716,110, and government made a land grant way of 284,000 acres; in March, 1843, the enterprise collapsed, after an expenditure of \$5,139,492.03. It was a State project, though Chicago was eminent in it, and, in the year of incorporation, had fourteen taxpayers only, with an aggregate tax of \$94.47. The project was even national, for President Madison had recommended it by Message in 1814. The same project gains a notice in the "St. Louis Directory and Register" for 1821: "In the course of a few years the Illinois river will be, most probably, connected with Lake Michigan." Also municipal regulations came in over the seven taverns, that they should not charge more than twelve and a half cents for a lodging or for a half pint of whisky, or more than twenty-five cents for a breakfast, or half pint of brandy, or rum, or wine, or for a supper. It is said that under present regulations the annual cost to Chicago for liquors is \$32,082,750, with a salesroom for every one hundred and sixty persons.

Immigration came around the end of Lake Michigan in tidal waves. The winter of 1831-2 is still carried in the memories of some, and history will never forget it. Four hundred immigrants were quartered in the Fort, and as the intense cold, the Indians and the wolves closed in on the scat-

tered settlers, the entire body of the inhabitants followed the immigrants. The summer and General Scott raised the siege, when the cholera fell on them, coming with the stately General on the first steamer that ever entered that port.

The pulse of speculative life, that throbbed violently to the eastward of Lake Michigan, affected the finances of this young town. The Erie Canal had made a splendid success, and brought the Atlantic Ocean four hundred miles nearer; Ohio had rushed in growth; steamers were puffing on inland waters which canoes had hardly abandoned, and the railroad era had opened in the seaboard States with almost unlimited fancies of sudden wealth. Land values became fabulously increased on an infinite frontier of acres; thousands of miles of railroad were projected as into void space; the work and growth and fortunes of the next generation were anticipated, and telescopic values were put on front lots and corner lots and water lots about the lower end of Lake Michigan. Chicago went crazy when steamers came in, and railroads promised to do it. She did not then know that the Mississippi Valley has more than forty rivers navigable to the extent of more than 15,000 miles, and could possibly postpone the railroad era. Immigration flooded the city; between April and September, 1834, a hundred immigrant vessels landed their burdens of men hungry and famishing for land, while the procession in carriage and saddle and on foot was continuous; and in twelve months the population went up eight-fold. So rife was speculation that the town could not borrow \$2,000 at ten per cent. Real money disappeared at the land office, where only it availed for land, and at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and promissory notes and collaterals and various wild paper flooded the market.

Meanwhile the average American, with his love of law and order, was there, and gambling houses, Sabbath breaking, liquor saloons, and shooting within town limits were prohibited, and officials were required to give bonds. The land fever and the frenzy of speculation increased in wildness till 1837. A crash then came, as a cyclone comes, only that it was of immense advantage to Chicago in bringing it to its senses and to old-fashioned realities. In the year preceding, and before the town "came to itself," its exports, total, were \$1,000.64, and its imports were \$325,203.90, and it was not till 1842 that as much was shipped off as was received, when the population was 6,590.

Nothing could repress the city; reverses and checks could only consolidate it. The position was a foreordination to growth and greatness, and its success was inevitable and irresistible. Its splendid future was made evident and obvious when the canal was opened in 1848 from the

city to the head of navigation on the Illinois, and a railroad with the East in 1852. Chicago was naturally located at one of the few rounding points in the highways of the world, and yet a thousand miles inland. These two grand connections with the business world—canal and rail—especially the one by rail, admitted it to that family of cosmopolitan cities, any one of which is a center for the trading nations. The locomotive, that so ignores locality and makes the world migratory, made the city permanent when it arrived; and it occasioned the pithy remark that “up to 1852 nobody residing in Chicago considered himself permanently settled.”

In 1833, half a century ago, a citizens' meeting was convened to incorporate the town. The total number of legal voters was twelve, and against one negative the incorporation was secured. One of the first town ordinances was to prohibit live pigs in the streets. In 1880 Chicago handled, through her streets, 7,059,355 of them, besides 39,091 barrels of dressed pork.

The first white settler, Marquette, spent a winter there, and supplied his family market with buffalo, deer and turkey, shot from his own cabin door. In 1880, Chicago had for disposal, and not to mention other meats, 1,382,477 beef cattle.

On the 6th of May, 1635, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed the following law: “It is ordered that it shalbe lawfull for Mr. Levededge to transporte ten bushells of corne out of this jurisdiccon, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary.”* At this time the region of Chicago was a good thousand miles into the absolutely unknown West. Marquette and La Salle were yet unborn. It is yet, then, in the Massachusetts General Court, thirty-five years before the first white man, La Salle, shall see the present site of Chicago. In 1880, Chicago, with no permit from any court, exported 93,500,000 bushels of corn. For six months, ending with October, 1880, the receipts of corn averaged more than one thousand cars of 24,000 pounds each for every working-day—that is, there came into the city 428,571 bushels of corn a day. In 1837 the water works of Chicago consisted of a hogshead on wheels, with bucket and faucet, for any one who would hail the wandering cistern, the same as the writer found in Leadville in 1880. Now Chicago lifts Lake Michigan as a goblet to her half million of pairs of thirsty lips.

Andreas gives a good pen-picture of the town as it appeared in the year of its incorporation:

“The village was built along the south side of Water Street, and

* Records Mass. Bay Colony, 1: 148.

westerly toward the settlement at the forks. There were scattered shanties over the prairie south, and a few rough, unpainted buildings had been improvised on the north side, between the old Kinzie House and what is now Clark Street. All together, it would, in the light of 1833, have represented a most woe-begone appearance, even as a frontier town of the lowest class. It did not show a single steeple, nor a chimney four feet about any roof. A flag-staff at the Fort, some fifty feet high, flaunted, in pleasant weather and on holidays, a weather-beaten flag as an emblem of civilization, patriotic pride, national domain, or anything else that might stir the hearts of the denizens of the town. The buildings of the Fort were low-posted, and none of them exceeding two stories in height."

The first frame house for business had been built only the year before, and the first for religious and educational purposes, in part, this same year of town organization. In a private letter to the author, the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Porter says: "There was not a framed dwelling house in town in May, 1833, and only three framed stores." The population at the time of incorporation was about two hundred and fifty, in which were eight physicians and six lawyers, and nevertheless the population increased in numbers and grew in prosperity. The second hotel, built expressly for such use, the Tremont, was added to make this year eventful, and yet so rural was Chicago then that its guests could lounge on its steps and shoot wild fowl in the slough before the door.

These glances at ancient Chicago would not be perfect if one scene were omitted. In 1831, about four thousand Indians surrounded the town with their wigwams, and covered the lake, shores and creeks, with their canoes, and trailed their blankets along the walks of the village. They were laden with their arms and paint, but carried no extra friendliness in their looks and manners. It was pay-day on the border, and the United States officers were there to pass over the annuities. The outside farmers, and the villagers, too, might be excused for some nervousness, for Black Hawk's band had recently gone quite unwillingly to the west of the Mississippi, and it was known that emissaries from it were among the four thousand to beget a bloody outbreak. The September skies were peaceful and balmy, and yet it was an apt time for the hurricane. Had the Indian tornado burst on them, they well knew that their two hundred men, women and children would have gone like leaves before the whirlwind of four thousand. It was almost ready, but did not burst till the next year, and the haughty, angered and drunken braves took their annuities and went off, moody and disappointed that they had no scalps to carry back. We can appreciate the scene and anxieties from our experience at Keokuk

ten years later. It was when that town consisted of twelve log and two frame houses that we were detained there some days. The Iowa Territory Indians were there in multitude, and were proving the thirteen saloons in those twelve log houses—one double—while their head-men were gone down to St. Louis for their annuities. In later years we found it another affair, and wholly agreeable to spend some time with twenty-five hundred in a great Indian fair at Muskogee, in the Indian Territory.

The year 1833 was an important one for the town in many respects, and, indeed, it might be said that Ancient Chicago was terminated by it. We have, therefore, tarried in collecting items which would show it at that time, and now turn, for a moment, to private and unpublished papers for still more. Our correspondent had been about two years post chaplain at Fort Brady, Sault St. Marie, outlet of Lake Superior. "We sailed," he writes, "from the Sault, May 4th, 1833; found no settlement on the western shore of Lake Michigan, except the trading post of the American Fur Company at Milwaukee; reached the anchorage off Fort Dearborn, Sunday morning, May 13th. No harbor, and sea so rough we could not go ashore that day, and lay seasick in our berths. * * * Major Fowle had prepared for me a preaching place in Fort Dearborn, there being none but a log school-house in town. That was the carpenter's shop. In it I preached the first Sabbath morning, May 20, 1833, from the words: 'Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit.' * * * Mine was the first church ever organized at Chicago since the creation of the world, and on the 26th of June, 1833, by adopting the confession of faith of the Presbytery of Detroit—the nearest to us. * * * By the first of January, 1834, I preached the dedication sermon of our house of worship. It stood 'way out on the prairie,' between where now stands the Sherman House and Lake Street. * * * In an unfinished loft of one of the three framed houses was my bedroom and study, and, for a time, Sabbath-school room. * * * Wisconsin, Iowa, and all the Northwest were then the abode of wild Indians."

Dr. Porter adds an item which should be expanded to complete the view of our Ancient Chicago. Among the wasting remnants of our Indians there probably are not enough now, within any single call, to repeat the scene. He says: "Five thousand Indians, assembled, came to make terms of surrender of Illinois and Wisconsin lands, for others west of the Mississippi River." * * * "The council was held on the prairie on the north side of the river, in front of my study window, and in plain view." This was the gathering for the great Indian Treaty of 1833, under which the nutied Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomie Indians were moved to the

eastern bank of the Missouri in the region of Council Bluffs, and the United States took their abandoned lands in Illinois and Wisconsin—about five millions of acres. The same number were accorded to these Indians for their new home. It might as well have been fifty millions; for it was a nominal affair with the chiefs, when they signed the treaty with their “mark,” feasted and drunken by the other “high contracting party;” and when Iowa and other western growths pressed on them, like high tides, they were lifted, as waifs, and thrown farther.

A few graphic passages from Charles J. Latrobe, an English traveler, and an honored guest at the Council, will best show us the neighbors, Indian and white, to the minister's study on that occasion. The Indians “were encamped on all sides—on the wide, level prairie beyond the scattered village; beneath the shelter of the low woods which chequered them; on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand-hills near the back of the lake. * * * The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me to be more pagan than the red man. * * * Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures—warriors mounted or on foot, squaws and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman, with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the ground in consultation. * * * Emigrants and land speculators, as numerous as the sand; you will find horse-dealers and horse-stealers, rogues of every description, white, black, brown and red; half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all; men pursuing Indians claims; sharpers of every degree; peddlers, grog-sellers, Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawatomies with food. * * * The quarters [in Fort Dearborn] were too confined to afford place of residence for the Government Commissioners, for whom, and a crowd of dependents, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. * * * It is a grievous thing—the shameful and scandalous sale of whisky to these poor, miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it, under the very eye of the Commissioners, met together for purposes which demand that sobriety should be maintained. * * * The council fire was lighted under a spacious, open shed on the green meadow on the

opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood." The position of the two parties in the council lodge was most significant, though, of course, not intended to be so. "The glorious light of the setting sun, streaming in under the low roof of the council-house, fell full on the countenances of the former [the whites], while the pale light of the east hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently claved to their birthright in that quarter." * The positions of the two parties in this grand Indian council at Chicago on that September day, 1833, was painfully and sadly historic and prophetic. The Indians looking eastward and backward and despondent, and the white man looking westward and forward and ardent—that is the history of the two races in this country. On the Indian side the Treaty has the following indorsement: "The undersigned, chiefs and head men of the said nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands at Chicago the said day and year, September 26th, 1833." Then follows the signature of seventy-seven Indian names, and against each "his x mark." It is safe to say that the Chicago Board of Trade never did so much business on one day as was done on this day.

The post-office is a good index to the state of a community, and the first one of Ancient Chicago was characteristic of frontier America. In that hard winter of 1831-2, memorable in the history of the present magnificent city, a tough half-breed went on foot, once a fortnight, to Niles, Michigan, ninety miles away, to carry and bring the mail. Though this date is so recent in our national annals, it should be noticed that no steamer had yet touched at Chicago. Only light sails, Mackinaws, birches, and pirogues had then rounded Wolf Point, the angle of land between the North and South Branch. The year following, 1832, the first steamboat arrived at Chicago, bringing the stately General Scott to take a hand in the Black Hawk war, already well over, and the Cholera came with the General. This same year witnessed the appointment of a new postmaster of the prophetic city, like Paris, rising from the mud. Postmaster Hogan signalized his administration, and, no doubt, made political capital, by two improvements on the half-breed arrangement. He secured a weekly mail on horseback from Niles, and inaugurated the private box system. This consisted of a row of old boots, nailed to the rude log walls, bearing the name of such as had a heavy correspondence. The occasional letter was served in a more democratic way, even much later, as a private letter informs me. "My husband, A. D. Reed, of Boston, came out to Illinois in

* *The Rambler in North America*, 1832, 1833. By Charles Joseph Latrobe. Two volumes. Vol. ii. Letter xi.

October, 1837, on horseback in company with Col. Porter, from Rochester. They were prospecting for the purpose of locating and investing in lands. Stopping at Chicago, they inquired at the post-office for letters, and the letters were turned out of a bushel basket on a table. Among these they searched for any that might belong to them."

This is somewhat in contrast with the Chicago post-office of to-day. An official statement, given me on request, under date of August, 1883, furnishes the following facts: Number of letters, postal-cards, and circulars dispatched daily, 255,000; printed matter and merchandise, 55,000 pieces; second-class matter, 69,000 pieces. Here is the daily dispatch of 379,000 pieces of mail matter, with aggregate weight of 38,250 pounds. All this went off in 2,200 canvas sacks and 640 lock-pouches. Added to this amount of mail matter, originating in Chicago, there went through the office daily mail matter in transit to the amount of 120,000 pounds, or 60 tons. According to this statement, Chicago sends off annually 598 tons of mail matter of her own furnishing, and sends forward 2,208 tons that is in transit from other places.

In the money order department of the office, it received, for the year ending June 30, 1883, for order and deposits, \$9,630,936.40. The disbursements for the same time for orders paid and transfers were \$9,630,250.69.

At the date of statement the number of lock-boxes, not old boots, was 328, and the number of clerks and letter-carriers was 712.

This weight of mail is marvelously in excess of the fortnightly burden of the half-breed carrier. The 712 employes are in excess by more than two hundred of the total population of Chicago, made up of fur-traders, tavern-keepers, garrison men, daring outside settlers, and lingering emigrants two years after Postmaster J. S. C. Hogan took his office. It would have required many scores of blanketed Pottawatomies and Black Hawk spies to carry up the population to the present number of post-office men. The tramping and hurrying procession through the corridors and halls of the present office, with the clicking of lock-boxes and the calls at the general deliveries, is strongly in contrast with Hogan's log-room and boot-boxes. Mr. Reed would hardly recognize his bushel basket in the present edifice.

Our Eastern friends of the basket post-office had a fancy to feed their two saddle horses with oats, while they took refreshments "at a rude kind of building" called a tavern, and prospected the village for possible investments. "They inquired for oats to feed their horses, and were informed that none were to be had in town, which circumstance decided them to ride on, and probably prevented their making a profitable investment in land there." However, Mr. Reed thought better of the oatless town, and

afterward returned to permanent residence there, and must have been satisfied finally in the call for his favorite grain; for in the year he died there, 1876, Chicago received 23,490,915 bushels of oats. Here were oats enough to bait ninety-four millions of horses with a peck apiece. That is more than thirteen times the number of all the fed horses in the United States at the last census. When in later years Mr. Reed was president of one of the Chicago banks, he found his mail better served than by the early method of bushel baskets.

It was in 1846 that Sir Robert Peel predicted in Parliament that two towns in interior America would, by and by, rival Odessa and Dantzic in the grain market of the world, and he mentioned Chicago and Milwaukee. Those towns had never before been spoken of in Parliament, and were quite unknown to some geographical experts in that body. To the whispered question, what he called them, the answer was the quite indefinite one: "Some Indian places." The remark of Sir Robert takes on almost the sublimity of a prophecy of one of the ancients. Eminent Americans have been quite as uninformed about our western growth as were the English experts. In 1835, the Rev. Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, had a call to the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago. "When Dr. Hawes received the letter of invitation, he took it to Judge Williams of his church, and said: 'I've got a letter from some place out West, called Chick'-a-go, asking me to come there and preach. Can you tell me where it is?' Having learned that it was in a great swamp back of Lake Michigan, he thought it best not to remove."*

Only eight years before Sir Robert's prophecy, certain shippers of hides in Chicago had, with much daring and timidity, made a venture for a market by exporting forty-four sacks of wheat, seventy-eight bushels. In 1880 that "Indian place" exported, by land and water, 22,796,288 bushels of wheat and 2,862,737 barrels of wheat flour, making a total aggregate for one year of 35,678,604 bushels of wheat. †

It is doubtless without precedent in the annals of the world that a city of half a million has sprung up so suddenly on the camping ground of a conquered and retreating people. In Old World times smoldering cities have been left in the track of invading armies, but in the New World hamlets, villages and cities are planted by the invasion. To mark off to-day,

* Historical Sermon by the Rev. John H. Barrows, D.D. Fiftieth Anniversary, First Presbyterian Church of Chicago.

† Wheat ranges from four to six bushels to a barrel of flour, according to the grade of the wheat and of the flour. The above estimate is on the average of 1879, which was four and a half bushels to the barrel.

among magnificent blocks of merchantmen and mansions of merchant princes, the camping ground of those Indians, would be to thousands in Chicago as a story of Sindbad the Sailor, or as an interlined and dubious chronicle of Alfred the Great, or of one of the early Henrys. No wonder that Gladstone said of the United States in their growth that "America is passing us by in a canter."

Mention has been made of the first teacher in Chicago, with his one pupil and text-book. That was in 1810. A more formal yet private school followed in 1816. Immediately following the Black Hawk war, in 1832, another school was opened in a building twelve feet square, once a stable, with "old store boxes for benches and desks." In the first quarter Mr. Watkins, the proprietor, had twelve pupils; "only four of them were white; the others were quarter, half, and three-quarter Indians." Billy Caldwell, the Pottawatòmie chief, offered to pay for tuition, books, and clothing of so many Indian children in the school as would adopt the dress of civilization, but not one accepted his offer. The dress was the obstacle. About this time a Miss Chappel left her school at Mackinaw, and opened one in Chicago, with a Miss Mary Barrows as assistant. At last accounts Miss Chappel, as Mrs. Jeremiah Porter, was teaching at Fort Sill in the Indian Territory.

Two years afterward, Mr. G. T. Sproat, from Boston, opened an English and Classical school, and a recent letter from one of his assistants gives a good idea of Chicago at that time—1834. "I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon in going to and from school to see prairie wolves, and we could hear them howl any time in the day. We were frequently annoyed by Indians, but the great difficulty we had to encounter was mud. No person now can have a just idea of what Chicago mud used to be. Rubbers were of no account. I purchased a pair of gentlemen's brogans and fastened them tight about the ankle, but would still go over them in mud and water, and was obliged to have a pair of men's boots made."

It will give a tolerable idea of the growth of settlement to-day going on, a thousand miles or two beyond Chicago, in log houses and mud towns, among Indians and prairie wolves, if we notice what changes fifty years have wrought around Fort Dearborn and Wolf Point. In 1882 the Kinzie boy, with his spelling-book from the tea-chest, would find 110,466 school-mates, as those of legal school age in Chicago. Of these he would notice that 32,038 were attending private schools, as was he in 1810. Master Robbie Forsyth, the teacher, thirteen years old, would find himself in competition with 1,019 public school-teachers. When Miss Warren drew on

gentlemen's boots and went wading back and forth cross lots, the primitive order does not seem to have reached Chicago: "Let the dry land appear;" but the work of creation has since been completed there, and Chicago has ceased to be amphibian.

In setting forth Ancient Chicago, we made its first human habitation our resting-place and our study; and now, in conclusion, let us go back to its threshold to take farewell.

It is the first house built in Chicago, and by De Saible, a Domingoan, in 1779. Monarch of all he surveys from its low door-way, and solitary for seventeen years, he sells out to Le Mai, who keeps it open to Indians and furs for eight years, when John Kinzie buys him out in 1804, the first American in the town, though born in Quebec. Kinzie still keeps it as a place for Indian barter till the massacre of 1812. Then for four years it stands open and vacant for the winds and the wild animals, till the owner cautiously and sadly returns. All about and in sight from its forsaken door-way are the ghastly remains of the massacre. Here the first white child is born in the city of to-day, and in 1823 becomes, under the same roof, the first bride. Of all the joyous weddings in that now populous city, the first was within those log walls; and the same year its occupant, as probably the first justice of the county, held the first court in Chicago under its roof. Four years later it was vacated by Justice Kinzie, who moved across the river to a little house under the walls of the Fort, where he died in 1828. In 1831 it was occupied by Bailey, as the first postmaster in that prophetic town; probably thus early on its floor the basket of mail matter was emptied, and later its walls were decorated with those boot letter-boxes by his successor and son-in-law, Hogan. It was easy of access, thirty rods from the lake, on the north bank of the river and opposite the Fort, with a canoe or skiff or pirogue ferry between, free to any one who could handle paddle or oar, and half a mile or so down the river from Wolf Point. The bridges and draws, innumerable and intolerable, were yet to come. After 1832, says Andreas, "there is no record of its being inhabited. Its decaying logs were used by the Indians and emigrants for fuel, and the drifting sands of Lake Michigan were piled over its remains. No one knows when it finally disappeared."

T. Barrows

JEFFERSON AS A NATURALIST

If the words with which La Bruyère began his famous book were ever true of any subject, one might be pardoned for thinking that of Thomas Jefferson, at least, "everything has been said." Few, outside the purely literary class, have left behind them so large a collection of writings from which each student may form his own estimate of the man; and few, if any, Americans have attracted so many biographers. The hero-worship that began with the publication of a "Life" by Prof. Tucker in 1837 has been continued by sufficiently many later writers, the relatives and partisans of Mr. Jefferson; while the diatribe poured forth in 1839 by Theodore Dwight has also found its numerous successors. Finally, the admirable work, but recently written by John T. Morse, Jr., weaving together, as it does, whatever of truth can be found scattered along these two lines of biography, seems to give a portraiture so essentially just, that nothing more need be said.

But is it quite so? All who have written of the "Author of the Declaration" have, of course, dwelt chiefly on his public services and political doctrines. But those who have familiarized themselves with Jefferson's writings, more especially his voluminous correspondence, need not to be told that, aside from his natural aptitude for statesmanship and political theorizing, he had a marked predilection for the study of science. One biographer, indeed, has even ventured to assert that if circumstances had not drawn him into public life, he would probably have been a professional scientist. Others, while very justly denying this, have not failed, when making any pretensions to complete biography, to call attention to the scientific side of his character, although the nature of their purpose forbade their putting any particular emphasis upon this point. The object of the present paper is to attempt to bring out in brighter colors and more prominent lines a minor, but not uninteresting, portion of the general picture. At this late day any addition of biographical material is not, perhaps, to be expected, but it is believed that a brief consideration of Jefferson as a naturalist will prove not wholly unprofitable; because one will thus get a view of an always interesting character from a new angle, and more especially because it will show what a crude state of development the natural sciences were in, less than a century ago.

His more or less practical knowledge of surgical anatomy, civil engineer-

ing, physics, mechanics, meteorology and astronomy might be sufficiently, and even tediously, shown by copious quotations from his writings. During his five years' residence in Paris as American Minister he was in constant correspondence with Rittenhouse and all the eminent scientists on this side the ocean, and he kept no less than four colleges—Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and the College of Philadelphia—informed of whatever discoveries and inventions were made known in the scientific circles of Europe. But perhaps the versatility of the man is best illustrated by an incident that occurred later in life. Stopping one night at a Virginia inn, he passed several hours in conversation with a fellow-guest, who had indeed heard of the great statesman, but did not recognize him on that occasion. After Mr. Jefferson retired, his companion of the evening eagerly asked the landlord who it was with whom he had been conversing. "For," said he, "when he spoke of law, I thought he was a lawyer; when he spoke of mechanics, I was confident he was an engineer; when he referred to medicine, I had no doubt he was a physician; and when he discussed theology, I was convinced he was a clergyman." The inquirer was, of course, greatly surprised to learn that the gentleman of such many-sided activity was one whom he had always known as a politician.

But while thus at home in many departments of pure and applied science, it was in natural history that he was most interested, and as a naturalist he made his only original contributions to scientific knowledge. The reason for it is not far to seek; it was the combined result of heredity and early training. His maternal grandfather, Isham Randolph, was a man more than ordinarily learned in the science of botany—at least for those times—as is sufficiently proved by the kindly words written of him by his friend, John Bartram, who founded the first botanic garden in America, and whom Linnæus called the ablest natural botanist in the world. From this ancestor Jefferson inherited his strong sympathy with living nature; and the hereditary tendency was easily strengthened by the peculiar circumstances of his education. Of his early instructors the one who put the firmest stamp on the forming mind was Dr. Small, of Scotland, whose daily intimacy with his young pupil seems to have been much closer than is usual in such relations. The widely diversified knowledge which Scotch universities give their graduates has often been remarked, and of this diversity Dr. Small had his full share; so that, although a professor of mathematics, he lost no opportunity of giving instruction to his youthful friend in all branches of natural science. That he was well qualified to inspire in young Jefferson a vigorous love for nature and the study of natural phenomena one might readily infer, even without other evidence, from his

intimacy, during a subsequent residence in England, with the once famous Erasmus Darwin.

This taste for scientific study, derived as we have seen from two sources, Jefferson himself has frequently spoken of in his correspondence. Writing to M. Dupont de Nemours, he says: "Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight;" again, to T. M. Randolph, Jr., speaking of the pleasures of a naturalist's life, he writes [July 6, 1787], "Circumstances have thrown me into a very different kind of life, and not choice;" and again in a letter [March 7, 1791] replying to Mr. Innes, he says, "Your first gives me information in the line of natural history, and the second promises political news. The first is my passion, the last my duty, and therefore both desirable."

In following the course of his life the first evidence of his acquirements in natural science that we reach is in the "Notes on Virginia," written in 1781-'82. The amount of erudition and practical scientific knowledge displayed in that work would be considered surprisingly large for any American of that day, even if he had devoted a long life to special researches. But Mr. Jefferson was then a comparatively young man, and his life up to that date had been far too busy for the prosecution of special study in science. As a student he devoted fifteen hours a day to studies bearing directly on the profession of law, and his hours of recreation were fully occupied, as we know, with the dances in the Apollo and the many festivities of Virginia's hospitable homes; while, during the Revolutionary period, his hand and head were constantly employed in the service of his State and nation. But somehow during those years, so crowded with events, he had acquired nearly all the knowledge the world then possessed of geology and zoology. Buffon, Daubenton, Zimmerman, Blumenbach, Linnæus, Kalm, Catesby and Cuvier, were among those with whose works he was familiar. Nor was his knowledge of books alone; he had, for those times, a very fair knowledge of the geological formation of his native State, and as an authority on the animal life of North America he was then probably without any superior. Many of the theories advanced in the "Notes on Virginia" modern science has long since rejected; but in some of his conclusions Mr. Jefferson was quite in advance of the best specialists of the age, and notably so in the department of paleontology.

When the "Notes" were written, and indeed for many years thereafter, palæontology had no real existence as a science. The petrifications discovered in the earth's strata had indeed from the earliest times attracted the attention of the wisest thinkers, but no complete theory of their origin had yet been sufficiently demonstrated to secure general acceptance.

Linnæus had classified fossil remains among the minerals; some regarded them as mere freaks of nature; some as patterns which the Deity had made to guide him in fashioning the perfect form; and even some of the best informed among orthodox people strenuously maintained that they were proofs of the Noachian deluge. From the grossest of these errors men of science were of course free, but the best *savants* had not sufficient knowledge to enable them to classify correctly the specimens presented for examination. European scientists were undecided whether the fossils discovered in America were the remains of the elephant or the hippopotamus. In the course of his work it became necessary for Mr. Jefferson to discuss these remains in noticing the animal life of this country. In doing so he was able to prove conclusively that the fossils were the remains of neither the elephant nor the hippopotamus, but of the mammoth, and he completely foreshadowed the theory, now fully substantiated, that the mammoth of America was of quite a different species from the mammoth of Siberia. But in common with many eminent scientists of his time he, too, fell into the error of supposing that the mammoths were still a living race. To the end of his life he seemed confidently to believe that somewhere, in the valley of the Mississippi or beyond, herds of these huge monsters were still roaming through the forests. And with the usual boldness of one who reaches a rash conviction, he did not hesitate to record his rash belief that "such is the economy of nature that no instance can be produced of her having permitted any one race of her animals to become extinct."

An opinion like that appears ludicrous indeed to a modern scientist, but it is not nearly so good an instance of the "follies of the wise" as the theory that Buffon advanced in regard to the animal life of America, and which Mr. Jefferson in the "Notes" attacked with such pleasing success. It is indeed gratifying to national pride to learn that, at a time when the intellectual life of America was moving wholly in political channels, a Virginia lawyer-farmer, unknown to the scientific world and to all appearances fully occupied with the solution of far different questions, was able to point out errors and refute theories in the work of the greatest scientist of Europe.

Buffon, in his "Natural History," with an inconsiderate rashness not wholly uncharacteristic of the man and the science of his time, had formulated the opinion, then current in French scientific circles, that animals degenerate in America; and with a great display of erudition, but a pitiable lack of facts, he essayed to prove that in the new world "*la nature vivante est beaucoup moins agissante, beaucoup moins forte.*" [Buffon, XVIII., 112.]

The conclusions, briefly summarized, which he reached are these: that animals common to both the old and the new world are smaller in the latter; that those peculiar to the new are on a smaller scale; that those which have been domesticated in both have degenerated in America; and that on the whole the Western hemisphere exhibits a smaller number of species.

We have said above that Jefferson was familiar with the works of Buffon; we have now to see that he was more familiar with them than Buffon himself. To sustain the propositions outlined above the distinguished scientist had advanced the theory that the climate of America is colder and more moist than that of Europe, whereas, he claims, heat and dryness are the atmospheric conditions most friendly to the production and development of large quadrupeds. Assuming that the climate of America is correctly described as colder and more moist than that of Europe—though taking care to point out that the meteorological facts then ascertained were not sufficient to justify any opinion as final—Mr. Jefferson proceeds to quote another passage [VIII., 134] from Buffon's work, in which the forgetful author had declared that it was cold and moisture, and not heat and dryness, which increased the bulk of animals. Nor was he content with pointing out this inconsistency. Taking that portion of the theory of the degeneracy of American animal life which claims that American quadrupeds are of inferior size, Mr. Jefferson collected an immense amount of data, by personal investigation and wide correspondence, which he arranged so as to give a comparative view in three tables of the weights (1) of aboriginals of both the old and the new world, (2) of aboriginals of one only, and (3) of those domesticated in both. The first table shows that of twenty-six quadrupeds common to both Europe and America, seven are larger in America, seven of equal size, and as to the other twelve, sufficient facts are not yet procurable to warrant a final decision; the second table shows that eighteen quadrupeds are peculiar to Europe and seventy-four to America, while one of the seventy-four, the tapir, weighs more than all the eighteen together; and the third table leads us to conclude that with equal care and food the domestic animals of America will reach as large a growth as those of the European stock from which they are derived.

After refuting with such effective completeness the propositions put forward by the French naturalist, Mr. Jefferson, whose habit of hasty judgment and rash generalization is so well known, might naturally be expected to jump to the opposite extreme and put in a claim for the superiority of animal life in America. But it was not so. His controversy with

Buffon seems to have taught him the danger of making too categorical assertions in science, and all he ever claimed to have proved in his tables was, that no uniform difference existed in favor of the animal life of either Europe or America.

Soon after Mr. Jefferson completed the "Notes on Virginia" he was sent abroad on diplomatic service. The years that he spent as American Minister at the French court were busy years in many ways, but his official duties were of such character that he had more time than ever before for the prosecution of scientific study and investigation. He was now introduced into a society where the work of a scientist was looked upon with a much warmer sympathy than was common in America, and he lost no opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of the ablest men in the various branches in which he was interested. Among them was Buffon. The presentation of a copy of the "Notes on Virginia" had failed fully to convince him that animals do not degenerate in America. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson found a very general disposition in Paris circles to look contemptuously on everything in the new world except political freedom; the Abbé Raynal went even so far as to assert that the Caucasian race deteriorated in mind and body when transplanted to American soil. How wittily Dr. Franklin answered this charge, at one of his dinner-parties at Passy, is known to every reader of Franklin's or Jefferson's biographies. That such opinions of American animal life should still be held, Mr. Jefferson's love of scientific truth, and perhaps even more, his love of country, would not permit. Steps were at once taken to secure a practical illustration of the falsity of the French view. He wrote to several friends in different parts of America—more especially President Sullivan of New Hampshire—requesting them to send him the bones and skin of the largest moose obtainable, the horns of the caribou, elk, deer, spike-horned buck, and other large animals which by their size might give ocular proof of the point he wished to establish. After many vicissitudes the moose reached Paris in safety, but was accompanied by such a bill of expense as made Jefferson think, for a moment, that scientific controversy was indeed a very costly recreation. However, he felt amply repaid when Buffon, after an examination of the specimens and consideration of other demonstrated facts, receded from his former position and said to Mr. Jefferson, in his stately way, "I should have consulted you, sir, before publishing my 'Natural History,' and then I should have been sure of my facts." In a similar way he obtained and added to the Royal Cabinet of Natural History many other American specimens with which he had found the men of science unacquainted.

Another episode of his European life it will be interesting to glance at, as showing the crude state of geological knowledge at that time. In the great French *Encyclopédie*, under the article *Coquilles*, Voltaire had discussed the origin of the sea shells found in elevated portions of the earth's surface. It was a question, indeed, which had attracted the attention of many and distinguished observers from the earliest years of Egyptian civilization; but geology was not yet sufficiently advanced to solve it. To account for the presence of marine shells at a distance from the sea, three theories then had their supporters: (1) that, originally deposited in an ocean bed, they had been raised to their present position by some process of upheaval; (2) that they were distributed over the earth's surface by the Noachian flood; (3) that they grew, like crystals, by virtue of a certain plastic force in nature which could fashion stones into organic forms. In support of the third theory Voltaire had solemnly cited a series of experiments by which a certain M. Sauvagiere claimed to have watched the same identical shells, unconnected with animal bodies, grow from small to great. This strange theory, like everything bold and opposed to accepted opinions, whether in science, politics or religion, had a great charm for Mr. Jefferson. And when, on a little tour through the south of France, he came into the vicinity where these experiments were said to have been made, he inquired, with a carefulness worthy a better subject, as to the truth of Sauvagiere's statement. Many of the persons visited seemed to believe implicitly in the theory of shell growth. Mr. Jefferson, however, contrary perhaps to what we might have expected, did not accept this explanation, but with the instinct of a true scientist, he decided that only a long series of carefully attested experiments could really constitute satisfactory proof. He discussed this whole question of marine deposits in his correspondence with Rittenhouse, and finding himself unable to assent to either of the three theories referred to above, he recommends that scientists wait for further and fuller observations before adopting a hard and fast conclusion. Mr. Jefferson was right. Nothing but more extended observation has enabled the scientific world to decide which of these three theories was correct. In this matter, at least, he seems to have been actuated, from first to last, by the true scientific spirit.

The years immediately subsequent to his return from France were sufficiently filled by his duties as Secretary of State and his personal wrangles with Hamilton. But after his retirement from the Cabinet in 1793, he again devoted much time and attention to scientific matters, with the special object of promoting scientific study in the new nation. In recognition of his services and attainments the American Philosophical Society elected

him its President in January, 1797—an office that he held without interruption until approaching age compelled him to resign in 1814. During all those seventeen years there was no political movement in which he did not take a more or less active part, and that, too, with the keen pleasure born of a vigorous self-admiration; but it was at least with an equal satisfaction that he felt himself the official head of America's little scientific world.

His connection with the Philosophical Society was not, however, merely perfunctory. At the time of his election to its Presidency he was already engaged in observation and study which was to enable him, in a few months, to make such a contribution to the scientific knowledge of the world as gave his name, already immortal in statesmanship, a permanent place in the history of paleontology.

Some laborers, while digging in the floor of a cave on the estate of one Frederic Cromer, in Green Briar County, Va., had found, at a depth of two or three feet, a collection of bones, the size and form of which indicated an animal unknown to them. The news of this discovery speedily reached Mr. Jefferson, and he asked his friend Colonel J. Stuart to procure the bones and forward them to Monticello. The request was complied with. He had expected that the bones would prove to be those of the mammoth. But on examination he found them to be the os femoris, a radius, an ulna, three claws, and several other bones of one foot of some animal up to that time utterly unknown to science. From the size and general characteristics of the claws, however, he supposed them to have belonged, at all events, to some carnivorous animal. In this supposition he was mistaken. Further, and perhaps we ought also to say more intelligent, study by Dr. Wistar proved the animal to be a giant edentate, allied to the recent sloths. But Jefferson's error, as Prof. Leidy has pointed out in his monograph [*"Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,"* Vol. VII.], was of much less importance than many that have been made by the very best professional naturalists.

While still engaged in these studies at Monticello, Jefferson received the announcement of his election to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and when he went to Philadelphia for the inauguration, he carried with him these newly discovered bones, together with a carefully elaborated statement of the results of his studies in connection with them, to be presented to the Philosophical Society. The spectacle of an American statesman coming to take part as a central figure in the greatest political ceremony of our country and bringing with him an original contribution to the scientific knowledge of the world, is certainly one we shall not soon

see repeated. Indeed, it is difficult to recall anything like it from any page in history.

Under date of March 10, 1797, he filed with the Philosophical Society his formal document announcing the discovery—a paper which appears in the published "Transactions" [IV., 246] as "A Memoir on the Discovery of Certain Bones of a Quadruped of the Clawed Kind, in the Western Parts of Virginia." Colonel Stuart was granted the diploma of the Society for his assistance in the matter, and the new discovery was appropriately named the *Megalonix Jeffersonii*—a name by which in science it will always, of course, be known. And so if Mr. Jefferson had never written the Declaration, had never rendered his country any political service, his name would still have been secured from forgetfulness. The original specimens deposited with the Philosophical Society were subsequently transferred to the cabinet of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia, and there, carefully preserved, they are still shown to the curious visitor.

It is especially interesting to observe him at critical periods in his political career turning, not so much for relief as for instruction, to the prosecution of scientific investigation. At times of the fiercest party conflict, when less happily constituted minds would scarcely have been able to attend to the ordinary routine duties of life, we find him yielding to that subtle native force which, all through his life, was constantly drawing him away from politics to science. Thus, during those exciting weeks in February, 1801, when Congress was vainly trying to untangle the difficulties arising from the tie vote between Jefferson and Burr, when every politician at the capital was busy with schemes and counter-schemes, this man, whose political fate was balanced on a razor's edge, was corresponding with Dr. Wistar in regard to some bones of the mammoth which he had just procured from Shawangunk, Ulster County. Again in 1808, when the excitement over the embargo was highest, when every day brought fresh denunciations of him and his policy, he was carrying on his paleontological studies in the rooms of the White House itself. Under his direction upward of three hundred specimens of fossil bones had been brought from the famous Big-Bone Lick and spread in one of the large unfinished rooms of the Presidential mansion, and Dr. Wistar was asked to come from Philadelphia and select such as were needed to complete the collections of the Philosophical Society. After this selection had been made, Mr. Jefferson, remembering the scantiness of similar specimens in the cabinets of France, sent the remainder to Paris. It was so all through life. Never for a moment, however apparently absorbed in other work, did he lose his warm sympathy with Nature. "*Flumina amo sylvasque inglorius*" are the words we meet

again and again in his letters; and even the pedantry of the quotation cannot conceal the genuine longing he felt, when at the very height of fame and power, to be studying Nature's forms and forces.

Even in these days of science-worship a President who should devote himself to such studies would certainly be more or less caricatured in the public prints. But at that time, when scientific acquirements were so generally regarded in America as vain, useless, and even hostile to the Divine purpose, his efforts in that direction excited the utmost scorn and derision. The satirical verses entitled "The Embargo," published by the youthful Bryant in 1808, perhaps best illustrate the disparaging estimate then put upon even original contributions to scientific knowledge. The verses possess scarcely any poetic merit, and the author, who so soon outgrew their insipidity, never cared to include them in his collected works. Indeed, as a specimen of "manufactured" poetry few imitators of Pope ever produced anything worse. Bryant was only thirteen when the verses were published, and, naturally, the sentiments expressed are only those current in his rural neighborhood. How Jefferson's studies in natural history were regarded may be seen in such lines as these:—

"Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair.
Go, search with curious eyes for horned frogs,
'Mid the wild wastes of Louisianian bogs;
Or, where the Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

It is, perhaps, not surprising that such apparent ignorance as to the real value and dignity of Mr. Jefferson's investigations should prevail in a region where the people are said to have hung their Bibles down the well when the news came that he had been elected President.

But indeed many of the opinions he held were really deserving of nothing better than ridicule. At one time we find him declaring that Newton's theory of the rainbow has been overthrown; at another that the Creek Indians are direct descendants from the Carthaginians of Hanno's lost fleet; and again accepting as true the statement of a trader that a thousand miles up the Missouri is a salt mountain eighty miles long and forty miles wide, of solid rock-salt with no tree or shrub upon it. The ready acceptance he gave to these and similar absurdities was the result of his own temperament and the spirit of his time. Placing little value on long established theories and generally received laws, he was ever fatally ready to believe the new and the startling; and his habit of quick decision, if it

sometimes enabled him to reach a truth in advance of other men, more usually compelled him to stultify himself by championing theories wild and visionary in the extreme. Moreover, it was an age which, however incredulous in religion, was very credulous in science. One need not be surprised at Jefferson's scientific blunders when one remembers that as late as 1770 a man infinitely superior to him in every respect, the greatest intellectual prodigy, indeed, of modern times, the mighty Goethe himself, was still searching, with an almost childish credulity, after the "virgin earth."

To botany, as a science, despite his descent from Isham Randolph, he never gave any considerable study. But his interest in the discovery and cultivation of plants suited to the needs of the agriculturist was active and continuous. What plants were best adapted to the climate and soil of different sections of the United States, and how various garden vegetables could be cultivated to the best advantage, were questions in regard to which he never tired of speculating and experimenting. For many years he kept a carefully tabulated record of the earliest appearance of the common garden products in the local markets; and on his journeys abroad he was always looking for new plants which might with profit be transplanted to America. In this last quest he was not infrequently successful. And when, later in life, he drew up a list of the services he believed he had rendered his countrymen, to the disestablishment of a State Church, the abolition of entails, the prohibition of slave importation and the drafting of the Declaration of Independence he was not ashamed to add the introduction of olive plants and heavy upland rice into South Carolina and Georgia. "The greatest service," he says, "which can be rendered to any country is to add a useful plant to its culture." To his list of services he might also have added, without impropriety, the contribution to scientific knowledge made by the expedition of Lewis and Clark which was undertaken during his Presidency and at his suggestion. The value of the information those explorers obtained was largely owing to the excellence of the instructions which Jefferson drew up for their guidance—instructions which no one but a trained naturalist could have so well adapted to their purpose.

In his later years of retirement at Monticello he necessarily lost much of his interest in the natural sciences; for the rapid advances made at the beginning of the present century in every department of physics soon left him far behind. In recognition of his past services, however, his declining years were honored with election to membership in the scientific societies of many European nations. Geological specimens still kept their place on

his library table, and the bones of the mammoth and the horns of every species of American deer were still displayed in the main hall of his hospitable home. Now and then, in the letters of those later years, faint traces of the man of science may still be seen; but when, in 1814, he writes to Dr. John Manners in support of the Linnæan system of classification as opposed to that of Blumenbach or Cuvier, he is constrained to add, with a little touch of pathetic regret, that the subject is no longer so familiar to him as it was in other days.

In considering Thomas Jefferson as a naturalist one may smile at his stupid blunders and baseless theories, or admire the many-sided activity which enabled a distinguished statesman to win a name also in the field of science; but one fact must force itself home to every mind—the immense and rapid progress of science and the love of scientific study among the American people. Later generations have nobly performed the duty imposed upon them by Jefferson himself, when, in a letter to Dr. Willard, of Harvard College, adverting to the young men whose life work was not yet begun, he said—"We have spent the prime of our lives in securing them the precious blessing of liberty. Let them spend theirs in showing that it is the parent of science and virtue; and that a nation will be great in both, always in proportion as it is free."

Fredric V. Luthin

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Unique Petition of the Boston Ministers in 1709.

Contributed by Mr. E. H. Goss.

[EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY : After the article " About Richard Bellingham " was in type [XIII. 262], Mr. Artemus Barrett, of Melrose, who contributed the letter from which was taken the extract about Legislative action in the case of Governor Bellingham's will, found in his collection several other interesting Bellingham manuscript documents, and among them was the very petition or address referred to as coming from " the Two Mr. Mathers with the Rest of the Ministers in Boston." It is a vigorous paper, worthy of the distinguished preachers of the Gospel from whom it emanated, and cannot fail to interest the readers of your Magazine. It was undoubtedly written by its first signer, as it is indorsed in file, " Rev. Mr. Mather's Letter. Governor Bellingham. 1709."—E. H. Goss.]

The document is addressed :

“ To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr.,
With the Honorable Council and Representatives, of
the Province of the Massachusetts Bay now in
General Court assembled :
The Address of sundry Ministers of the Gospel.

Having been informed, that the Hon^{ble} Richard Bellingham Esqr., who was for many Years the Governor of this Colony, did by his last Will and Testament devote a considerable Part of his Estate unto pious Uses ; particularly that He instructed and empowered those, whom He had made Feoffees in Trust, that, out of the Rents of his Land, there should be erected on one of the Farms an Edifice, wherein the Neighborhood should assemble for the Solemn Worship of God : And He willed also, that six or more young Students should be educated for the sacred Ministry ; and this Benefaction to be annually and successively continued :

And having understood, that this very pious Will was afterwards, and when it had been executed for divers Years, declared void in a General Court ; but without the Concurrence of that Honorable Gentleman, who was then the Governour of the Colony : Whereupon the Estate has been wholly alienated from the Purposes,

to which it had been so religiously devoted, and much other Confusion has followed in the Application of it :

On this Occasion we beg leave to express the Concern and Sorrow, which may justly be expected from such as wish well to the Country.

We know that a Testament should be in Force, when the Testator is dead : And if it be confirmed, (as we understand Governour Bellingham's Will was in the legal Methods) No Man ought to disannul it [Gal. III. 15, Heb. IX. 17. 'Brethren, I speak after the manner of men : Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto. For a testament is of force after men are dead : otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.'] It is also a dangerous Thing to devour that, which is holy, [Prov. XX. 25. 'It is a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy, and after vows to make inquiry.'] And, in all Nations, they have been afraid of alienating Deodands.*

Upon such Considerations, we cannot be without Fear, that, if a Thing of this Nature should be approved in a Country of our Profession, and by the Heads and Representatives of the Province, it may be found among those Errors, which expose the Land to the Displeasure of Heaven, and be neither for our Honour nor our Safety.

We have heard that the principal Reason which sway'd those who did so far disannul the Will of the deceased Governour, without and against the Will of the then living Governour, was their Doubt, that He had not done well in leaving so little of his Estate unto his only Son. But their Opinion has in the Providence of God since had a notable Confutation. By means of their Act, besides the little Benefit, that the younger Bellingham had from it in his Life Time ; the Estate is now wholly gone from the Family of the Bellinghams, as well as from the pious Uses designed by the Honorable Testator : And it is fallen into the Hands of those who are as little disposed to do with it that Good, which He projected, as they are related to his Family. In short, an evident & remarkable Blast from Heaven seems to have attended the matter.†

No Man can think, but that if the Religious Gentleman were now living, He would rather confirm this his ancient Will than have his Estate applied as now it is.

* A personal chattel which was the immediate occasion of the death of a rational creature, and for that reason given to God, that is, forfeited to the Crown to be applied to pious uses.—*Webster*. A former English law now abolished.

† Among these papers there was also a long, eight-paged "Indenture made the fifth day of Septem^r in the first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith &c. and in the Year of our Lord" 1702, wherein Edward Hull, "Citizen and Haberdasher," and John Shelton, "Citizen and Sadler" of London conveyed to Edward Watts of "St. Botolphs Aldgate London Lawyer & Rebecca his Wife" all the lands and property in Boston and "Wynnysmet" received by Samuel Bellingham from his father Gov. Bellingham, and which Samuel had conveyed in 1695, to Edward Hull and John Shelton. This was indorsed, "A True Copy as is Entred with the Records of Deeds for the County of Suffolk, Lib. 22, folio 12c-2 & fra. Exam^d pr Ezek^l Goldthwait Reg^r."

There was in Lincolnshire a Person of Quality, Sir George Lenpaul, renowned for the Piety and Charity expressed in his last Will and Testament. Among other good works, the Funeral Sermon upon Him tells us, He caused six Scholars to be brought up in the Universities, whereof several proved great Instruments of Good in the World. Our *Bellingham* was a Lincolnshire Gentleman : And since He has expressed the like Piety and Charity in his last Will and Testament ; certainly it will be a Dishonour unto New England, if thro' us it be defeated.

Considering, that it is no new Thing for a General Assembly to rectifie a Mistake in a preceding Assembly ; We esteemed it our Duty, in all respectful Manner to pray, that this great Matter, wherein the good of the Country is more than a little involved, may be again and in the Fear of God considered ; since the Interest of Religion and the Souls of many, and this not only for the Present Age, but in the Generations to come, is after an uncommon Manner concerned in it.

We are your Servants in the Lord.

Increase Mather.

Peter Thatcher.

Thomas Bridge.

John Danforth.

Cotton Mather.

Nehemiah Walter.

Benjamin Wadsworth.

Ebenezer Pemberton."

June 10, 1709.

[Upon the opposite leaf of this address is written : " On the Outside Page there is the following Endorsement by the late venerable Dr. Increase Mather in his own Hand-Writing ." E. H. G.]

" I cannot but look upon the destroying of Governour Bellingham's Will as a very unrighteous and sacriligious Impiety ; and that the Country is involved in the Guilt of it.—I therefore desire, that, after my Decease, my Executors will take effectual Care, that this Testimony against it be published to the World ; hoping, that, when some Persons are removed, there will those succeed, who will concern themselves to endeavour that That, which is just and right in the Sight of God, shall be done.

May 1, 1712.

Increase Mather."

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS*

V

(Continued from page 298, vol. xiii.)

RING.—A combination of persons, as "the Tweed Ring," "the Whiskey Ring," etc. (*q. v.*), who play into each other's hands for mutual advantage. It appears to have come into general use shortly after the civil war.

ROORBACK.—In 1844 alleged extracts from the "Travels of Baron Roorback" were published for political purposes, and the ruse was so successful that "roorback" became a general term for a political forgery or fiction.

RUM, ROMANISM, AND REBELLION.—During the closing days of the presidential campaign of 1884 a "ministers' meeting" was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York, in the interest of the Republicans. Some five hundred attended, all denominations being nominally represented. The principal address was made by a Protestant divine who committed the extraordinary blunder of stigmatizing the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Mr. Blaine, who was present, failed to make a fitting rejoinder, but the Democratic managers were not slow to make the most of the mistake. The country was placarded with these three fatal R's, and, as the result proved, this bit of alliteration lost the battle for the Republican party. The vote was so close in New York State that the result was for some days in doubt, and as the national result depended on this vote, a dangerous excitement prevailed. The State was eventually found to have gone Democratic by only 1,149 votes, and it is believed that far more than that number were lost by the Republicans in consequence of the momentous remark with which the reverend gentleman concluded his address.

SALT RIVER.—An imaginary stream up which a defeated candidate is supposed to be sent, and whence he is not expected to come back. The origin of the expression is as follows: Salt River,

geographically, is a tributary of the Ohio. Its source is in Kentucky, and being very crooked and difficult of navigation, it was, in the early days, a favorite stronghold for river pirates. These highwaymen were in the habit of preying upon the commerce of the Ohio, and rowing their plunder up Salt River, whence it was never recovered. Hence it came to be said of anything that was irrevocably lost, "It's rowed up Salt River." By an easy transition it was applied to unsuccessful candidates. "He has been rowed (or rode) up S. R.," or "We'll row him (or ride him) up S. R. next fall."

SALT BOILER, THE.—A nickname of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, Senator, and a member of Harrison's and Taylor's Cabinets. When a boy he is said to have worked as a boiler at the salt springs of Ohio. He was the father of Thos. Ewing, late Brig.-Gen. of Volunteers.

SEVEN MULE BARNUM.—A nickname applied by Republicans to Mr. Barnum, of Connecticut, who is said to have used the words "seven mules" in a cipher dispatch, meaning "seven thousand dollars."

SOAP.—Originally used by the Republican managers during the campaign of 1880, as the cipher for "money" in their telegraphic dispatches. In 1884 it was revived as a derisive war cry aimed at the Republicans by their opponents.

SALARY GRAB.—During the 42d Congress, 1871-'73, a bill was passed to increase the salaries of the Executive, and of Senators and Representatives. The popularly obnoxious feature of the act was that it gave back-pay for the entire session to the very men who had the measure under consideration, and eventually voted upon it. Such a howl of indignation went up from the whole country that the act was repealed, save in the executive clauses, and many of the

offending members paid back into the treasury the money which they had drawn.

SCRATCHERS.—Persons who erase names from the regular party "ticket" (*q. v.*). See "Young Scratchers."

SHORT HAIRS.—See Swallow Tails.

SAND LOTS.—See "Kearnyites."

SLAVE CODE.—State laws relating to the possession of slaves. It was held by the Abolitionists (*q. v.*) that there was no United States law or slave code whereby the general government could hold slaves. The phrase is of frequent occurrence in the Abolition and Free Soil papers prior to 1860.

SLAVEOCRACY.—A not very happy, though perhaps justifiable compound of slave and *κρατειν*, meaning simply the persons representing the political power of the slave States (*q. v.*). An early occurrence of the word is in the New York *Express* of September 4, 1848. Later it was of frequent occurrence in the daily press, especially at the North.

SLAVE OLIGARCHY.—The Slaveholders' Oligarchy is the more proper form. Indeed, it is believed to have been at first used in that way, but during the heated days of the anti-slavery agitation it was popularly contracted as above.

SLAVEOWNIA.—The word is found in the Kansas correspondence of the New York *Tribune* in 1862, and may have had a local currency at that time. It did not come into general use.

SLAVE POWER.—Namely, the slaveholders' power, as it existed during the days of negro slavery.

SOLID SOUTH.—The unbroken political bond of the Southern States. Latterly the united white vote (Democratic) as opposed to the solid Republican vote of the negroes. The phrase has been traced back only to the reconstruction period succeeding the civil war (*circa* 1868). It is alleged, however, that it was in use prior to the war.

SLAVE STATES.—These, as they existed prior to the civil war, were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

SILVER GRAYS.—Conservative Whigs. First

used at a party convention from which the conservatives "bolted," their white hair suggesting the appellation to a bystander, who called out, "There go the Silver Grays!"

SONS OF LIBERTY.—A name assumed by certain secret societies whose purpose was the liberation of Confederate prisoners held at the North during the civil war. An alleged branch of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

SPLIT-TICKET.—See "Ticket."

SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.—The supposed right which any settlers on United States territory have to pass laws for their own government.

SPOILS.—"To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy," said William L. Marcy, of New York, in the U. S. Senate in 1832, and shortly thereafter the suggestion was acted upon. That is, the public offices were filled by representatives of the party in power. The spoils system, then introduced by Democrats, was taken advantage of by the Republicans when they came into power in 1860.

SWALLOW-TAILS.—During the campaign of 1876 a considerable number of Democrats who moved in fashionable New York circles took an unprecedented interest in political affairs, hoping to effect much-needed reforms. It is said that John Morrissey, a retired prize-fighter and a prominent local politician of the day, becoming incensed at this invasion of his prerogatives, went down town one morning clad in full evening dress, and with a French Dictionary under his arm. He explained his new departure by saying that this sort of thing was necessary in order to retain one's influence. The opposite faction was called the "Short Hairs," in deference either to their "fighting cut," or their supposed recent release from prison.

STALWART.—A Republican who stands by his party right or wrong. The term acquired its special significance when Roscoe Conkling was the leader of the party (*circa* 1878-9). His followers were denominated "Stalwarts." They supported what was known as the "Machine wing" (*q. v.*) of the Republican Party.

STAR ROUTES.—These are post-office routes which are not self-supporting, and are designated by asterisks in the "Postal Guide." The conditions of operating such routes are obviously favorable to speculation, and the term "Star

Route" was connected with highly disreputable official scandals from 1876 to 1884.

STATE RIGHTS.—The political creed which favors the retention of independent powers by individual States as opposed to "Centralization" (*q. v.*).

STILL HUNT.—Originally a sporting term, but applied during the campaign of 1876 to political methods conducted in secret, or under-handed methods.

STRADDLE.—A stockbroker's term which has acquired a political meaning during the campaign of 1884 as "the straddle in the platform," meaning an attempt to provide for any event in the future or meet the views of people who hold diverse opinions.

STRAIGHT TICKET.—See "Ticket."

STRONG GOVERNMENT WHIGS.—One of the early divisions of the original Whig party which favored what we now call "centralization," as opposed to State rights, or the "particularists" (*q. v.*). This wing of the party adopted the more easily handled name of Federalists (*q. v.*) after the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

TABOO.—A verb adapted from the Polynesian dialect, meaning to prohibit.

TAMMANY.—An Indian chief of the Delaware tribe whose name was adopted shortly after Washington's first inauguration (1789), by a patriotic society, which had numerous "wigwams" in different towns and canonized St. Tammany as the patron of the young republic. This society soon became political in its character, and at this writing survives only in the New York wigwam, Tammany Hall, which practically controls a majority of the Democratic vote in the city.

TATTOOED MAN.—A caricature was published in *Puck* just before Mr. Blaine's nomination for the Presidency in 1884, representing him as indelibly tattooed with words and figures suggestive of the charges which his enemies brought against him.

TOM THE TINKER.—A *nom-de-guerre*, originating during the Whiskey Rebellion (*q. v.*) of 1791-94. The house of an obnoxious official was pulled to pieces by a mob whose members gave out that they were "mending it." Mend-

ing and "tinkering" being interchangeable terms, the members dubbed themselves "tinkers," and "Tom the Tinker" was shortly evolved as the popular watchword of the first rebellion against the United States Government.

TIPPECANOE.—A nickname of William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, given him because of his victory over the Indians of the Northwest under Tecumseh, in 1811. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was the refrain of a popular song during the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign in 1839 (*q. v.*).

THIRD HOUSE.—The Lobby (*q. v.*).

TICKET.—A list of candidates placed in nomination for office, as the "Democratic ticket," the "Prohibition ticket," etc. A "Straight ticket" comprises all the regular party nominations. A "Split ticket" represents different divisions of a party. A "Mixed ticket" combines the nominees of different parties. A "Scratch ticket" is one from which one or more names have been erased.

TISSUE BALLOTS.—Ballots printed on thin paper so that a single voter can deposit a number of them at one and the same time without detection. Tissue ballots are believed to have been invented in North Carolina in 1876.

THREE-TWENTY-NINE (329).—During the presidential campaign of 1880 these numbers were chalked by Democrats on every wall and door-step, and fence in the land. Mr. Garfield, the Republican candidate, had been charged with having received as a bribe \$329 worth of Credit Mobilier stock.

TOM, TIP, AND TY.—A party motto common in Ohio during the "Hard Cider" campaign of 1839. "Tom" Corwin was running for the governorship of the State, while "Tippecanoe" (Harrison) and Tyler were the Whig candidates on the Presidential ticket.

TORY.—When the Declaration of Independence compelled a definition of the lines between royalists and rebels, Tories naturally remained loyal to the crown, while Whigs generally espoused the patriot cause. After the Revolution the word Tory dropped out of popular usage save as a term of opprobrium. (See Whig.)

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

(To be continued.)

MINOR TOPICS

THE FAIRFAX FAMILY

Letter from Professor Theodore W. Dwight.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY : I read with great interest and profit the article in the last number of the Magazine upon the Fairfax family, particularly of that great branch of it which is closely identified with American history. Much more might be said of their high courage and soldierly qualities. Will you permit me to supplement the article by a single fact which I deem of value?

The first Lord Fairfax had two sons not mentioned in the paper referred to—William and John, his younger brother, who was killed in the war in the Palatinate in 1621. In 1620 the King of Spain levied an army of thirty thousand men in Flanders under the command of the Marquis Spinola. To meet this force, mighty at that time, King James of England sent one regiment of brave men under the command of Sir Horatio Vere. William Fairfax was a captain in the regiment. This handful of men was soon compelled to divide and betake themselves to strongholds, there to await a siege. It was the fate of Captain William Fairfax and his brother to be shut up in Frankenthal, a brother captain, Burroughs, having the command. They endured a siege of a month. In the course of it both Captain Fairfax, then only twenty six, and his brother were killed while heroically defending the town, in which they were practically abandoned by those in power. They displayed, though so young, such excellent military qualities and conspicuous courage that when the Marquis Spinola at a later time entered the town as a military commander he spared the noble monument erected to the memory of the valiant brothers by the inhabitants of the town in the Dutch church. The Latin inscription still exists in print, showing how nobly they fought and how gloriously they died. Later events and the association of the lustre of the Fairfax family with the virtues of Washington make it an American inheritance, and so I venture to ask you to reproduce it in the Magazine as a public testimonial to the early men of our own stock :

“In beatissimam Memoriam Dom. generosi Guilielmi Fairfax, Honoratissimi domine, Thomæ Fairfax de Denton in Com. Ebor. equitis Aurati filii, cohortis Anglicani ducis insignis, qui anno natus circiter XXVI post animi plurima edita testimonia invictissimi unà cum Joanne fratre suo junione, in obsidione Francovallenti, hic facta emptione arreptus, ille ictu bombardiæ percussus occubere, Anno M.D.C.XXI.”

This, I believe, is the substance of it :

"In most blessed memory of William Fairfax, Esquire, son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton in the County of York, England, a noted Captain in the English regiment, who being about twenty-six years of age and having exhibited many proofs of his dauntless courage, was slain in 1821 together with his younger brother John at the siege of Frankenthal, the one being taken in a sortie and the other being struck by a cannon-ball."

When these uncles were slain, the great Lord Fairfax was about nine years old. We can imagine when word of their death came to Denton, the blood of the noble lad was fired with the recital of their valorous deeds, while his eyes were suffused at the loss he had sustained, for the third Lord Fairfax joined in future years surpassing valor to the utmost delicacy of feeling. He even hesitated to open the letters of the king, which he captured after the battle of Naseby, until persuaded by the pressing importunities of Cromwell. The uncles who died in the defense of Frankenthal were the forerunners of the nephew who risked his life and all that was dear to him in the defense of his country and the Parliament.

Thus, I believe that all the splendid deeds of those brave men, with the accounts of the modest worth of the second Lord Ferdinando, who, while Captain-General of the Parliamentary forces before the appointment of his greater son, ascribed all the glory of any success that he might have achieved to his God, assuming nothing to himself—these deeds and their glorious memories were recounted to George Washington amid the rural scenes of Virginia, and tended among other elements toward the formation of his matchless character.

THEODORE W. DWIGHT

COLUMBIA COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL,
NEW YORK, *March* 12, 1885

DID POCAHONTAS REALLY RESCUE CAPTAIN SMITH ?

One of the puzzles of American history is the question whether Pocahontas really rescued Captain Smith? It directly involves the character of the soldier. What is the truth?

A great deal has been written on the subject, and the views presented have been generally those of partisans. Neither side has surrendered the point, and the famous rescue remains a *vexatilia questio*. The writer of this article proposes, therefore, to examine it in a different spirit. Instead of presenting a rhetorical argument, which is an injudicious proceeding in matters of history, the subject, as he looks at it, will be resumed in a series of more or less ascertained statements.

I. In December, 1607, Smith, with a party of companions, sailed up James River, turned into the Chickahominy, and was captured by Indians, the men in his barge escaping to Jamestown. These facts are testified to by those escaping.

II. Smith was tied to a tree and about to be shot to death, when he exhibited an ivory compass, and by exciting the curiosity of the savages, perhaps their superstitious fears, induced them to spare or reprieve him.

III. He was then conducted under guard through the "Land of Powhatan," as far as the Potomac ; brought back again to Wenowocomoco, the Indian capital on York River, where he was about to be slain by order of Powhatan, when Pocahontas, the emperor's daughter, interfered and saved him.

IV. This was effected by taking Smith's head in her arms, so that it was impossible to "beat out his brains" without beating out her own, and Powhatan afterward consented to spare him. He treated him kindly, and permitted him to return to Jamestown. All the statements in II., III. and IV. resting on the authority of Smith only.

V. Pocahontas, who was a girl of twelve or thirteen, soon after this made her appearance at Jamestown with a party of Indians, carrying baskets of food ; and every four or five days came back with "so much provision that saved many of their lives that, else for all this, had starved with hunger."

VI. Afterwards, when some Indian thieves stole a number of turkeys belonging to the colonists, and were caught and imprisoned, Powhatan sent Pocahontas to intercede for their release, and Smith released them with the statement that it was "for her sake only."

VII. Smith stated to his friends at Jamestown on his return from the York that Pocahontas had saved his life. The "General Historie" says, "His relation of the plenty, state, and bountie of Powhatan so revived their dead spirits (*especially the love of Pocahontas*), as all men's fears were abandoned."

VIII. If the incident had been untrue and Smith had not spoken of it at the time, its subsequent publication in England, where many of the old colonists were then living, must have provoked injurious comments, to say the least. Among those still "living in England," who had been present at the time at Jamestown, was George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland.

IX. No explanation is discoverable of the fact that Pocahontas ventured fearlessly to trust herself at Jamestown, other than the confidence that she would be well treated, as she had saved Smith.

X. Smith took a deep interest in her, as he afterwards showed in his letter to Queen Anne, in which he said that he would be guilty of the "deadly poison of ingratitude" if he forgot her goodness to him.

XI. She took a deep interest in him, since, after his departure from Virginia, she never again visited Jamestown ; married Rolfe only after hearing that he was dead ; and when they met in England, covered her face with her hands and said that she had only heard that he was alive on her arrival at Plymouth.

XII. In the same interview she reproached him with having forgotten his old affection for her, and for treating her with cold formality, leaving the impression that events in their past lives had made ceremony unreasonable between them.

XIII. The "rescue" thus appears—from such records as remain—to have been an event which actually occurred.

XIV. But there are reasons for doubting it, in spite of the circumstances above mentioned, which may appear plausible. Proof exists that, in spite of Smith's statements, the event never occurred.

XV. In 1608, soon after the alleged rescue, he wrote a letter or pamphlet styled "A True Relation of Virginia," subsequently published in London.

XVI. This pamphlet purported to relate all that had taken place in the colony up to that time, and Smith's capture is described; but no reference is made either to the scene on the Chickahominy, where he was bound to a tree to be shot, or to his peril on the York from which Pocahontas saved him.

XVII. But certain features of this publication appear mysterious and suggest comment. Some copies purported to be by Captain Smith, others by "Thomas Watson," and others by "a gentleman of that Colony"—Virginia. There was then a possible doubt as to the true authorship.

XVIII. Smith, no doubt, wrote it, but a part was suppressed in publication. The editor, signing the initials "J. S.," says in the preface, referring to the author, "Somewhat more was by him written which as I thought (fit to be private) I would not adventure to make it publicke."

XIX. This omission may or may not have been made with reference to a recent order of the London Company—"You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captain Newport of all that is done; * * * and to suffer no man to write any letters of anything that may discourage others."

XX. The "True Relation" was sent by Captain Nelson, who sailed for England soon after Captain Newport. If it contained passages to discourage others there was a reason for suppressing them.

XXI. Smith's imminent peril on the Chickahominy and York was a matter "fit to be private," as the danger to which he had been exposed would discourage emigrants.

XXII. The "True Relation" probably contained a narrative of everything, and the editor in obedience to the order of the Company, omitted the obnoxious passages—on grounds of prudence, as he intimated in his preface.

XXIII. The text of the "True Relation" supports the conjecture that the passages omitted referred to the scenes on the Chickahominy and York. When the narrative reaches Smith's capture there is a break in the text, and half of one sentence is joined to half of another. "Somewhat more" appears to have been written, which was interposed between the half sentences; for the sentence beginning on the Chickahominy ends with Smith on his way back to Jamestown—"a fact so curious," says Dr. Eggleston, in his interesting "Life of Pocahontas," as to be "incomprehensible even to so careful an editor as Mr. Charles Deane."

XXIV. But other differences exist between the accounts in the "True Relation" and in the "General Historie." Smith states in one account that he was supplied

with sufficient food for *ten* men ; in the other that the food was enough for *twenty*. The number of his Indian escort to Jamestown is also differently stated, and in the "Relation" the savages are said to have "treated him kindly," without any specification of the time, while in the "Historie" "had mollified their hearts with compassion" after Pocahontas had saved him.

XXV. The amount of food in both accounts was indicated by a general expression ; and it was natural, writing long afterwards, that Smith should not remember the exact number of his escort.

XXVI. The third difference as to his treatment by the savages is not a difference, since both accounts are true.

XXVII. If, when Pocahontas visited London in the year 1616, Smith invented the fable of his rescue, he exhibited extreme folly, since he must have been aware that he would be exposed ; and a man of his sense could never have made such a statement.

XXVIII. He did make the statement at that time that the incident had occurred. He wrote to the Queen that Pocahontas had "hazarded the beating out of her brains to save his." She had afterwards saved him a second time in the winter of 1608, he said—for the truth of which he appealed to the "honorable gentlemen, Captain George Percy, Captain Francis West, and other resolute spirits now living in England." They had witnessed the latter incident, and were at Jamestown when the former occurred—they could testify whether he stated the truth.

XXIX. He continued to speak of the event as true. In "New England Trials," he wrote—"God made Pocahontas, the King's daughter, the means to deliver me." And in the "General Historie" he wrote that Pocahontas "got his head in her arms and laid her own upon his to save him from death."

XXX. Pocahontas must have been aware of the "open letter" to the Queen in 1616, as she was daily visited by courtiers who were familiar with Court affairs, and her flattering reception by the King and Court have always been attributed to it.

XXXI. As far as we can form an opinion of her, Pocahontas was a truthful person. Sir Thomas Dale had "labored long to ground the faith of Jesus Christ in her, and had succeeded." She renounced her "idolatry" and was baptized ; "lived civilly and lovingly" with her husband, and had a child whom she "loved dearly." Rolfe, who knew her intimately, spoke of her "desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God ; her capableness of understanding ; and her aptness and willingness to receive any good impression."

XXXII. His character recommended him as a witness. Hamor, secretary of the Colony, said that he was "a gentleman of much commendation ;" the Rev. Alexander Whitaker spoke of him as "honest and discreet ;" and Sir Thomas Dale, the Governor, testified that he was a person of "good understanding."

XXXIII. He was present with Pocahontas in London when Smith made his statement ; if the rescue had never occurred they were both guilty of falsehood by remaining silent, only.

XXXIV. They did remain silent, which seems sufficient proof that the event had happened. If they had contradicted Smith his enemies would have heralded it everywhere.

XXXV. Pocahontas in 1617 made a "religious and godly end," and it is not charged by the enemies of Smith that she had ever denied the rescue.

XXXVI. But she may have made this denial, and the record of the fact may be lost. The alleged rescue was so incredible that it is necessary to believe that Smith invented it; he was a wandering adventurer, and wished to attract attention to himself as the hero of a remarkable incident.

XXXVII. But the incident was not incredible, as similar ones are on record; and Smith was not a wandering adventurer, since he enjoyed the friendship of many eminent men, was a favorite with Prince Charles, the heir apparent, afterwards Charles I., and had been appointed by James I. "Admiral of New England."

XXXVIII. Therefore, Smith was rescued from death by the "blessed Pocahontas," as he called her; embraced the first great public occasion to acknowledge what he owed to her; was never charged by his contemporaries with making a statement that was not true—but has fallen at last a victim to the historic doubters!

The above "heads of argument" have been disentangled from a great mass of discussion in which the opponents seem to be inspired by the atmosphere of battle. The present writer has preferred to emerge as completely as possible from the hot atmosphere, and present fairly the opposing points that the readers may judge. One point has not been touched—the question of Smith's general reliability. He has been charged with boasting of his own exploits without regard to truth, and the present writer can only say that he can find no proof of this. Fuller, the author of "The Worthies of England," in the next generation, said that his fame rested only "on the prose and pictures in his own books"—the "True Travels and Adventures" and the "General Historie." It seemed incredible to the old gossip that Smith could really have slain those three "Turkish champions"; that he had been knighted for his military services, though his patent was recorded in the Herald's office; or that he really performed the work in Virginia claimed for him in the "General Historie." The claim was not made by Smith, since he was not the author of that work. The narratives were written by others, and collected by Smith at the request of the Company; so that if the prose and pictures established his fame it was established by others. The worthy Fuller had his jest, which he loved dearly, but really admired Smith; for he says of him that he had "a Prince's heart in a Beggar's purse." The soldier had certainly great self-esteem; but many passages in his writings are so noble and full of piety that it is impossible to believe that he was a charlatan.

As to the isolated question of the incident of his rescue by Pocahontas, the pros and cons have been presented above as candidly as possible. After a full and careful study of all the old records relating to it, the writer is satisfied that the

objections made to it are untenable. Laying aside all other arguments, there is a moral argument which is irresistible—that the account in the “General Historie” bears on its face every mark of truthfulness. It is contained in the chapter headed “What happened till the first supply,” and the narrative is “written by *Thomas Studley*, the first Cape merchant in Virginia, Robert Fenton, Edward Harrington and *J. S.*” It embraces an account of events from June, 1607, to January, 1608, and Thomas Studley, who died in August, 1607, had no doubt begun it. At his death, Fenton and Harrington went on with the relation, and carried it forward to the moment of Smith’s capture on the Chickahominy.

Where Smith took up the pen may be easily seen in the “General Historie,” Vol. I., page 158. Fenton and Harrington conclude their portion by saying “when this newes *came to Jamestown* much was their sorrow for his loss,” when “*J. S.*” continues the narrative with “the manner how they used *and delivered him* is as followeth.” What succeeds is the relation by Smith of his subsequent adventures, as to which there was no other witness; and the whole account is so evidently truthful as to exclude the idea of invention.

These old figures have disappeared from men’s memories, but are worth remembering; and if we recall them, it seems only just that they should appear as they really were. Smith, in the estimation of the present writer, who has attentively studied his life, was a very great man; and probably nothing would have more surprised him than to have been told that he had never been “rescued!”

JOHN ESTEN COOKE.

NOTES

A CURIOSITY OF THE EMBARGO (xii. 467)—The publication in your Number for November, 1884, of "*Embargo has saved us*," attracted the attention of an ingenious contributor to the *Toronto Truth*, who has constructed a magic square of the words "*Cleveland is our President*." The author says it can be read upward of five thousand different ways by starting with the center letter C and taking the most zigzag course to any of the four corners.

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t n e d i s e r p r u o u r p r e s i d e n t

PETERSFIELD

COLONEL JOHN BAYARD — General James Grant Wilson read a paper before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society at its sixteenth annual meeting with the above title. Colonel John Bayard was born in 1738. He was the

twin brother of James Ashton Bayard, the great-grandfather of the present Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard. The fact was cited that four Bayards have occupied seats in the United States Senate almost continuously during the present century, being the largest and longest representation of one family in that body. This family has been connected by marriage with the Washingtons, of Virginia; the Bassetts, Carrolls, Howards and Wirts, of Maryland; the Kembles, Kirkpatricks, Stevenses and Stocktons, of New Jersey, and with the De Lanceys, Jays, Livingstons, Pintards, Schuylers, Stuyvesants and Van Rensselaers, of New York, and the Bowdoin and Winthrops, of Massachusetts. A portrait of Colonel John Bayard was displayed, copied from an original by Chas. Wilson Peale, and belonging to Mrs. Stevens, of Castle Point, New Jersey, she being a great-granddaughter of the subject of the address.

Colonel Bayard inherited property in Maryland from his father, there being no will, and he divided it with a brother whose children he afterwards bestowed it upon as upon his own. The wife of General Wilson is a great-granddaughter of Colonel Bayard, and loaned to the Society for the occasion the family Bible of her ancestor Petrus Bayard, nephew and namesake of Governor Stuyvesant. It is more than two centuries old, and in the original binding, with clasps and corner pieces. It was printed at Dordrecht. Colonel Bayard served with distinction in the Revolutionary war; was a member of the Continental Congress, and a personal friend of Washing-

ton, Franklin, Lafayette, and Hamilton. Kosciusko was a frequent guest at his house. Bancroft pronounces Col. Bayard to have been "a patriot of singular purity of character and disinterestedness, personally brave, earnest and devout." The address, with a steel portrait, will appear in the Society's "Record" for April.

AN ANTIQUE CUSHION—We have before us a small pin-cushion made from the wedding dress of Martha Washington—a light salmon, brocaded or watered silk, of great beauty. The cushion was a wedding present from Mrs. Robert E. Lee (Mary Custis), the great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, to her intimate young friend Miss Abby L. Peters, now Mrs. Arthur Cook, who still retains and cherishes the valuable relic. The original letter from Mrs. Lee which accompanied the gift, dated September 9, 1851, is also in existence. After explaining through whom the treasure had come into her possession, and expressing her belief that it would be the most acceptable offering she could select for the occasion, Mrs. Lee, who had been delayed in finding a proper messenger to convey it, writes: "I wish it could have reached you in time to take its station with the many costly offerings which I have no doubt adorn your chamber."

EDITOR

MAJOR SHERBURNE'S CERTIFICATE—Henry Sherburne, Esq. of the State of Rhode Island, Major of Col. Patersons Regiment, having been Omitted by the State of Massachusetts Bay, in the arrangement of the New Established Army,

on account of being an Inhabitant of another State—

That this may not be Construed by any Person, to the Injury of his Character—I have Given him, this public Acknowledgement, of my Approbation of his Conduct, in the Army under my Command, as an Officer as a Gentleman & take this method to return him my Thanks, for his Soldierlike Behaviour on all Occasions.

Given at Albany this 30th Day of Nov: 1776

HORATIO GATES

Major General

MAJOR SHERBURNE

J. E. M.

WAS IT A CHRISTMAS BOX—Captain Alexander Hamilton, of the New York Company of Artillery, by applying to the printer of this paper; may hear of something to his advantage. *The Pennsylvania Evening Post, January 25, 1777, Phil. Printed by B. Towne.* MINTO

A NEW JERSEY CENTENARIAN—Died at Long-Hill, New Jersey, on the 15th of May, 1795, Daniel Cooper, Esq. On the 7th of May he was one hundred years old; he was formerly one of the judges of the County of Morris, which office he sustained with reputation. He has left a numerous race of respectable descendants; he had buried five wives, and had married the sixth about four years ago, whom he has now left a disconsolate widow. He retained his faculties to the last,—and, but a short time before his death, he had strength to go about a very large farm, and give the necessary directions for the management of it.

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

BEDLOW'S ISLAND—*A curious blunder in Orthography.* Will the Editor, or some one of the readers of the *Magazine of American History*, kindly explain how, why, and *when* the final w in this well-known name was changed into an o, or oe? Bedlow's Island received its name originally from its owner, Isaac Bedlow, one of the substantial Dutch residents of New York at the time of the English conquest in 1664, a man who was so highly esteemed that he was selected for an alderman by the new and foreign administration. During a hundred and fifty years, at least, the name of the Island was spelled correctly in all writings and records. Who is responsible for the curious blunder? And why is it perpetuated?

A. B. E.

FIRST USE OF WOOD PULP IN PAPER MANUFACTURE. *New York, September 16, 1795*—A very interesting discovery has lately been made in the State of Pennsylvania, in the art of paper making, by a Mr. Biddis. It is likely to reduce the price of that important article, by producing a saving of rags. The invention consists in reducing saw dust to a pulp, mixing it with the pulp of rags, and forming the paper from this mixture. We have seen a specimen of paper made in this manner, certified to be composed

of one fourth of saw dust, the remainder of rags. The body and the surface of the paper appear as good as usual; colour verges a trifle towards a greenish yellow, which we think could be effectually remedied by indigo.

We understand that in a paper of a coarser kind, a great proportion of saw dust may be used, even in some as far as three fourths. Mr. Biddis has erected a mill upon the principle of his invention, and taken out a patent, a right to which he proposes selling to one person in each of the States. The saw dust of all our woods may be used for the manufacture, though some are preferable to others.—*New York Magazine.*

Was this the first use of wood pulp in paper manufacture in America?

W. K.

MAJOR STEPHEN H. LONG—Has his journal of an Expedition to the Portage of the Wisconsin River in 1817 ever been published? If so, when and where? If not, is it known where the manuscripts can be found? The desired document was in the hands of Keating when he drew up the narrative of Long's expedition to the source of St. Peter's River in 1823. See that work, Vol. I., p. 223.

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, Wisconsin

REPLIES

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS [xiii. 298]—I read with so much interest Mr. Norton's pages under this title, that I must be excused for putting in my oar again, this time only by way of amplification. The word *prox* or *proxy* is still used in

Rhode Island, not to designate an election where proxies are used—the practice being abandoned—but to describe the printed ballots themselves. The question "Where are the proxies?" or "Are the proxies ready?" may some-

times be heard on election-day, among committees or vote-distributors. Nor has the monosyllabic form disappeared. During a residence in Newport, Rhode Island, I remember to have been quite astonished when, as I approached the voting-place, a ballot was put into my hand, headed "Fish Prox." It turned out to be a ticket for city officers, got up in the interest of the fishermen, who were an important source of political influence in one of the wards.

T. W. H.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC [xiii. 281]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: I think you will find upon investigation that the sermon purported to have been delivered by the Rev. Joab Jout on the eve of the battle of Brandywine, is not genuine. It is the invention of one George Lippard, a sensational writer that flourished a generation ago in Philadelphia, and will be found in his "Legends of the Revolution," page 312. It is not here attributed to Joab Jout, but in a foot note Lippard mentions the publication of the sermon before with fictitious names. He then adds that a sermon was preached by the Rev. Hugh H. Breckenridge on the eve of the battle, and concludes as follows: "The sermon, I think, is not unworthy of that Christian band, who forsaking their homes and churches found a home and church in the camp of Washington." This is clearly a claim to the paternity of the sermon. About the year 1852 a book entitled "The Romance of the Revolution," was published in New York, in the appendix of which this sermon was inserted. Lippard immediately accused

the compiler of that book of plagiarism, because credit to him had not been given—and this, of course, was another distinct claim to the authorship of the sermon.

It may be said that Lippard possibly plagiarized it, but the internal evidence indicates its modern origin. Your facsimile reproduction contains as a head line the words "a Revolutionary relic," which shows that your copy, at least, cannot be from the original hand-bill. The style of type-setting is modern. Had it been printed at the time or soon after the Revolution it would have been freely interspersed with capitals. The literary style, moreover, is conspicuously Lippardian. No one acquainted with Lippard's ejaculatory and high-pitched sentences, which were at one time a by-word in literary circles, can fail to recognize his hand. Then observe the prophecy in regard to "George of Brunswick." Can any one believe that this passage was written before rather than after the mental overthrow of George III.?

O. B. B.

NEW YORK, *March 10, 1885.*

"THE STORY OF ASTORIA" [xiii. 269] recalls to me that in November, 1836, I came from Kentucky to Wheeling by steamboat, on which was Henry Clay and many Western "great men." Mr. Clay was reading Irving's "Astoria," and I well remember hearing him tell the company around the cabin stove of Mr. John J. Astor's coming to Washington, while he (Mr. Clay) was Speaker, and urging our government to send out a war vessel to protect the trading posts, and how deeply he was

impressed by the grasp of mind and decision of character in Mr. Astor. But the impending war with Great Britain precluded action of the government.

G P. S.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 6, 1885*

GEORGE W. ERVING [xiii. 206]—In reply to "Nalton's" inquiry, I would say that George William Erving was the only son of George Erving, of Boston, the first cousin of my grandfather, John Erving. He was born in Boston, but at five years of age was taken to England by his father (on the breaking out of the Revolution), was educated there, graduated from Oxford, and returned to this country in manhood. He was of the Jeffersonian school of politics, and was Minister to Denmark, Russia and Spain, as well as in other public service. He died unmarried in New York in 1850.

Through my father, the late Colonel John Erving, U. S. A., I have George W. Erving's sword, snuff-box, watch and portrait. His grandfather came to Boston from the Orkney Islands in the early part of the eighteenth century; he rose to eminence and wealth as a merchant, and was a member of the Governor's Council under the crown for many years. His eldest son John was also a member of the Council, and married the daughter of Governor Shirley; one of whose daughters married Governor Bowdoin, from whom the Temples and Winthrops descended. The name Erving is now only in the family of the undersigned—the great-great grandson in direct line of eldest sons, of John Erving, mentioned above, the first comer to

this country, whose portrait by Copley is in my possession. JOHN ERVING

NEW YORK, *Feb. 28*

OLDER THAN THE MOUND BUILDERS
—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In the article [xiii. 184] in your publication, the claim is made that the dust of human bodies can be distinguished from that of "other animate creatures" by the alleged fact that the "dust of man remains a conductor of electricity," while that of inferior animals has ceased to have this property. This statement must have been a surprising one to many, as it was to me, because it is altogether at variance with the common observation of experienced experimentalists in physical science. But, before recording my dissent, I have taken the pains to consult one of the leading physicists and chemists of our country (and indeed of the world), and am assured that the claim of your contributor is wholly erroneous, and that there exists absolutely no difference in conductivity or in other electrical properties or conditions between the remains—dust, ashes or mold—of the human body and similar remains of the body of an inferior animal. I am glad to observe that the contributor of "Older than the Mound Builders" has other evidence than that claimed above that the remains he has discovered and studied are those of the human species. The "find" he has made is of great interest and may be of corresponding value. Fuller information concerning it is certainly desirable, and will, I trust, be forthcoming

THEO. F. WOLFE, M.D.

JERSEY CITY, *March 10, 1885*

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting, February 3, numerous additions to the library were reported. Mrs. Virginia Hammersly Field, Miss Margaret Livingston Clarkson, Eugene Thomson, J. Archibald Murray, Grove P. Mitchell, Edward H. Harriman, Harmon P. Read, Camille Weidenfeld, J. Meredith Read, Jr., and William W. Newcomb were elected resident members. The paper of the evening, on "The Romantic School in American Archæology," was furnished by Prof. Adolphe F. Bandelier, in which that learned archæologist criticised the romantic tendency in the literature of today on American aboriginal history, and showed that the general picture presented of the race inhabiting this northern continent previous to the Indians is in so many particulars contradictory and extravagant, that it cannot be a true one. In a rapid résumé, he further showed that the present views in American archæology do not vary in ethnological results from those of the sixteenth century, being but reflected pictures, not of things as they were, but as they were looked at and appreciated three centuries ago; the literature of that period being merely copied and not sifted, notwithstanding that historical study has since had the benefit of auxiliary branches in securing accumulated knowledge and experience. Prof. Bandelier declared in conclusion that the days of historical fiction are past, and that the progress of science in auxiliary branches is alone sufficient to carry the history of America to those heights where it shall become a critical, and therefore practi-

cally useful, branch of human knowledge.

At the meeting March 3, William B. Isham, A. J. D. Wedemeyer, Griffith W. Griffith, Charles Isham and George W. Van Siclen were elected resident members, and J. Carson Brevoort was constituted a life-member. In the paper of the evening, the Society was favored with an admirable memoir of the late Charles O'Connor, by his lifelong friend, the Hon. Charles P. Daly, a very important and valuable contribution to the American biographical page and the history of the New York Bar. This interesting tribute to the distinguished lawyer's memory included a narrative of the events and struggles of his early life, and the conspicuous triumphs of his professional career, together with many pleasing reminiscences and anecdotes of the past generation of New York lawyers and judges. His political views and connection with national affairs were reviewed, and in a masterly analysis of the many sterling virtues of his character his social qualities were happily depicted and an admirable portrayal was given of his eminent mental endowments and great moral worth. The memoir was listened to with the deepest attention by a large audience, embracing many of the older members of the society, in the purposes of which Mr. O'Connor always took a deep interest, and of which he was for many years Vice-President.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The March meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms on the evening of Monday, the 9th inst. The meet-

ing was an unusually full and interesting one. The chief attraction and interest of the occasion was an interesting paper prepared by the President of the Society, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, and read for him by the secretary. It was entitled "An omitted episode in Maryland History," and referred to the action of the state in the colonization movement, and the planting of a Maryland colony in Liberia. It was styled an "omitted episode," because those who have essayed to write the history of the state have either overlooked it entirely, or wholly misapprehended its interest and importance, and passed it by with only the slightest and most incidental allusion. Of the movement the author of the paper might with all propriety say "*quorum pars magna fui.*" He was one of the original projectors of the scheme, was President of "The Maryland Colonization Society" till, on the death of Henry Clay, he was called to succeed him as President of the "American Colonization Society," and he was the author of the code of laws by which the colony was governed, till it emerged from its tutelage and took a place in the family of nations. His modesty had led him, because of this intimate connection with the colony, to decline himself to write the history; but seeing it in danger of being overlooked altogether, he, as the last survivor of the original band, deemed it his duty to be the chronicler of their worthy deeds. Hence this paper. In it he sketched the public sentiment, seeking to emancipate the slaves, and which induced the legislature of Maryland in 1832 to vote to establish on the west coast of Africa a colony or the extension of liberty, and to

pledge to its support \$10,000 a year for twenty years. The first vessel that went out under this arrangement was the 160-ton brig *Ann*, in November, 1833, bearing missionaries and emigrants. They purchased a strip of coast, sixty miles in extent, at Cape Palmas, and established the colony that became known to the world as "Maryland in Liberia." From that time onward the vessels of the Society continued to carry out emigrants and prosecute trade with the colony, that flourished under the code prepared for it in Baltimore, a leading principle of which was a prohibition law as rigid as could have been desired by any St. John or Neal Dow. During all its existence as a colony not one vessel or one emigrant was lost in transit; and the state, even in its most straitened financial condition, never failed in its appropriation for the benefit of its African daughter till the outbreak of the Rebellion, and the change of the attitude of the nation to its citizens of African descent growing out of that great event.

The paper was long, and filled with facts and incidents hitherto unrecorded, and told in the pleasant style of its distinguished author. It will undoubtedly be printed as one of the series of valuable papers published by the Society.

SONS OF THE REVOLUTION—On the evening of Saturday, February 21, the Society of the Sons of the Revolution held their second annual dinner at the rooms of the Down Town Association, No. 50 Pine Street, New York, in commemoration of the 153d anniversary of Washington's Birthday. Thirty members were present. The President, Frederick S. Tallmadge, acted as toast-master. The

walls of the room were elaborately decorated with flags, and the tables with appropriate emblems.

The following toasts were proposed: "The Heroes of the Revolution and the Memory of Washington," responded to by Prof. John Fiske, of Cambridge, Mass.; "The Day we Celebrate," by Thomas H. Edsall, who read a song composed for the first public celebration of Washington's birthday in New York City in 1784, and gave an interesting account of the proceedings on that joyful day, which closed with a salute of thirteen guns from the ships in the harbor. "The Society of the Cincinnati," by Frederick J. Huntington; "The City of New York," by J. Bleeker Miller; "Massachusetts, The Cradle of Liberty," by George W. W. Houghton, who recited a ballad entitled "Three Riders out of Boston Town," "The Army and Navy," by Alexander R. Thompson, Jr.; and "The Allies of the Revolution," Ethan Allen and Floyd Clarkson.

The old song introduced by Mr. Edsall well deserves preservation. We present it in full.

SONG

Composed for the first celebration of Washington's Birthday in New York City, February 11, 1784 (O. S.), and sung by the

SONS OF THE REVOLUTION,

On the 101st Celebration of the Day, February 21, 1885.

[TUNE—*God bless America.*]

AMERICANS rejoice,
While songs employ each voice,
Let trumpets sound.
The thirteen stripes display,
In flags and streamers gay,
'Tis WASHINGTON's birthday,
Let joy abound.

From scenes of rural peace,
From affluence and ease,
At freedom's call;
A hero from his birth,
Great Washington stands forth,
The scourge of George and North,
And tyrants all.

The silver trump of fame,
His glory shall proclaim,
Till time is done.
Genius with taste refin'd,
Courage with coolness join'd,
'Bove all an honest mind,
Has WASHINGTON.

Those mighty chiefs of old,
Cæsars and heroes bold,
Who realms have won;
Smit by his brighter blaze,
Hide their diminish'd rays,
And yield the palm of praise
To WASHINGTON.

Long may he live to see
This land of liberty
Flourish in peace;
Long may he live to prove
A grateful people's love,
And, late, to Heaven remove
Where joys ne'er cease.

Fill the glass to the brink,
WASHINGTON's health we'll drink,
'Tis his birthday.
Glorious deeds he has done,
By him our cause is won,
Long live great WASHINGTON,
Huzza! Huzza!

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On the evening of the 10th of February, a large and very select audience assembled in the Society's rooms to listen to a paper from Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Editor of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, read by special invitation of the Society. The subject was "The Framers of the Constitution." Mrs. Lamb was very gracefully introduced by President Gammell as the lady

who had won honorable distinction as a leader in the department of American literature for which the Society was formed. At the conclusion of the reading Mayor Doyle made a few happy and appropriate remarks in moving a vote of thanks to Mrs. Lamb, and President Gammell spoke for some minutes with great eloquence on the subject of the paper.

On the 24th of February the Society, at its regular meeting, listened to an interesting and instructive address from the Rev. James M. Taylor, on the "Influence of the Crusades in European History." A hearty and unanimous vote of thanks was passed by the Society, and President Gammell, in rising to put the question, made a discriminating and appreciative summary of the events recited in his usually interesting manner. The meeting was then adjourned.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its twenty-seventh annual meeting at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, February 11. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: *Trustees*, Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Edward P. Darling, Ralph D. Lacoe, Sheldon Reynolds, Harrison Wright; *President*, Hon. E. L. Dana; *Vice-presidents*, Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Capt. Calvin Parsons, Hon. Eckley B. Coxe; *Recording Secretary*, Harrison Wright; *Corresponding Secretary*, Sheldon Reynolds; *Treasurer*, A. F. Derr; *Librarian*, A. H. McClintock; *Assistant Librarian*, G. Mortimer Lewis; *Curators*, S. Reynolds, H. E. Hayden, H. Wright, R. D. Lacoe, C. F. Ingham. *Meteorologist*, E. L. Dana; *Historiographer*, Geo. B. Kulp.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY — A quarterly meeting of this Society was held January 20, 1884. Hon. E. B. Washburne, the President, occupied the chair.

The Hon. Mark Skinner announced the death of Rev. William Barry, and submitted eulogistic resolutions on the life and character of the deceased, one of the founders of the Society, and its secretary and librarian from 1856 to 1866. By a vote of the Society a painted portrait of Mr. Barry was asked for, and a request was made that E. B. McCagg, Esq., prepare a biographical memoir of him and deliver it at some future meeting of the Society.

Mr. W. K. Ackerman offered a memorial tribute to the memory of the late Judge Joseph Gillespie, of Edwardsville, Illinois, a corresponding member of the Society, which was accepted and ordered to be placed on the records of the Society. Hon. William Bross read a memorial notice of the late Thomas H. Armstrong, the secretary and librarian of the Society from 1866 to 1869, which was adopted and placed on the Society's records. Hon. A. H. Burley, one of the trustees of the Henry D. Gilpin Fund, made a report showing that \$49,527.21 had been received since 1874, and that the interest had been added, as provided in Mr. Gilpin's will, and the total amount of the fund was \$67,766.34.

On motion of Judge Skinner the portraits of the late Isaac N. Arnold and Thomas Hogue, President and Vice-president of the Society, were requested.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY held its stated meeting

at the Society's house, March 5, and in the absence of the President, Rev. Edward F. Slafter occupied the chair. He announced the death of Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U. S. N., a director of the Society, and spoke of his loss to the Society and the community, stating that by vote of the board of directors a delegation had this day attended the funeral of Admiral Preble. Colonel Albert H. Hoyt, Cyrus Woodman and John Ward Dean were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions, to be presented at the next meeting.

After the corresponding secretary had announced and exhibited some of the more important donations since the last meeting, Rev. William C. Winslow read a paper on the discovery of the Pithom of Exodus I. by M. Naville, of the Egypt Exploration Fund. He first spoke of the spade as a modern means of acquiring the treasures of past knowledge, and referred to Rawlinson's estimate of the value of the identification of Pithom under Tel-el-Maskhutah, twelve miles west of the modern Ismailia. This stone city was built, as we are told, by the Israelites in forced bondage, of bricks with and without straw and in mortar. Naville unearthed some of the chambers in the place, which contains about twelve acres. They are built of the Nile brick, several feet thick, and the outside wall is twenty-two feet through. The entrance is from above, and the grain would have to be drawn or lifted out of the aperture at the top. These stone places or granaries were a kind of Government treasury—corn and grain were used as money—and had to be strongly constructed, particularly on the eastern frontier, where the Bedouins

of the desert made dashes then for plunder as now.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held March 7, at the rooms of the Society, in the Westmoreland Club-house. A number of gifts of books were reported; also, from W. W. Corcoran, Esq., vice-president of the Society, a highly interesting album of autographs, containing those of the Presidents of the United States from Washington to Buchanan inclusive, with those of their Cabinet officers, besides those of many other persons distinguished in the annals of America and of Europe—among them Oliver Cromwell, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Moore the poet, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Clarendon. Several gentlemen were elected members of the Society.

ARYAN ORDER OF AMERICA—Persons wishing to attend the summer assemblage of this order at Portland during July, 1885 (whether members or not), should communicate with the Herald-Marshall-General. The purpose of the meeting is to devise means for the establishment of a Herald's College for the benefit of families of historic lineage in the United States and British America, the formation of American Heraldry proper, the recognition of honorable merit in the historic arts and sciences by means of decorations, and the promotion of ethical representation in society. Historic accounts of families are requested from those in attendance. Address, Frederic Gregory Forsyth, Herald - Marshal - General, Portland, Maine.

BOOK NOTICES

MEDALLIC PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON. With Historical and Critical Notes and a Descriptive Catalogue of the Coins, Medals, Tokens and Cards. By W. S. BAKER. Square 12mo, pp. 252. 1885. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay.

This beautiful volume is believed to include all the medals struck with the head of Washington. There are six hundred and eleven, and they are arranged in groups, the designs, legends, or inscriptions of the reverses in nearly all cases being the guide for assignment. The date of the first medallion memorial was 1783. These earlier coins had their origin in England, issued either as tokens or for speculative purposes to meet the demand for a circulation in this country: and the portraits upon them are purely imaginary, having little or no resemblance to Washington.

The author has undertaken in his arduous work to ascertain and assign to the different pieces, as he proceeds with his historical and critical notes, the originals of the portraits thereon represented, which labor of love will be heartily appreciated by the American public. He says in his preface: "All of the original portraits of Washington, commencing with that by Charles Wilson Peale, painted in 1772, and ending with the one by Saint Memin in 1788, possess, either on account of faithfulness of representation, artistic excellence, or historical connection, an engrossing interest. Of these, the Du Simitière (1779), Joseph Wright (1790), and Stuart (1796), have been introduced on medals, none of which, excellent as they may be in other respects, are of that positive character demanded by the requirements of medallion portraiture. The Houdon bust, however, seems fully to meet the demand. Modeled from a cast taken from the face at Mount Vernon in October, 1785, and used for the first time on the "Washington before Boston Medal," it has not only come to be recognized as the medallion type, but also as the standard portrait of Washington. One need only glance at the titles of the different groups to be impressed with the fact that the name of Washington has been associated with every subject—national, industrial, local and personal—that has had a place in the history of the country during the century. The medals are not all good, either in design or execution, some are positively bad, but examination of the entire list fails to reveal a single satirical reference. They show nothing but respect. Mr. Baker's arrangement is admirable either for reference or criticism. His plan simplifies and illuminates the subject. The volume is provided with an excellent index.

OLD SAINT AUGUSTINE. A Story of Three Centuries. By CHARLES B. REYNOLDS.

12mo, pp. 144. 1885. St Augustine, Florida: E. H. Reynolds.

The changing fortunes of St. Augustine during three centuries has furnished the data for a most entertaining little monogram, prepared with skill and excellent taste, with illustrations, a chronological table, and an index. The historical sketch, or series of sketches, begins with the age of romance, when the caravels of Columbus had but just pierced the cloud of mystery and gloom shutting out the West, and all Europe was ringing with tales of the wondrous new-found realms beyond the sunset. First the Spaniards, then the Huguenots in Florida, furnish chapters of absorbing interest. Then follows the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. No city in North America has experienced more violent changes, or passed through a greater variety of masters and invaders: thus the little work is a succession of tragic stories, hardly equaled in the wildest creations of fiction. Never on American ground of so small an area has warfare been so vindictive, or such barbarities perpetrated by human beings in the form of white men. Mr. Reynolds has given the reading public a concise and valuable record, written with care and accuracy, and deserving of the highest praise.

"GOMBO ZHEBES." LITTLE DICTIONARY OF CREOLE PROVERBS. Selected from Six Creole Dialects. By LAFCADIO HEARN. Square 12mo, pp. 42. New York: 1885. Will. H. Coleman.

These proverbs are all of negro invention, and are translated into French and into English, with notes. The curious process of transformation to which the negro slave subjected the language of his masters is exhibited in a measure by the translation of the proverbs into French. The author says in his preface that no one person could hope to make a really complete collection of Creole proverbs, even with all the advantages of linguistic knowledge, leisure, wealth and travel. But he has given us some very characteristic examples, and the work is really unique and valuable, and perhaps sufficiently full for its subject. Mr. Hearn's explanatory foot-notes are exceedingly interesting, and he has wisely added a carefully prepared index to the subjects of proverbs.

LUDLOW'S CONCENTRIC CHART OF HISTORY. Invented and compiled by JAMES M. LUDLOW, D.D. Card-board records, fan-shaped. 1885. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price, \$2.00.

This ingenious device for the aid of the student and general reader in comparing and remembering historical events, is arranged in

thirty segments turning on a common center, each seven by ten inches in size. The whole chart can be taken in one hand like a fan, and the history of a nation in its great events, its rulers and illustrious men, in their respective epochs, spread before the eye at a glance, and the scene changed from country to country at will. The English, for instance, includes the chief events of nineteen centuries, the first century having the lowest place at the bottom of the handle, and the nineteenth the broadest margin at the top. The chart is to be read from bottom to top in the order of time, the numbers of the centuries being printed in red Roman numerals in the center, and the dates in the cross or concentric sections appearing in black type. Each important country has a separate leaf, and there are additional leaves for the Popes, the Church, and for literary characters. Reversing the fan, one finds the chronology of the pre-Christian centuries, the Roman empire in quarter centuries, the United States in quarter centuries, and exhibits of sculptures, painters, architects, useful arts, etc. It is well printed and handsomely mounted. It is a labor-saving contrivance for easy reference, and in accuracy of compilation is one of the very best we have yet seen.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TOWN OF WEYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, from 1622 to 1884. Compiled by GILBERT NASH. 8vo, pp. 346. 1885. Vol. 2 Weymouth Historical Society Collections.

Weymouth is, next to Plymouth, the oldest town in New England, and its original boundaries have been preserved without material change up to the present time, a period of two hundred and sixty-three years. It was the first settlement made within what afterward became the colony of Massachusetts Bay. It has a unique history; thus the appearance of this excellent work will be welcomed by all historical and antiquarian students. The town records, covering at least two hundred and forty years, are well preserved, the dated record beginning in December, 1641, and a mass of property records, undated, which from external and internal evidence should, it is supposed, appear a year or two later. There is, however, a total absence of all church records for the first century of the town's existence. According to an early custom the pastor was the sole custodian of the records and papers of the church. Upon his removal or death these papers were in many instances included in his private property. Possibly we are yet to have a find among the descendants of some of Weymouth's earliest ministers that will throw light on the history of the first settlers.

Mr. Nash, the editor, is the corresponding secretary of the Weymouth Historical Society, familiar with the annals of the town, and an en-

thusiast in the study of local history. His work has evidently been a labor of love, performed with conscientious and painstaking care. Some sixty pages are devoted to genealogical sketches. The volume is well printed and bound and contains a very full index.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, from the Discovery of the Continent. By GEORGE BANCROFT. The Author's last Revision. Vol. VI. 8vo, pp. 572. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1885.

The sixth and concluding volume of the revised edition of this standard work is fitly illustrated with an excellent steel portrait of its eminent author. Mr. Bancroft, in the history of the Constitution of the United States, to which he devotes this entire volume, divides his subject into five Books, entitled: "The Confederation—On the Way to a Federal Convention—The Federal Convention—The People of the United States in Judgment on the Constitution—The Federal Government." In his opening chapter he refers to the great changes in the condition of the world since the beginning of his historical labors, considerably more than half a century ago, saying: "Power has now come to dwell with every people, from the Arctic Sea to the Mediterranean, from Portugal to the borders of Russia. From end to end of the United States the slave has become a freeman; and the various forms of bondage have disappeared from European Christendom. Abounding harvests of scientific discoveries have been garnered by numberless inquisitive minds, and the wildest forces of nature have been taught to become the docile helpmates of man. The application of steam to the purposes of travel on land and on water, the employment of a spark of light as the carrier of thought across continents and beneath oceans, have made all the inhabitants of the earth one society. A journey round the world has become the pastime of a holiday vacation. The morning newspaper gathers up and brings us the noteworthy events of the last four-and-twenty hours in every quarter of the globe. All states are beginning to form parts of one system. The ignorance and prejudices that come from isolation are worn away in the conflict of the forms of culture. We learn to think the thought, to hope the hope of mankind. Day by day the men who guide public affairs are arraigned before the judgment-seat of the race. A government which adopts a merely selfish policy is pronounced to be the foe of the human family."

One of the most interesting and useful chapters in the first Book is "The Struggle for Revenue." The whole sixth volume is a philosophical study. It traces the idea of union, and

the successive attempts made toward its realization, with a clear exhibition of the defects in the articles of Confederation: also the events and discussions that at last resulted in the Convention, and the details of the framing process. It is the crowning piece of the distinguished historian's life-work, a work which will stand in all the future as his own criticism upon his former production. The fact that six volumes take the place of the twelve earlier volumes cannot fail to greatly increase its circulation. The latest edition will be sought by many who have for years been familiar with its less condensed predecessors. The publishers deserve high praise for the handsome dress in which the work is issued, and which can be obtained at exactly half the price of the original edition.

MIND READING AND BEYOND. By WILLIAM A. HOVEY. 16mo, pp. 201. Boston, 1885. Lee & Shepard.

The part of Mr. Hovey in this work has been mainly that of an editor of the several reports of the Committees for Psychical Research in London, Eng., organized in the spring of 1882 by some of the leading scientific minds in England, of whom were Prof. Henry Sidgwick, of Trinity College; the Bishop of Carlisle; Prof. Lord Rayleigh, of Cambridge; Prof. Balfour Stewart, of Owen's College, and others of equal eminence. Its object was to examine the nature and extent of any influence exerted by one mind upon another, apart from recognized modes of perception, together with the study of hypnotism, mesmeric trance, clairvoyance, and allied phenomena, and inquiry into the phenomena commonly called spiritual. The book before us is largely made up of experiments, which are very clearly explained, sometimes with the aid of diagrams. Committees were appointed by the Society from time to time, to scientifically and most carefully seek evidence bearing upon all the points of inquiry, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the truth. These investigations are of great public interest. The book is in the line of progress and of special value.

MY LADY POCAHONTAS. A True Relation of Virginia. Writ by Anas Todkill, Puritan and Pilgrim. With notes by JOHN ESTEN COOKE. 12mo, pp. 190. Boston, 1885. Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

The beautiful story of Pocahontas, with all its bewitching romance, is retold in this unique and pretty volume, and in a manner so engaging that it will find multitudes of readers. Mr. Cooke is well known in the realms of history, biography and fiction, and has made a study of

early life in Virginia. In this unpretentious but really valuable little volume he has reproduced with marked success the manners, customs, and modes of thought of the Pocahontas period. The narrative purports to have been told by Anas Todkill, one of Captain John Smith's companions, to which Mr. Cooke appends notes, showing how closely Todkill's story agrees with authoritative chronicles, and upon what basis Mr. Cooke has put each important statement into Todkill's mouth. The principal incidents of the Jamestown settlement are vividly portrayed. Mr. Cooke has had a double purpose in view, to write an entertaining novel, and to attack the historic doubt effectively in its most vulnerable point. He presents not only the authorities upon which the story of Pocahontas rests, but so vivid and picturesque an account of the whole matter that doubt, to gain lodgment in the reader's mind, must justify itself by proof. He writes in the spirit of one who believes that in saving the truth when doubt seeks to deprive us of it, he does equal service with those who discover truth hitherto unrevealed. The book is worth reading from every point of argument, no matter how much we have been taught to discredit the account of the episode in which the Indian Princess saved the life of Captain Smith.

SKETCH OF MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM MOULTRIE. Address by WILMOT G. DESAUSSURE, President of the Cincinnati Society of South Carolina. 1885. Monograph. Pp. 29. Privately printed.

General Moultrie was one of Washington's most trusted generals, and the first President of the South Carolina State branch of the Cincinnati, an office which he filled with distinction for twenty-two successive years. He was descended from an ancient Scottish family, possessed of landed estates known as Roscobie, between Loch-Leven and Dumferline. His father, Dr. John Moultrie, emigrated to Charleston about 1728. He was commissioned Brigadier-General in the Continental army, September 16, 1776. Referring to his military services the eloquent orator says: "While South Carolina continues to be known as the Palmetto State, and the fort on Sullivan's Island to be designated as Fort Moultrie, future ages will recognize that the fort is so named in honor of its heroic defender, and that the State is so called because of the Palmetto, out of which that unfinished fort was built, when subjected to the fiery baptism by England's fleet, June 28, 1776." This admirable and authentic sketch, containing much hitherto unpublished information, will satisfactorily answer the inquiries of Mr. Moutray, our correspondent in New South Wales.



Bienville

Broadbrim, and in 1576 retaliated upon his persecutors, by writing "a railing accusation against the court of Plymouth," copies of which are still preserved, and for which he was heavily fined. Here, we behold the foun-



COMMODORE M. C. PERRY.

[From a Photograph from life in the possession of Mrs. August Belmont.]

tain-head of that stream of irrepressible fighting quality so often manifested on ship and shore, in war and in politics, and last exhibited by our young Long Island congressman, Perry Belmont, a grandson of the Commodore.

Banished from Massachusetts, the son of Edward Perry emigrated to Rhode Island, in company with Roger Williams, and purchased land near South Kingston. From the first, friendship was secured with the Indians; and one of the faithful aborigines served with Commodore Oliver H. Perry, losing his life at Lake Erie. The original farm still remains in possession of the family, and near the site of the rebuilt homestead is the ancestral cemetery.

The father of the two commodores was Christopher Raymond Perry, who was born December 4, 1761. He served during the Revolution as a volunteer in the Kingston Reds, and on the *Mifflin*, an American privateer, which was captured, and he, with the crew, lodged in the *Jersey* prison ship at New York. Fortunately escaping from the floating coffin, he served as soon as his health allowed on board the *Governor Trumbull*, commanded by Captain James Nicholson, and again on a privateer, which was taken by a British frigate while off the English coast. He was sent to Ireland as a prisoner, and held for eighteen months.

This proved a blessing in disguise, for during that period he met his future wife, the mother of many heroes. He first saw the young lady, Miss Sarah Alexander, of Newry, County Down, during his parole, and was much impressed by her spirit and beauty. Reaching America by way of the West Indies and Charleston, he made a voyage to Ireland as the mate of a ship. On the return trip in 1784, Miss Alexander, then an orphan girl sixteen years of age, took passage on the same ship to visit an uncle in Philadelphia. She came under the care of a Mr. Calbraith, whose son, a little boy named Matthew, was a great favorite with the Irish lassie. On the long voyage, there was time for friendship to ripen into love, and that time was well improved. On their arrival in the City of Brotherly Love, they were met by Doctor Benjamin Rush with the news of her uncle's death, and so the young couple, Christopher Raymond Perry and Sarah Alexander, were married at once, and removed to the Perry farm in Rhode Island.

From this marriage have descended probably more naval officers than from any one American connection, that of the Nicholsons alone excepted. Of the eight children were three daughters: Anna, became the wife of Commodore George Rodgers, killed in Charleston Harbor, 1863. Another married Dr. Butler, of South Carolina, the father of Matthew Calbraith Butler, United States Senator; and the third remained single. Of the sons, Oliver Hazard was the hero of Lake Erie. James Alexander, who was in the boat with his older brother, the commodore, when crossing from the St. Lawrence to the Niagara, had his hat pierced and a curl of his hair cut



MAJESTY SALVAGE IN POSSESSION OF COMMODORE M. C. PERRY'S DAUGHTER, MRS. AUGUST BELMONT.

off by bullets. He was drowned at Valparaiso in 1821, while trying to rescue a companion. The fourth and fifth sons, Nathaniel and Raymond, were both naval officers.

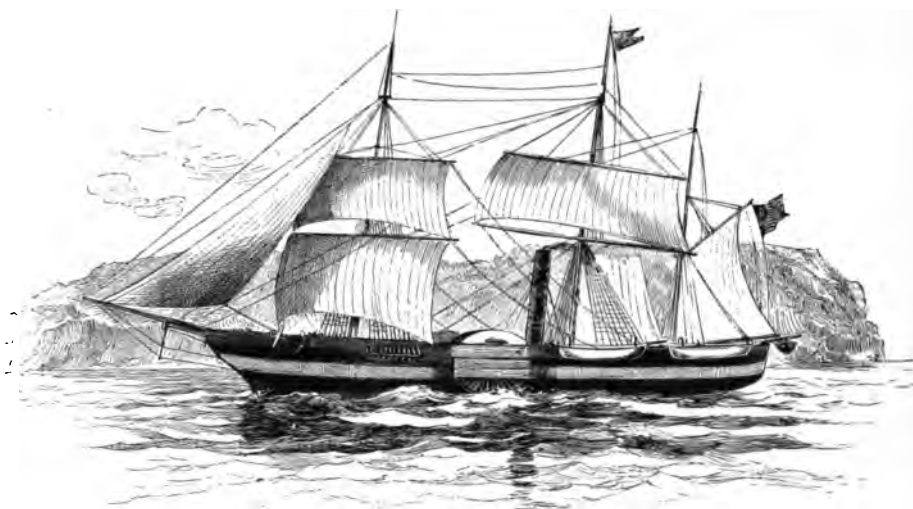
Matthew was the third son in this decidedly naval family. Their father being away at sea most of the time, holding the rank of Captain in the American navy, their training fell upon the young mother, and sublimely did she fulfill her charge. Those who knew her in later life speak of her as "a Spartan mother," "a grand old lady." Her ancestry was Scotch. She was descended from Sir William Wallace, and was proud of it. Having emigrated to North Ireland, her people, though Protestants, were involved in the Irish rebellion in Cromwell's time. In her childhood she had often listened to accounts of the battles which had taken place on her native soil, and now, as a mother, she loved to recount them again to her children. Believing that her people were the bravest in the world, she fired the minds of her own boys with the ineradicable passion of patriotism, and a thirst for the display of valor, while at the same time training them to the severest virtue, purest motives, a love for literature, and a reverence for sacred things. The habit which Matthew C. Perry had of reading his Bible through once during every cruise, and his fondness for the English classics, were created at his mother's knee.

The circumstances of Mrs. Perry's death were interesting and tragic. In 1821, while living at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, at which her son-in-law, Commodore Geo. W. Rodgers, was then second in command, there were hundreds of Irishmen employed, who, on St. Patrick's Day, were accustomed to serenade the commanding officers. The news of the death of her son James had come but a few hours before, and this time, forgetting what day it was, and prostrated with grief, the aged lady was in her room over the piazza. The Irish bands usually made their approach playing the most rollicking airs; but hearing of the mother's loss, they approached quietly and with muffled tread until near the piazza. Suddenly the united bands burst forth in the *Coronach* — the Irish death wail. The shock was too great. She fell insensible to the floor, following three of her five sons in death. Surely, of such mothers our country may well be proud, and our prayer be for many more.

Matthew Calbraith Perry was born at Newport, April 10, 1794. In the matter of his birthday, the encyclopædias are as divergent as seven Dutch weathercocks, four pointing to Newport and three to Kingston; but the family Bible, now in possession of Mrs. August Belmont, has given us our data. He was named after Matthew Calbraith, his mother's little friend. When about ten years old, the future commodore was visited by his name-

sake, who, being delighted with the boy, prophesied some of the greatness actually attained. Calbraith was the familiar home-name for the eager child who loved so much to look upon the sea, and whose especial delight was to gaze at the gayly-decked packet boat which once a year set out from Newport to Providence, carrying the governor from one capital to the other.

There was much in the social atmosphere and historical associations of Newport, at the opening of this century, to nourish the ambition



THE UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE MISSISSIPPI.

[Flagship of the Expedition to Japan.]

and fire the imagination of an impressible lad. Out in the bay lay the hulk of the famous ship *Endeavor*, in which Captain Cook had circumnavigated the globe and observed the transit of Venus. Hither had tarried Dean, afterward Bishop, Berkeley, whose prophecy, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," was fulfilled by Perry, even across the Pacific to Japan. Here, too, had come the first American bishop, Seabury, visiting the Perry home, seeing Matthew Calbraith, and giving Episcopal confirmation to Oliver Hazard. Besides living at Newport, several of his boyhood's years were spent in such places as Westerly, Warren, and the then courtly town of Tower Hill, from which the blue sea, dotted with white-winged ships, and full of mystery and fascination, was ever visible. Few incidents of Matthew's boyhood are preserved, for nearly all of those

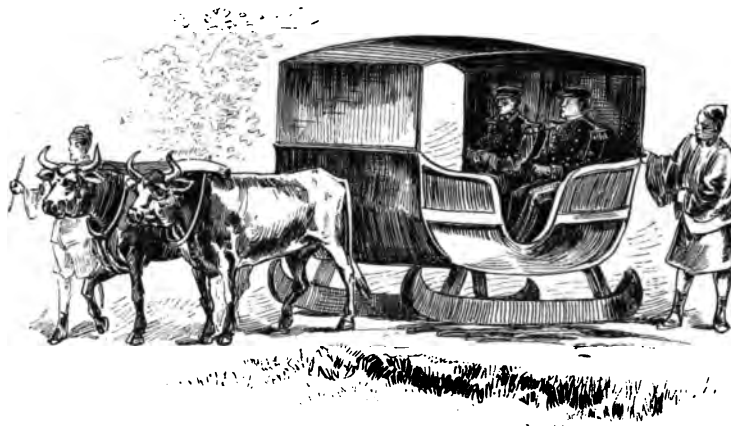
who knew the lad have "joined the majority," and one who seeks now is a generation too late.

On the 1st of March, 1809, being then but fifteen years of age, our hero was appointed midshipman, and took his first cruise in the schooner *Revenge*. Later, under Commodore John Rodgers, he began his three years' training on the frigate *President*, amid the dangers that beset our commerce from insolent British cruisers, charged with the boarding of our ships and the impressment of our seamen. All five of the Perry brothers served in the war which broke out in 1812. In 1813 Matthew was made a lieutenant, and served the next year with Decatur during eight months. He was in "the affair of the *President* and *Little Belt*," and in the chase of the *Belvidera*, when "the first hostile shot afloat" in 1812 was fired by Rodgers. He was slightly wounded by the bursting of a cannon. Under such masters, it is no wonder that he became "a typical American naval officer." There was no Naval Academy in those days, all the training was on board ship, and the chaplain was both schoolmaster and professor-extraordinary. From the first, however, Perry became proficient in science and literature as well as in technical naval art, and to the end of his life, not only was his thirst for knowledge insatiable, but he was ever known to be one of the foremost naval men of the age.

Here let me remark that while many Americans may find their impressions of the greatness of our country in the contemplation of its material resources or vastness of territory, I confess that in the quality of her greatness and the grandeur of her history as revealed in the naval archives at Washington—where are preserved the letters of Rodgers, Nicholson, Bainbridge, Hull, Decatur, and the names of our naval captains from the Revolution to the present day—I have found more to stir the soul, and take augury for the future. It gives one a vivid sense of our national glory to look upon these time-stained autographs which make history so real.

On the 14th of December, 1814, Lieutenant Matthew C. Perry was married to Miss Jane Slidell, a young lady then seventeen years old, a daughter of a prominent merchant in New York, and sister to the Hon. John Slidell, afterwards United States Senator from Louisiana. The children by this marriage were seven—four daughters and three sons—of whom three daughters are still living. Sarah, wife of Colonel R. S. Rodgers, of Maryland; Caroline Slidell, wife of August Belmont of New York; and Isabella Bolton, wife of George Tiffany of Newport, Rhode Island.

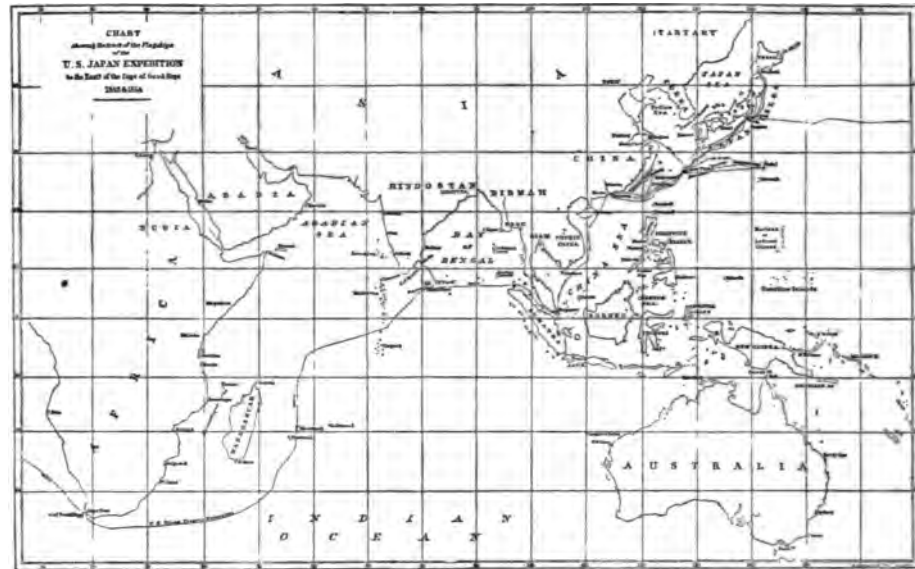
The war of 1812 over, the young officer was detached for duty at the Brooklyn Navy Yard; and in 1819, during which year his father and brother Oliver died, he went on the *Cyane* to Africa, the vessel being sent



COMMODORE PERRY MAKING OFFICIAL VISITS AT FUNCHALL, MADEIRA, IN THE FASHIONABLE CONVEYANCE OF THE CITY, IN 1852.

by our Government to assist the American Colonization Society to make their first settlement in Liberia. Finding the colony at Sherbro Island, near Sierra Leone, in a sickly condition and the climate deadly, Perry chose Mesurado, a healthier location. Captain Stockton and Dr. Ayres, the United States Agent, afterwards confirmed the choice of site, and transferred the settlers thither. Thus began Liberia; and Monrovia, named after President Monroe, was soon after founded. From 1822 to '25, Lieutenant Perry cruised in the schooner *Shark* in the West Indies after the pirates, which in those days threatened our commerce, even up to our city wharves. American ship-building was then in its glory, and our men-of-war were the equals of any in the world. The old *North Carolina*, which now lies a colossal hulk at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, looking to us like a cross between Noah's Ark and a grain elevator, was then a new "seventy-five" gun ship, and a superb sight when at sea, under full sail. She carried over a hundred cannon, and her broadsides were the heaviest then fired by any ship of war. Perry was her first lieutenant and executive officer. He served also as Commodore Rodgers' fleet captain in the Mediterranean, and all who remember Perry know what a disciplinarian he was, while yet no one accuses him of being a martinet. Brusque in his manners, he yet had a kindly heart. At home again, he spent the years 1828 and 1829 at Charleston, South Carolina, and at Boston, on shore duty.

Placed in command of the *Concord*, in 1830, he carried John Randolph to Europe. Being thus loyally the servant of his country, he had nothing further to do with that piece of diplomatic jobbery which cost the



FROM PERRY'S NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION.

(Copied by permission.)

United States many thousands of wasted dollars. We sent a minister to Russia, who, after falling on his knees to the Czarina, spent ten days in Russia and a year and a half in England. Between the captain and the envoy no love was lost. On his return Perry was made a master-commandant and founded the Brooklyn Naval Lyceum, which has done much to elevate the standard of professional culture in the navy, and is still in honorable existence. He declined the command of the Pacific Exploring Expedition, as he wished to perfect the scheme of a naval apprenticeship system which he was finally enabled to carry out, and which in substance remains—a most excellent provision for supplying native-born lads to the naval service.

Perry was one of the first officers in the United States navy to give himself to the study and complete mastery of the application of steam to naval vessels, and their tactics in action. He superintended the building of our first war steamer, the *Fulton*, and organized her staff of naval engineers. He also organized and was given command of the school of gunnery at Sandy Hook, and under his supervision a number of young officers were trained to be scientific artillerists, equal, it may be safely said, to any others in the world. The utmost precision was reached in the use of shell guns, the fruits of which were seen in the arm-

ing of our ships with guns having the power of horizontal shell fire, and the superb practice shown ten years later at Vera Cruz. Perry was a man of advanced ideas, at home in the forefront of science and invention as well as their application. He sometimes tried the temper of inventors who lived in the clouds and fed on azure, yet he gave all, however visionary, a fair chance, for he believed in constant progress. He foresaw the necessity of rifled ordnance and armor, and actually anticipated the idea of sinking a ship by propulsion.

It was a trivial incident that revealed to him the possibility of restor-



COMMODORE PERRY MEETING THE JAPANESE COMMISSIONERS.

[March 8, 1854.]

ing the rostrum to the ship's prow and reproducing the old trireme's chief weapon in modern warfare. While on her way to Sandy Hook, in New York Bay, the *Fulton* came into glancing collision with a schooner. The tremendous damage done by accident at an angle, suggested what might be accomplished by a blow amidships under a full head of steam, were the prow of a war steamer armed with an iron beak. After an inquiry into the responsibility of the accident, Perry set himself to work to demonstrate mathematically the force of impact possessed by a steam ram. He forwarded his suggestion in a paper to the department. It was pigeon-holed, and it was forgotten that an American officer ever suggested it. Yet this was twenty-five years before *La Gloire* was launched. He

also studied the laws of the tides and the best methods of scientific light-houses, and in 1839 was sent on a special mission to Europe to examine into steam tactics, gunnery, lights, reflectors, and steam appliances. In England he met Lady Franklin, and, in France, Fresnel and Louis Philippe. On his return, at Perry's suggestion, the lights on Navesink Highlands were erected. It is those lights which the traveler last looks upon as he crosses the ocean to Europe.

In the fullest sense of the word, Commodore Perry was an educator of the navy. Whether in Africa, Europe, Japan, or at home, he was a tireless worker, who strove to keep officers and men busy, and up to the highest point of discipline and professional excellence. He spared neither himself nor others, yet was scrupulously just and impartial, ever as careful of the sailor as of the officer. As our own illustrious Admiral David D. Porter, in a private letter to the writer, says: "I consider that Commodore M. C. Perry was one of the first officers we ever had in our navy—far superior to his brother Oliver. He had not much ideality about him, but he had a stolid matter-of-fact way of doing things that pleased me mightily."

From 1840 to 1843, Perry lived at Tarrytown, New York. Building a cottage there, which he fitly named "The Moorings," he, for the first time since childhood, made the close acquaintance of Mother Earth, and reveled in the bucolic enjoyments of raising vegetables. Washington Irving was his neighbor and life-long friend. Coming to Brooklyn daily, being then in command of the Navy Yard, he was actively interested in the details of construction of the splendid steam-frigates *Mississippi* and *Missouri*, and perfecting the steam service both as to men and material. How necessary this was, is seen in the fact that in the Mexican campaign steamers were used in war for the first time, when, too, but very few officers, and Perry *facile princeps*, were able to command them. The average naval officer of that day must of necessity be dependent wholly on his engineer, and usually was even more concerned about his boilers and steam gauge than about his enemy's batteries.

In 1843 the Ashburton treaty was negotiated, by which England and the United States bound themselves to mutually assist in the extirpation of the African slave trade. Perry was appointed to command the one-hundred-gun fleet which, under the American flag, was to assist in rubbing out "the sum of all villainies." At this time the "Broad-pennant," which figures so prominently in the literature of the time, was the insignia of a commodore's presence on the flag-ship of a squadron. A commodore then was only a captain with honors, though now, and since 1862, the rank is

recognized with emolument, as between captain and rear-admiral. Perry's broad pennant was hoisted on the *Macedonian*, a superb and oft-captured ship, which sailed equally well under French, British and American colors. For three years on the African coast Perry acted the part of "a great missionary and civilizer." On one occasion at a parley with King Crack-O, the dusky chief attempting treachery seized the burly commodore, and attempted to drag him off and dispatch him with his ponderous iron spear. The bullet of a sergeant of marines saved the officer, and an economical use of powder and ball from the sailors made the coast safe for a thousand miles. With tireless energy our missionaries and teachers were protected,

*Done at Kanagawa this thirty first
day of March in the Year of our Lord
Jesus Christ, One thousand eight hundred
and fifty four, and of Kaei, the Seventh
Year, third month and Third-day.*

A stylized, cursive signature of Matthew Calbraith Perry, written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and elegant, with a prominent 'M' and 'P'.

[THE LAST CLAUSE OF THE FIRST JAPANESE TREATY, WITH SIGNATURE, TRACED FROM THE ORIGINAL TREATY
IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON.]

and the Portuguese and other foreign slave-peddlers were ferreted out, and the world's stock of villainy considerably reduced. The ocean slave trade as an institution soon ceased to exist.

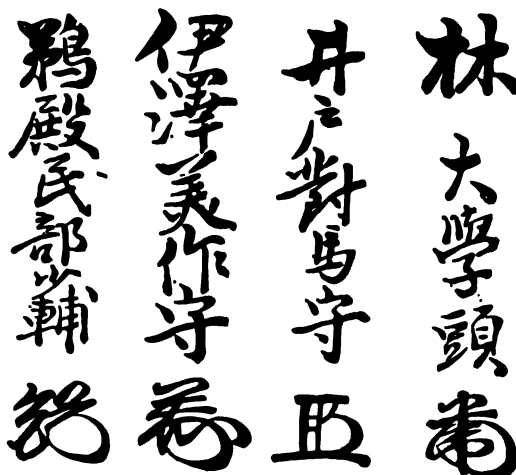
Scarcely had the broad pennant of the commodore been lowered at Brooklyn again, than the Mexican War broke out, and in response to his eager offer to enter active service, Perry was ordered to the Gulf. The squadron was divided into two divisions of steam and sail vessels, and Perry was ordered to command those that carried their motor within them. No sooner was the name of Matthew Calbraith Perry announced as leader than the young officers, especially the graduates of the School of Gunnery, were aflame with desire to serve under him. To reach his post, Perry took outside quarters on the *Vixen*, and not long after his arrival, Commodore Connor retiring, he was given command of the largest squadron which up to this

time had ever assembled under the American flag. General Scott's army had been disembarked by Commodore Connor in magnificent style at Vera Cruz without the loss of a man, and the circumvallation and siege of the city—the key to the conquest of the whole country—had begun. But the army had nothing but a few light cannon and mortars. These killed numerous women and children, spoiled the house and church roofs and made promenading in the city disagreeable, while the fighting men were safe and walls remained intact. With provisions, Vera Cruz might have held out for six months. One benefit of a navy is that it is a permanent fortification, constantly ready, and yet its heavy batteries are movable. Little as he liked, much as he disliked, Winfield Scott—a great man in great things, a little man in little things—made request of the commodore for a set of heavy navy guns to breach the walls, proposing, however, to man them with his own artillerists, that the army might win all the glory. Would the commander of the naval forces grant the general of the army's request? The reply of Perry was characteristic, "Certainly, general, but I must fight them." Scott had to yield the point, and Perry at once rowed in person under the stern of each of the ships, announcing that the navy should take part in the siege. The naval battery was built and the heaviest and most efficient artillery then known in warfare was set at 800 yards from the walls. The guns had to be dragged through the sand three miles, and the engineer of the redoubt was Robert E. Lee. The naval captains in command day by day were Aulick and Mayo, and among the officers were Raphael Semmes, Alex. Slidell Mackenzie, and many others who have since made their mark. The chaparral was cleared away and the battery unmasked and set in activity. The accuracy, rapidity and force of the firing were astonishing, and exceeded even the anticipations of the naval officers themselves. It may be safely said that the naval battery at Vera Cruz attained the highest point of excellence in gunnery which up to that date had ever been reached. In spite of the concentrated fire of the city forts and the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa, the Mexican walls were within thirty-six hours, first pierced like a colander, and then breached to the width of a hay-wagon. Every Mexican gun within range was silenced, and the way opened for the army to enter. Most of the blood spilled and lives lost on our side were inside the naval battery. It was proposed to form a storming party, and the sailors and marines were to form the forlorn hope. But the enemy cried "hold, enough." The white flag entered the American camp, and the city surrendered. With only the army mortars and field guns, the city might have held out for six months, or at least till the *vomito* and the *norther*, yellow fever and storms, had done their work.

The heavy ordnance from the ships settled the question in two days, broke the seals from the road to the capital, and held the coast, while the army moved to the salubrious highlands.

Here let us pause—we unmilitary folks who know how history is sometimes written, but who cannot always get at the truth, because it lies so deep down in the well, and the surface waters cover it—and let us see how the naval history of the Mexican war has been thus far treated. Read the contemporary newspapers, and you will find the praises of our army in Mexico sounded without stint, while the navy receives chiefly sneers and editorial castigation. Consult the average popular histories—and I have looked into dozens—and you wonder whether we had any navy at this time. Read—and this is the worst—even Winfield Scott's official report. Hear him while he blows the Triton's horn for his soldiers—and forgets not the "*magna pars fui*" for himself. The sole reference in a voluminous report to the navy's assistance is limited to an ambiguous line or two—"the able co-operation of the United States squadron successively under the command of Commodores Connor and Perry." And mark again how a great man can be little where you expect him to be great. In his autobiography he neither once refers to the naval battery, nor mentions the name of Commodore Perry. Further, on the inscriptions on the trophies of Vera Cruz placed by him in the Museum at West Point no mention of Perry's work was made. The navy was again utterly ignored, and only on the remonstrance of the naval chief was justice partially done, and the inscription enlarged to include both arms of the service.

Well may we declare that the naval history of that war has not been written. Yet Vera Cruz does not end the record of what our sailors accomplished. Laguna, Tobasco, and Tuspan were attacked and captured



THE FOUR JAPANESE SIGNATURES TO THE FIRST JAPANESE TREATY, FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

HAYASHI-DAIGAKU-NOKAMI.

IDO, PRINCE OF TSUS-SIMA.

IZAWA, PRINCE OF MIMASAKI.

UDONO, MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE.

by Commodore Perry, who led his men in person. Whether on the quarter-deck or in the face of the rifle-fire from chaparral, or among the whizzing balls from the batteries, he showed the same personal courage which marks all the Perrys from the Quaker to the Congressman. In addition to his warlike exploits, he administered the ports, policed the coast, examined the isthmus of Tehuantepec for the trans-continental canal of the future, and secured the sea-board provinces so perfectly, that Scott's inland campaign was made a success. Understanding the art of hygiene as thoroughly as that of manœuvring a fleet, he saved his command from the scourge of yellow fever, so that comparatively few filled those "hospitable graves" to which they were invited both in congressional rhetoric and by the copper bullets of the Mexicans.

No sooner was the commodore at home, than the vexed question of the Canadian fisheries loomed up, and he was sent by President Fillmore into the North Atlantic to adjust the question. A collision was avoided, there was no war with England, and the way was paved for that final arbitration which has been the triumph of our day, whether in the sum we first gained or secondly lost. At his home in Tarrytown he now began to study the question of opening Japan. He imported books and charts from Europe; for the country which is now our nearest western neighbor was then little more to us than a name. On account of preoccupation in this new enterprise, he declined the presidency of the Light House Board, the pioneer of whose organization he had been. As the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, was busy with other matters, and seemed to delay instructions to the commodore—since the delicate business of opening a jealous and secluded nation had no precedent in American diplomacy—Perry wrote them himself. He forwarded them to the Secretary of State, and they were approved, almost without an erasure or interlineation. Thus armed, Perry went forth like the fair prince to open the barred castle of Thornrose. It was with a kiss, and not with a blow, that the sleeping maiden of the Eastern sea was won. Perry could strike from the shoulder, his guns were the guns of Vera Cruz, and his Paixhan shells could have laid Yedo in ashes in half a day; but he chose rather to out-Chesterfield these Oriental Chesterfields in the minuteness, severity and suavity of his etiquette. With time, with patience, with firmness, with delicacy equal to that demanded in a first-class flirtation, with sublime attention to details, with a terrible earnestness that brooked no trifling, Perry succeeded. Thornrose awoke, her warders drew back the bolts, and opened the doors. Where before we felt the thorn we now possess the rose. Into the minutiae of that diplomatic victory we do not propose to enter. The story is known to the world. It is

not one of those personal triumphs that shrivel into insignificance when critically examined. Rather does fresh research but enhance the splendor of the victory.

The sailor-diplomat on his return, now became author, and in his office at Washington, with a secretary, a couple of his faithful officers, and a Japanese servant, the big book of the Narrative of the Japan Expedition grew into form. Dr. Robert Toombs compiled an introductory chapter, the Rev. Dr. Francis Hawks wrote a preface, the brothers Evert and George Duyckinck furnished the index ; maps, scientific papers, and surveys by naval officers, and letter-press descriptions for the plates by experts, were contributed ; but the text of the narrative was from Perry's own hand and brain. Accustomed to the constant perusal and

copying for practice of the English classics, the commodore was already master of a terse, graphic English style, while his book is all the better history because it is the autograph story of an eyewitness. It is written in the third person.

The printing of the work illustrates the methods of our Government publishing house. The work cost \$360,000, and 18,000 copies were printed, an extra set of 200, with special illustrations, being sent to the governments of the world. 15,000



OBVERSE OF GOLD MEDAL FROM THE MERCHANTS OF BOSTON.



REVERSE OF GOLD MEDAL.

copies were ordered by Congress for members, each receiving 50 sets of the work, 3,000 copies were allowed to the officers of the squadron, of which Perry received 1,000. He presented 500 copies to Dr. Hawks, chiefly for putting his name to the work and writing the preface; so that all the extra pay, bounty, reward, or pension the commodore received from a grateful country for his triumph was 500 copies of his own book. When he died, his widow was most reluctantly accorded a niggardly pension, while neither officers nor crew received an extra dollar for the service which had so raised our national prestige in the eyes of the world. Compare with this the medals, orations, gifts, pensions and honors, both popular and official, granted to Oliver Hazard Perry and to many other naval officers, and one may well wonder whether we are a warlike or a peaceful people. Perhaps we lack the capacity of perception, or are economical in the wrong way.

The last public service performed by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry was as a member of the Naval Retiring Board. He was to have been given command of the European squadron, but after a short sickness, he died in New York, March 4, 1858. At his funeral services his own sailors and marines attended in a body, and the simple fife and drum music seemed to the listeners and spectators profoundly impressive from its very simplicity. He lies buried at Newport, beside the dust of that mother on whose bosom he first learned the worth of life, whose memory he worshiped through all his career, and beside whose relics he wished to sleep in death. Loving hands have erected a fitting memorial in marble over his grave.

His lineaments and form are preserved to us in an excellent marble bust by Palmer, of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. August Belmont, his daughter. A bronze statue, heroic size, on a granite pedestal adorned with bronze bas-reliefs, representing experiences in Africa, Mexico and Japan, by J. Q. A. Ward, stands in Touro Park, Newport. It was erected by Mr. Belmont, and unveiled October 1, 1868. In the Brooklyn Naval Lyceum, and in the library of the Annapolis Naval Academy, hang oil portraits, and his features are also represented on the gold medal struck by the merchants of Boston to commemorate the opening of Japan. In the Mikado's Empire the name of Perry is ever mentioned with honor, and a short time ago the Japanese merchants of Yokohama, entirely of their own accord, gave a banquet to celebrate the signing of Perry's treaty, in which speeches in their own language set forth at length the benefits which their country had received by Perry's visits.

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry was indeed a typical American

naval officer, a link between the old and the new, the present and the past. Had he lived until the outbreak of the rebellion, he would undoubtedly have won further distinction; for he was a man of advanced ideas, ever ready for the new and inevitable. As it was, few American citizens in any arm of the public service, military, naval, or diplomatic, have done more for the lasting good of their country. Nor have the fruits of his life ceased since his death, either in war or peace. When the *Alabama* sank from the sight of the sun with her wandering stars and the bars of slavery after her into the ocean's grave, the guns that sent her down were directed by Thornton, the efficient executive officer of the *Kearsarge*, and the favorite pupil of Commodore Perry; while thirty years of peaceful national progress in Japan testify that the victories of peace are none the less renowned than those of war.

Wm. Elliot Griffis.

THE HEART OF LOUISIANA

THE PLACE D'ARMES IN HISTORY

When Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, French Governor of Louisiana, sent his engineer to the site of the present city of New Orleans in the year 1720, to map out the plan of the contemplated capital of the Province, the engineer, drawing his lines in the shape of a parallelogram extending four hundred feet along the river, and eighteen hundred feet toward the rear, inclosed within the limits of the future city a few shabby soldiers huts and Government warehouses erected two years before.* This was the beginning of New Orleans.

The engineer's task was not a pleasant one. The ground was swampy and overgrown with a rank semi-tropical vegetation. Here and there a small bayou wound its way through thickets of willow copses, latanier, tall reeds and grasses, low palmetto trees, cypresses moss-draped, and creeping vines. His feet, and those of his assistants, sank at almost every step in the ooze, or were immersed in the waters of dark pools. But after a while, when the task was completed, and the stakes planted, imaginary streets were marked out in the parallelogram around which were driven palisades as a measure of defense, ditches being dug to receive the rains and the superabundant water of the earth. Of the section of swamp thus reclaimed, one square fronting immediately on the river and situated in the exact center of the length of the parallelogram, was reserved for the service of the State. It was intended for a parade and review ground, and its destiny was to become, in time, the Place d'Armes of the French, the Plaza de Armas of the Spaniards, and the Jackson Square of the Americans. Even in that first hour of its existence it constituted, what it has continued to be to our day, the "Heart of Louisiana." That this square should have been made the center of the frontage of the city's plan was due to the circumstance that, when the engineer began his task of survey he found on the site of the present Cathedral of St. Louis, just behind the locality selected for the Place d'Armes, a rude building, little more than a shed, which had been constructed hastily by the first settlers in 1718, as a place for religious worship. This section of a square was therefore reserved, at the same time, for the necessities of the Church, where it was decided to build

* Bienville was the son of Charles Le Moyne, and the third of four brothers—Iberville, Sauvolle, Bienville and Châteaugay—all of whom played important parts in the history of Louisiana. See Frontispiece.

the parish church, with other religious establishments, convents, etc. Therefore, Bienville's engineer drew the outlines of the future city around the primitive church-building, and the marshy open space, which in the



SWAMP SCENE.

coming years were to teem with so many memories—memories of strange, sad and joyous incidents, of gala days and days of mourning, of festivities and marriages and christenings and funerals; of the pageantry and alarms of war, and of the gradual unfolding, within a single century of time, of the civil authority of four dominations,

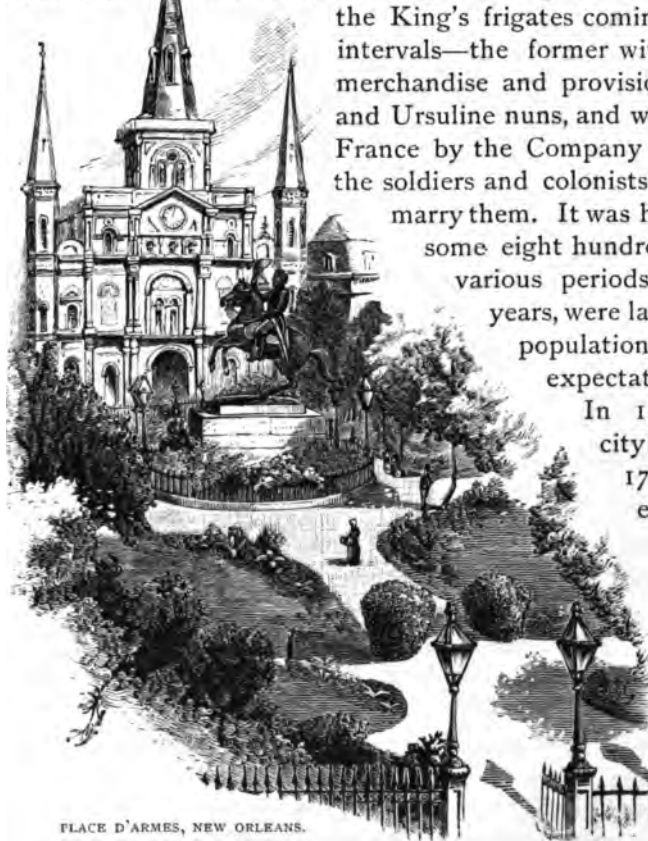
which successively reared, above the spot from which the musing and worshipping Indian once had contemplated the swift flow of his great Meschacébé, the golden lilies of France, the castellated flag of Spain, the Stars and Stripes of the United States and the Stars and Bars of the Confederate States.

Around the Place d'Armes in those days of the city's youth, gathered that singular mosaic of humanity whose presence marked the first years of Europeanized Louisiana, where, as it were in a sort of *villegiatura*, and as if suddenly dropped from the clouds, Bienville and his officers of the Infantry of the Marine, cadets, most of them, of noble families of France, alternated their time in combating reptiles and the insects of the locality, and discussing the freshest *chroniques scandaleuses* of Versailles—the latest eccentricity of Monsieur the Regent, the last adventure of Mme. la Duchesse or of Mademoiselle, his daughters, the newest conquest of Richelieu, brought to them by the most recent arrival from the port of Orient in France.

Though the Place d'Armes (for in this sketch of its associations I shall give it its French Colonial name) be the heart of the ancient city, it is a quiet spot, lying in quiet precincts, measurably apart from the ebb and flow of the city's newer and busier life. An iron railing incloses it; at its back, overlooking it, is the Cathedral, with the old Cabildo, and its sister structure, of Spanish days, flanking it on either side. The streets on its northern and southern sides are occupied by rows of massively built brick houses—the one row a counterpart of the other—erected many years ago by the owner of the property, the Baronne de Pontalba, who was the daughter and heiress of the former proprietor, Don Andres Almonaster, a Spaniard and resident of the city in the last century. Its serpentine and circular walks, amply furnished with iron benches, are covered with broken shells of the mussel species; along its four sides grow the wild orange-trees of Louisiana, their branches heavy, under the balmy February sun, with their fruit of tawny gold, while other tropical trees—the lemon, the fig, the palmetto and the banana—cast their shade on the greensward or blend it with that of evergreens of dense foliage cut into rounded tops. In parterres, symmetrically arranged, flowers and shrubbery and rare plants beautify the spot; and in the center of the Place, with an oblong railing surrounding it, rises an equestrian statue, done in bronze, of Andrew Jackson, the man whose memory New Orleans delights to honor.

Once the Place d'Armes looked out freely on the bosom of the river, with its shipping; but of late years a railroad shed has intervened to obstruct the view. The lounge or the wayfarer passes through the Place from the Rue de Chartres, in the direction of "down-town," to the first of the three or four structures fronting the levee, which constitute the old French Market, famous among the city's antiquities. It was to the site of these rambling markets, built on massive pillars, that one hundred and sixty years ago John Law's Germans were accustomed to come, floating down the river in their pirogues, on the Friday evenings of each week, from their

vegetable farms, a score or so of miles above the city, bringing with them vegetables, fruit, poultry and eggs, which they sold to the citizens, then perhaps three or four hundred in number; and since that early day, remote in the history of New Orleans, the ground has been occupied by the markets. As the years elapsed; as the settlement passed from its stage of hamlet to the dignity of a town, the water-mocassin was gradually banished from the square to take up its abode in company with malefactors and fugitives from the municipal laws, in the tangled wilderness of weeds and grasses in the almost houseless streets, and the deep-throated bull-frog—the noisy *ouararang* of Louisiana swamps—was expelled from his embarrassing lurking-place under the windows of the little church. Then, by degrees, the Place d'Armes began to weave for itself the checkered web of a history that is full of surprises. Along the shore, in its front, were tied the ships of the India Company, and



PLACE D'ARMES, NEW ORLEANS.

the King's frigates coming from the Orient at intervals—the former with their freightage of merchandise and provisions, with missionaries and Ursuline nuns, and women dispatched from France by the Company as wives for those of the soldiers and colonists who might choose to marry them. It was here that these women, some eight hundred or more, arriving at various periods during six or eight years, were landed, with all the male population waiting on tiptoe of expectation to receive them.

In 1730, along the entire city front a levee (built in 1727 by Perier, the Governor) protected the Place and the town from the annual overflows of the river. A carpeting of grass covered the Place, and in the inclosure, as in a new *Campus Martius*, the troops were drilled or passed in

review on gala days. When the Natchez Indians, protesting against the insolence of the French commandant of the post, fell upon the officers and garrison of Fort Rosalie, slaying them and hundreds of Frenchmen, with their families and slaves, the news was brought to New Orleans in hot haste by a terrified survivor. Then, fearful of a general conspiracy and of the total destruction of the European population by the allied Indian nations of Louisiana, Perier called the city and the neighboring plantations, up and down the coast, to arms. In the Place d'Armes that day were throbbing hearts and pallid cheeks, the beat of drums, the tread of soldiers, the lamentations of a people. Muskets and ammunition were distributed among the planters and citizens wherewith to defend themselves from the anticipated attack, and from the Place all men capable of bearing arms were marched to the ramparts. But the shadow of danger passed away, the cloud of apprehension was dispelled; and the last scene of the Massacre of Saint André was enacted in the Place when, some months after the event, the population of the city and the convent of the Ursuline nuns received to their care and hospitality the French women and orphans who had survived the slaughter and subsequently had been surrendered to the authorities by the Natchez. Then the Place d'Armes resumed its old peaceful condition, broken only, as year was joined to year, by the bustle of the parade; the sighs of funeral trains; the whispered vows of lovers; the laughter and talk of the *promenade*; the joyous shouts of children; the chanting of religious processions which found their beginning and their ending in the church opposite; the groans of malefactors condemned to be broken on the wheel or to be sawed to death inclosed between two planks, or of martyrs to principle shot to appease the vengeance of a military tyrant.

Chief of all the tragedies which the Place d'Armes witnessed in those years when men expiated there their crimes or fell beneath the blow of political or military wrath, was the execution of five gallant and country-loving Creoles for the offense of having endeavored to array their fellow-citizens against what they deemed the tyranny of the Spanish Governor, Ulloa, whom they expelled from the city. It was on the 26th of October, 1769, a date memorable in the history of the Colony, that the soil of the Place d'Armes absorbed the blood of these patriots who had proclaimed the "atrocious doctrines," as O'Reilly claimed them to be, that "Liberty is the mother of commerce and population; without liberty there are but few virtues."

Count don Alexander O'Reilly was a man of blended Irish and Spanish blood. He was sent by Spain, when Ulloa was compelled to leave the

city, and it was from the Place d'Armes, where everything began and ended, that he took his departure, as the executor of her vengeance. He



REAR OF ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL.

came to the recalcitrant French city with twenty-four ships containing twenty-six hundred Spanish soldiers, landing in front of the Place d'Armes on the 18th of August. On the side of the square nearest the church, the

French troops were drawn up, Aubry, the representative of France, at their head, and surrounding the Square, in the streets, at windows, and on housetops, were the people, looking on in silence, agitated by conflicting feelings of doubt, fear and suspense. With the new Governor came a glittering following of officers, and after them the shining array of Spanish infantry and artillery, whose massed ranks filled up the three other sides of the inclosure. The solemnity and importance of the occasion was emphasized by the discharge of musketry and of cannon, to which the cannon on the ships answered. In response to Aubry's address of welcome, O'Reilly made a fair reply; the tiger's claw was still concealed in its velvet sheath. The gala was then transferred to the church, where was sung the *Te Deum* amid imposing religious ceremonies. Two months from that day the vengeance that O'Reilly had come to inflict was executed. Again was the Place d'Armes invaded by a throng of soldiers and citizens. O'Reilly had straightened out the tangles, and five of the citizens who had organized the opposition to Spanish rule were now led out to die. Amid profound silence, the books and documents relating to the movement were burnt; amid tears and suppressed utterances the public crier went the round of the Square proclaiming the following decree: "Whereas Nicholas Chauvin de Lafrénière, Pierre Marquis, Joseph Millet, Jean Baptiste de Noyan and Pierre Caresse have been found guilty; they are ordered to be shot for high treason committed against his Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain." A grenadier advanced to bind the eyes of the condemned men. Lafrénière put him aside with his hand, rejecting the proffered mercy. The crier came forward and announced that General O'Reilly spared M. de Noyan in consideration of his youth; but M. de Noyan declared that as he had fought with his friends so would he die with them. Then an officer gave the order to a platoon of dragoons to fire, and with the execution of this order the tragedy was over.

Thirty-three years later the Place d'Armes was the scene of the most important events in its history. Spain transferred Louisiana to France on the 1st of October, 1800. Three years elapsed, however, before France took even the preliminary steps to reclaim her old colony. In the year 1803, while Laussat, the French Colonial Prefect, was waiting in New Orleans for the arrival of General Victor, with troops, to take possession in the name of France, news reached him that Louisiana had been ceded to the United States by Napoleon Bonaparte. The treaty by which this cession was accomplished was signed at Paris on April 30, 1803. "This accession of territory," remarked Napoleon, "strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride."

It was on the 20th of December of the same year, finally, that the ceremony of surrendering the keys of the city by Laussat to the American Commissioners took place in the Place d'Armes. It was a day of parade, of public curiosity, of military display; for in those days the fife and drum and the uniform of the soldier still figured in all great occasions. The flags of the United States, France and Spain all waved, and the troops of the three Powers, together with the militia grenadiers of the city, gazed at each other from opposite sides of the Square. On the streets outside, the inhabitants stood looking on in sullen or indifferent silence. Only when the French tricolor, floating from the pole in the center of the Place, was hauled down and the American flag was raised in its stead, was any emotion manifested; for then a few Americans, who stood together in a group, waved their hats patriotically and mingled their cheers with the salvos of artillery from the forts (for New Orleans was yet a fortified city with forts and ramparts) and from the men-of-war in the river. Before the set of sun the posts and guard-houses were vacated by the local militia and the American troops took possession. This was indeed the red-letter day of the old Place, for on that day of brightness and sunshine closed the thirty-four years of Spanish rule, the twenty days of temporary domination of France, and above the "Heart of Louisiana" waved the flag of Freedom, which had come into its own at last.

But though this 20th of December, 1803, was the *beau jour* of all the *beaux jours* of the Place d'Armes, the spot which already was so replete with memories and associations of more than passing moment was to witness other historical scenes. Of these were the spectacle of the marching away of regiments and battalions, eleven years later, to the field of Chalmette, where was achieved the almost bloodless victory of General Jackson over Pakenham; the home-returning of the victorious soldiers from that battle-ground, won in the cause of liberty; of the honors paid therein to the great Captain who, when the triumph over the invading British was accomplished, standing in the presence of the city's grateful population, gathered there to do honor to the man whose skill and courage had made the cry of "Beauty and booty" an idle threat, was crowned with laurels and covered with roses, cast upon his head and thrown before him as he walked, by the fair hands of fair women. With this ceremony the old heroic past of the Place d'Armes may be said to end; with this tribute to Jackson the curtain that separates its ancient romance from its modern associations fell, never to be lifted again. Through that curtain, as through a mist, we see to the remote days of the Colony. O'Reilly blends in the long vista with Vaudreuil, whom his flatterers and sycophants named "the

Great Marquis," and of whom history affirms that he possessed an excellent cook. Vaudreuil in turn stands like a silhouette, but partially concealing the figure of Bienville, who, rising a colossal actor in the drama of Louisiana's past, almost obscures Iberville. And then, beyond Iberville, the mental vision rests upon the first and the last of the line—La Salle, man of sad destiny, shadowy, lost in the forests of Texas, and falling in the dawn of Colonial days at the hands of traitors and assassins. Here, perforce, our contemplation must pause; for in the historical gloom that lies farther away comes no voice of bard or prophet to teach us of the passing away of the unrecorded generations of men who lived and died in old Louisiana.

And now let us look beyond the railings of the Place d'Armes upon its accessories of Cathedral, of Cabildo and of arcaded houses that inclose it on three of its sides. We saw how, in the city's first years, a shed, called a chapel, occupied the site of the Cathedral. In the year 1723 a hurricane blew down the building and many houses of the town, and the shabby nondescript, which once had served for a storehouse, was replaced in 1725 with a brick church. For more than sixty years this church survived, the only place of worship in the city. Within its walls for that long period were celebrated the weddings, the christenings, and the funerals of the citizens. In the year 1788 a great conflagration swept over New Orleans and the church was destroyed. It was succeeded by the Cathedral of St. Louis, begun in 1792 and completed in 1794. About the same time were erected the two remarkable buildings situated to the right and the left of the Cathedral, and which seem a fitting frame for that venerable pile. They are all gray together—as gray as *palacios* of Fontarabia—and together, with their arches and their arcaded walks, they give to the west side of the Place a picturesque air of a section of the *piazza* of St. Mark. Of these edifices, one was during Spanish days the Cabildo, where sat the Superior Council of the Colony. The other was built for a presbytery. They both have figured largely in the story of life and incident which for the past eighty or ninety years has illustrated the fortunes of the Place d'Armes.

• *Mark Smith.*

[For two of the illustrations to this article—the Swamp Scene and the Rear of Cathedral—the Magazine is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Will H. Coleman, publisher of the Historical Sketch Book of New Orleans.—EDITOR.]

THE FALLACY OF 1776

In the later half of the eighteenth century, two classes of colonies were connected with Great Britain. Colonies by conquest, as Jamaica and Canada; colonies by settlement, as those which became the United States. The political relation of the former was settled by the common consent of mankind and the usage of ages; that of the latter had not been so defined, no colonies under similar conditions having ever before existed. The ties between the mother country and those colonies were many and strong. A common ancestry, a common language, a common religion, common political traditions, common pride of race, and a common share in the memories of the past, the objects of the present, and the hopes of the future. As in all political connections between a stronger and a weaker, there had been some lack of equity, but none sufficient to shake the loyalty of the colonists to the crown, or to weaken their affection for the English People. That condition of things might have remained unchanged for many years. It could not if either side chose to draw a line and so force an issue. Neighbors with adjacent open land may be careless of metes and bounds, and indulgent to occasional apparent trespass, but if one begins to run a fence the other turns to his title-deeds. England, as the stronger always will, drew the line and forced the issue. The colonies accepted the contest. The question was single and simple, wrong must have been wholly on one side or the other. Walpole, upon a suggestion to tax the colonies, replied, "Who does must be a bolder man than I, and less a friend to the British Constitution." The bolder man appeared and taxation was attempted. It was not heavy; its returns would not have paid the cost of an army for a week. The colonists had before contributed free-will offerings when the equity of such contributions was manifest; they were ready to do so again. Willing to give, they denied the right of England to take upon the question of rights; it seemed to them, as it undoubtedly is, more wise, and equally safe, to fight upon the first aggression. Submission makes a precedent for future encroachment. The debate which preceded the armed conflict, so far from convincing either, confirmed both in their convictions. This was inevitable, for their premises differed, and reasoning from them developed conclusions so startling and repugnant that one of the disputants must yield, or be made to. The irreconcilable discord between those premises deserves to be carefully

examined and fully appreciated, as it not only accounts for the collision between Great Britain and the colonies, but explains the political history of the latter after they became the United States. From the contracts of their ancestors the colonists deduced the rights they claimed. After the battle of Hastings, William of Normandy was master of England. Part of its territory he divided among his men at arms, to be held upon feudal tenures; part he took for the crown, the rest he allowed to the conquered. The feudal system was a system of contract. If the feudal tenant performed his part of the contract he had discharged all duty, and if the overlord tried to get more he might be legally resisted. Any contest which ensued was held to be legitimate war. After the Great Charter and its numerous confirmations all free subjects were entitled to perfect personal security and the complete enjoyment of property. If the king wanted aid he asked for it. His subjects sent delegates to confer with him, they usually granted, but they might legally refuse. "If the king stepped over the constitutional line they claimed the right to step over it themselves, and, that failing, promptly armed and appealed to the God of Battles." Subject to those limitations the king certainly, as to all external matters, was the government of England. Title to land in America was in him. He dealt with it as he pleased. To have value it must be peopled. Therefore he gave tracts to emigrants upon a tenure and rental, together with charters creating them bodies politic and corporate, and assuring to them the rights and privileges of Englishmen. The transaction was wholly between the King and the emigrants. England as a nation did not furnish a penny or a man. The immigrants were to form communities of which the King of England was to be king, and the relation between him and those subjects was easily and clearly defined. Whatever rights and privileges his English subjects then had, or should thereafter have, his American subjects should have also. The bargain was one of reciprocal advantages, a consideration passing on both sides. All political systems in the United States start from contract as a basis; all political systems in Europe start from conquest as a basis. This difference explains why foreigners so constantly misjudge our political action. Even intelligent Englishmen professing admiration of our institutions, in reasoning upon them, sometimes fail to remember the distinction between governments originated by contract and governments originated by force. Under those charters the colonists had organized society. The colonies all had a legislature and a judiciary of their choice, and an executive, the king. They had warred with enslaved or exterminated native tribes, had coined money, issued paper money, pledged public credit, raised and employed forces for land and sea service,

persecuted dissidents, and hanged Quakers and witches. The conclusion they drew, when forced to a logical conclusion, was that they were nations as distinct from and bearing the same relation to England as Scotland before the Union, or Hanover at that time—subjects of the king but not subjects of his subjects. They did not press this argument until their lower claim of immunity from taxation under their charter contract was denied. Their hearts yearned for the old friendly relations, but if they were to be accounted inferiors, even disastrous war could not aggravate their servitude, and must leave them their self-respect. The English argument is nowhere so clearly stated and so closely reasoned as in the "Taxation no Tyranny." The premises of that very able paper are these: Land in the colonies is legally the territory of England, the colonists are units of the English nation, Parliament is their Parliament, in which they are virtually represented just as the much greater number of Englishmen who have no votes are virtually represented, therefore that Parliament confessedly, if it has any authority, supreme, may legally alter or repeal any charter and impose any law or duty. England, from the nature of things, the stronger in numbers and wealth, as the preponderant element in the nation ought to be what she is, the superior, and the colonies ought to be what they are not, obedient. If the premises were true, the conclusions were correct, and the Americans must have been what they seemed to be to Johnson, and to at least three-fourths of his countrymen, mean from avarice and malignant from obstinacy. But the premises were utterly baseless. A nation is a fact not a phrase. The word has but one meaning, has never had but one meaning, and as the human mind is constituted can have no other. A nation is an aggregation of human beings inhabiting a defined portion of the earth, coalesced by consent or compacted by conquest into a general co-partnership having for each other feelings very different from those they entertain toward the rest of mankind, extending among themselves sympathy and distributing selfishness. In such a community there is one sovereignty, Force, whether that resides in the few or in the many, and one standard of right and wrong, its Will.

"In sovereignty there are no gradations. There must be in every society some power from which there is no appeal, which admits no restrictions, which pervades the whole mass of the community, regulates and adjusts all subordination, enacts laws and repeals them, erects or annuls judicatures, extends or controls privileges, exempt itself from question or control, and bounded only by physical necessity. By this power, wherever it subsists, all legislation is animated and controlled. From this all legal rights are emanations, which, whether equitably or not, may be legally re-

called. It is not infallible, for it may do wrong, but it is irresistible, for it can only be resisted by rebellion, by an act which makes it questionable what shall thenceforward be the supreme power." This truth, familiar to antiquity, is admitted by men of all shades of opinion from Johnson the Tory to Mill the Radical. It should have been apparent to Johnson, from his own definition of sovereignty, that communities not under one single and exclusive government cannot be a nation. This objection indeed so pressed upon him that he could find no escape but in the assumption that a colony and a county were identical. Sovereignty and government are two different things, though Johnson, as many others before and since, have confounded them. Sovereignty makes and unmakes governments. Within the life of Johnson's father the army which had defeated Charles I. was the force, the sovereign power in England, though it did not represent one-fourth of the opinion of England. It sought to establish a government with Charles as king. Agreement failing, it struck off his head. It sought to make a government through Parliament, but as Parliament wished to dictate terms, it was turned out of doors. The army then set up Oliver Cromwell; it pulled down Richard Cromwell. It ruled England as absolutely as William the Conqueror, until through division it ceased to be the Force, and then it quietly melted away. Government in a nation is a treaty of peace between the stronger and the weaker, with the requisite machinery for maintaining it. Between communities politically connected, no matter how fast or loose the tie, government is a treaty between equals and the machinery for administering its provisions. England, unmindful or unconscious of the distinction, assumed mastery. If the practical wisdom of her greatest minister, or the genius of her greatest philosophical statesman, could have saved her from a silly scheme of discord (as all now see), they were not wanting. Chatham not merely justified the colonists in their refusal to submit to taxation, but in armed resistance to taxation. He reminded the Lords that what is called the British Constitution, is the application in practice of certain principles, of which representation inseparable from taxation is one, and that the colonists had been guaranteed the protection of that principle. He warned them that carelessness of Constitutional restraints would injure England in the future as well as America in the present, and prescient of that future pointed to France and Spain eagerly watching the maturity of error for an opportunity of war. Burke refused to discuss any abstract proposition. He turned to history for the lessons of wisdom, and drew from it his argument for peace.

"The people of the colonies are the descendants of Englishmen.

England is a nation which I hope still respects, and once adored her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when that part of your character was most predominant, and they took the bias and direction the moment they parted. They are therefore devoted not only to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. It inheres in some sensible object, and every nation has formed to itself some favorite point which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of its happiness. The great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders in the State. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised, and the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction on this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usages to reside in a certain body called a House of Commons. They went much farther; they attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as the immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate as a fundamental principle that in all monarchies the people must themselves mediate or immediately possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could exist. The colonists drew from you as with their life-blood these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, is fixed and attached on this specific point of taxation. Liberty might be safe or be endangered in twenty other particulars without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse, and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general maxims to their own case. It is not easy, indeed, to make a monopoly of themselves and corollaries. The fact is that they did apply those general arguments, and your mode of governing them—whether through levity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake—confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in those common principles." To the claim that the colonists were units of a nation, and that the acknowledgment of their right to keep or give their money would destroy the unity of the

empire, his answer was conclusive, unless words are too elastic a material for the foundation of any belief.

"Perhaps I am mistaken in my idea of an empire as distinguished from a single state or kingdom. An empire is an aggregate of many states under one common head, whether that head be a monarch or a presiding republic. It does in such constitutions frequently happen, and nothing but the dismal, cold, dead, uniformity of servitude can prevent its happening, that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between those privileges and the supreme common authority, the line may be extremely nice. Of course disputes, often, too, very bitter disputes, and much ill blood will arise. Now in such unfortunate quarrels among the component parts of a great political union of communities, I can scarcely conceive anything more completely imprudent than for the head of the empire to insist that if any privilege is pleaded against his will or acts that his whole authority is denied, instantly to proclaim rebellion and to put the offending province to the ban. It is said that the power of granting vested in the American assemblies would dissolve the unity of the empire. I do not know what this unity means, nor has it ever been heard of, that I know, in the constitutional policy of this country. The very idea of subordination of parts excludes the notion of simple and undivided unity. England is the head, but she is not the head and the members too. My hold on the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are the ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, and they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. Deny them this participation of freedom and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve the unity of the empire." The resolutions of Burke, framed in the spirit of his speech, were negatived by 270 to 78, and the preponderance of opinion was even greater in the nation than in the house. Possibly in proportion to population, as many Americans thought England in the right, as there were Englishmen who thought her in the wrong. That the Ministry and the English people were insincere and consciously unjust, is far from the truth. The causes of their mistake are apparent. After a series of civil contests and two revolutions, the power of the crown had

passed to the nation, but the old forms were preserved and all service, civil or military, is still Her Majesty's. Whatever right of government the king had over the colonies, had with their full assent passed with the rest of his powers. Great Britain stood in his place. But no more could pass than he had possessed. Power is easily seen; limitation easily overlooked. Had either of the Stuarts attempted such taxation, Englishmen would have seen in that source of strength to the throne, as much danger to themselves as injustice to others. Had George III. claimed it as a right within his prerogative the kingdom would have risen in opposition. But taxation of Americans by Parliament seemed natural and proper to men whom it yearly taxed. The habit of constantly recognizing that authority as supreme by one portion of British subjects made the denial by another portion of British subjects appear not only unequal, but factious. Party spirit aided the delusion. Bitterness, absent from the taxation and tyranny against the colonists, is intense against these English advocates. "Far be it from an Englishman to thirst for the blood of his fellow subjects. Those who most deserve our resentment are unhappily at a less distance. The Americans, when the Stamp Act was first proposed, disliked it undoubtedly, as every nation dislikes an impost, but they had no thought of resisting it, till they were encouraged and incited by European intelligence from men whom they thought their friends, but who were friends only to themselves. On the original contrivers of mischief let an insulted nation pour out its vengeance. With whatever design they have inflamed this pernicious contest, they are themselves equally detestable. If they wish the success of the colonies, they are traitors to this country; if they wish their defeat, they are traitors at once to America and to England. To them and to them only must be imputed the interruption of commerce, and the miseries of war, the sorrow of those that shall be ruined, and the blood of those that fall." All the harm wished to the colonists is, "That those who now bellow as patriots, bluster as soldiers, and domineer as legislators, may sink into sober merchants and silent planters, peaceably, diligent and securely rich." Of all the arguments in Johnson's work this is the most shallow but the most effective. It enlists the pride of courage and the weakness of timidity. In every community he who strives to prove to his country the injustice of a passion and opposes its gratification will be a victim, if it succeeds, and a mourner if it fails. Again, the application of the principle of majorities and minorities, confused the British mind. That upon a controverted constitutional point, three millions should not defer to eight millions, appeared arrogant. They forgot that the principle is only justly applicable, when interests and consequences are iden-

tical, and when otherwise it is mere despotism. To crown all, the very liberality of the colonists told against them. They had given, "given to satiety," and were ready to give again. If they were willing to part with their money, collision upon a form of transfer, seemed not merely the unreasonable but the wickedness of pride. That England was in the wrong is undeniable, but no nation with a desire to be gratified has ever yet been honest enough in its dealings with another to cast the first stone at her. War came of course. Between communities of equal civilization and spirit, the result is a question of resources. "The last louis-d'or wins." England would have subjugated the colonies if France had not from the beginning secretly encouraged and aided them, to become soon an open ally. Then the disparity of force shifted, and England was forced to admit each State to be the independent community which the Declaration of Independence had announced to the world. The fate of that famous paper is singular; for more than fifty years it has been assumed to mean what it does not say, and not to mean what it does say, though there never has been a collection of words of which the intention is more palpable or the expression more clear. Its propositions are four—that men are created free and equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that men to secure those rights, form communities and institute governments; that all just governments are based on the consent of the governed; and that a community may alter its form of government or make a new one. These it terms self-evident. That man in a state of nature may do as he likes and take what he wants, is undeniable, but, as every other man is equally free, the plus one is minus an infinity of plus ones, and men have not got beyond the condition of beasts. When men form into communities they do not, as is commonly and erroneously said, give up anything; they exchange so much responsibility for so much security. Therefore, there must have been an agreement either by consent or assent. Then the first step toward civilization was contract, and every succeeding step will be found to be contract. Genesis is full of contracts. God even is represented as covenanting with man. The third proposition thus becomes self-evident. A just government is independent of form or attributes, or the opinion of any but the governed. It may be a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy; if the governed are satisfied, others cannot object. When the French Assembly announced a propaganda of its faith, Mr. Pitt said to Malet, its secret envoy: "What you Frenchmen do to one another is none of our business, but if you meddle with us, you mean war." That men in the absence of contract, have rights as to other men; that men who had nothing to do with the formation of a community, have the right to become mem-

bers of it, or that one community has the right to sit in judgment upon another community, may now be self-evident truths, but they are not those of the Declaration. The colonists had no quarrel with Great Britain upon the rights of man in the abstract, but upon the rights of contracting man and connected communities. The fourth self-evident proposition, whatever its inherent equity, cannot be self-evident, for the descendants of men who fought seven years to establish it, fought four years to overthrow it. Perhaps it was only self-evident against England, for the difference between your bull goring my ox and my bull goring your ox has not diminished since the days of *Æsop*. The self-evident proposition now is, that communities politically connected, if they cannot agree, must separate peaceably, or fight, and if they fight, that God, as in the old wager of battle, must be assumed to have determined the right by the victory.

Before the Declaration, how far the human mind had been able to settle upon right and wrong was voiced by Hobbes: "The force of words being too weak to hold men to their covenants, there are in human nature but two imaginable helps to it. Either a fear of the consequences of breaking their word, or a glory or pride in appearing not to need to break it. The latter is a generosity too rarely found, to be presumed on, especially in the pursuers of wealth, command, or sensual pleasure, which are the greater part of mankind. But though men be never so willing to observe their covenants, there may questions arise concerning a man's action; first, whether it were done, or not done; secondly, if done, whether against the law or not; the former whereof is called a question of fact, the latter a question of right. Therefore, unless the parties to the question covenant mutually to stand to the sentence of another, they are as far from peace as ever. This other to whose sentence they submit, is called an arbitrator, and therefore it is a law of nature, that they that are at controversy submit their right to the judgment of an arbitrator. And seeing that every man is presumed to do all things in order to his benefit, no man is fit to be an arbitrator in his own cause; and if he were never so fit, yet equity allowing each party equal benefit, if one be admitted to judge, the other is to be admitted also; and so the controversy, that is, the cause of war, remains against the law of nature. For the same reason no man in any cause ought to be admitted for an arbitrator to whom greater profit or honor or pleasure apparently ariseth out of the victory of one party than of the other, for he hath taken, though an unavoidable bribe, yet a bribe, and no man can be obliged to trust him. And thus also the controversy, and the condition of war, remaineth contrary to the law of nature." The colonists went one step farther than Hobbes. They proclaimed that communities being by

received international law equal, in case of controversies which otherwise could only be settled by the sword, any contract between them must be considered canceled, as neither had any more claim to be right than the other, and the strain upon human nature is much greater to submit than not to command. They were compelled to that conclusion by the unbroken experience of the world, that the weak never attack the strong, nor the strong fail to attack the weak. Whatever their course of reasoning, they flattered themselves that they announced a fundamental principle in politics, a safeguard to liberty and a guarantee of peace and good-will among men.

When the States met in convention to amend the articles of Confederation, the mind of the majority of men in all the States not only believed in the "self-evident truths" as an evangel of Liberty and Peace, but also that any unlimited government must sooner or later end in imbecility or blood, in addition that the greatest extent of individualism compatible with order, conduced above all other things to the welfare and elevation of mankind. Their French imitators, on the contrary, held individualism to be the monster evil of society, which must be crushed out, even if to effect that object France was made a grave-yard. It must not be forgotten, however, that there was in all the States a minority, not small in numbers and distinguished by great ability, which did not believe in the governmental practicability of the opinions of the majority. Mason wrote from the Convention, "in which upon pecuniary considerations I would not serve for a thousand pounds a day": "When I first came here, judging from casual conversations with gentlemen from the different States, I was very apprehensive that, soured and disgusted with the unexpected evils we had experienced from the democratical principles of our governments, we should be apt to run into the opposite extreme, and in endeavoring to steer too far from Scylla, we might be drawn into the vortex of Charybdis, of which I still think there is some danger, though I have the pleasure to find in the Convention some men of fine republican principles." It was clear to the delegates that whatever plan they agreed on must be, or seem to be, in accord with the prevailing opinion to be accepted. That which after great care and much compromise they elaborated was simple and in one respect novel. Each State was represented in one branch of the Congress in proportion to population, numbers having thus a fair preponderance. In the other branch the States were equal. An Executive, to some degree a part of the Legislature, was selected by Statehood and numbers combined. Power was limited in the Federal organism by enumeration, in States by denial. The probability of the necessity of future amendment was recognized and provided for, and an arbitrator was supposed to have been

created. The working force of the Federal machine, being suffrage with duties and rights reciprocal throughout the Union, every State and every citizen had an equal ration of liberty and an equal ration of authority. If the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration were the recognized fundamental international law between the States, the one thing no man could deny in practice, even if he doubted their wisdom in theory, the basis of political morality to which the conscience of Americans instantly on appeal would respond, then the Constitution was indeed the best Federal Government ever formed, and the best government that ever existed. If otherwise, it was only one more of those paper systems where the design is separate from the execution. We have some information as to the thoughts and acts of the most intelligent and cultivated part of the human race, for twenty-five hundred years. Within that period the greatest men and greatest minds have been engaged in making and administering governments, and the most acute intellects have observed, criticised, praised or blamed their works. Within that time many systems have been generated, have grown and died, but there has never been discovered one where the paper limitations could balance the paper authority. The limitation must be supported by an equal physical power, or its equivalent, an universal public conscience. The veto of the Roman Tribune was gained by the movement of the Plebs to the Aventine Hill. It was maintained against denial by the certainty of a similar movement and the sacredness of the person of the Tribune, an injury to which made the offender an outlaw whom any one might kill, not only legally, but meritoriously. The limitation in that case was sustained by the equal physical force. The dissolution of the most excited Comitia upon the assertion by the magistrate holding the election, of an augury which forbade further action, is an example of the conscience power. Our Constitution is supreme over the man, but the voter is supreme over it and over the English language. Under it, the unjust in a minority are sure of their full share; in a majority, of more than their full share. The just in a majority can get no more than a full share, and in a minority may get less. Under any system which thus dispenses favor, men will not long pay a penalty for honesty. Human nature cannot withstand the temptation of such odds. The wonderful prudence of English politics is not due simply to the self-control of Englishmen, but to an universal dread of civil war, "one week of which on English ground would produce disasters that would be felt from the Hoang-ho to the Mississippi and leave traces for a century." "Therefore, as we cannot, without the risk of evils from which the imagination recoils, employ physical force as a remedy for misgovernment, it is evidently our

wisdom to keep all the constitutional checks upon misgovernment in the highest state of efficiency, to watch with jealousy the first beginnings of encroachment, and never to suffer irregularities, even when harmless in themselves, to pass unchallenged, lest they acquire the force of precedents." Our practice has been the reverse of this; from the very beginning of the government a necessity for compromise was made, and we kept compromising until the opinion grew that some might insist on anything provided they would be satisfied with half, and that others ought to give up one-half of anything, if they were allowed to keep the other half. By an act of July 31, 1789, all dues and fees under it were to be "received in gold and silver only." A Secretary of the Treasury reported that he construed that act to mean the exclusion of the paper emissions of the States, but not to apply to treasury drafts nor to the bills of banks founded on a specie basis. He was not impeached nor rebuked. Indeed, for the first twelve years of our political existence government was administered in the spirit of that report. The men who formed the Constitution were not only men of strong natural parts, but were from their long debate with Great Britain learned in the science of politics. They appear to have been familiar with all the great writers on that subject, both of ancient and modern times. As neither a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy would be accepted by the States, there was only left to them a choice between two federal systems. In one of such systems all power is given which is not expressly denied, and in the other all power is denied which is not expressly given. As the interests of the States in groups were opposite, if not hostile, a just government could only extend to interests common to all. But for the then general acceptance of the "self-evident truths," any constitution that could have been proposed with any hope, or right of hope, of ratification, must have provided against those burning questions of usurpation of power and misuse of power which must arise in every government, an arbitrator free from "an unavoidable bribe, yet a bribe," as well as some means of compelling the obedience of the ballot-box, as well as of men to the decision.

It has become the fashion of late years to assert that the law of causation, universal in all else, does not apply to politics; but legitimate conclusions sooner or later make themselves felt. War in 1861 was the logical outcome of the fallacy of 1776, and if there were any fallacies of opinion in 1861, they, in their fullness of time, will bear equally bitter fruit.

A. W. Blason

THE ANCIENT RACES OF AMERICA

THEORIES AS TO THEIR ORIGIN

A number of Chinese coins were presented to the Philadelphia Numismatic and Antiquarian Society last year, reported in its proceedings to have been "found in a tumulus at Vancouver's Island on the Pacific Coast, supposed to be more than a thousand years old." This discovery was regarded with much interest by archæologists, as affording perhaps certain evidence of communication between the Chinese and the ancient inhabitants of the north-western coast of America; but, like other reported discoveries of that nature it has in the main proved a disappointment.

Upon careful examination by Chinese scholars, the coins were found to be "cash" of the Fung Wen dynasty, about A.D. 1434, and of the Kin Leng dynasty about 1664. The latter date, although prehistoric upon that coast, destroys the supposition of the great antiquity of the tumulus. The discovery however, establishes, probably more directly than other evidence, the fact of early relations between the north-west coast tribes and the inhabitants of Asia through Behrings Straits, the Aleutian Islands, or through wrecks or accidental voyages.

In a recent publication, Professor Winchell gives an elaborate description (with illustrations), of a copper relic, resembling a rude coin, taken from an artesian well boring in Marshall county, Illinois. That it came from a depth of at least eighty feet, in the alluvial soil, is singularly well attested by three witnesses. It is curiously inscribed with strange figures and hieroglyphics—giving it a genuine appearance, but undecipherable. It has passed the rounds of archæologists and scientists, however, with no satisfactory theory regarding its history or inscriptions or genuineness having been reached, and at present, whether genuine or an archæological fraud, it has no practical value. Haywood in his "Aboriginal History of Tennessee," published in 1823, devotes nearly a chapter to the consideration of a Roman coin (of Antoninus Pius, date about A.D. 150) alleged to have been found at a depth of several feet in the natural soil at Fayetteville, Tennessee; but his statement of facts is meager and unsatisfactory, and his observations regarding it are often so preposterous, that the intelligent reader soon loses faith in the genuineness and value of the discovery.

The origin of the ancient inhabitants of America, and of their semi-civilization, suggested by such discoveries, continues to be one of the most interesting problems presented to the archæologist. It has had many solu-

tions, so called, yet none of them satisfactory. It is a mystery antiquarians have been constantly hoping some new discovery would unravel, but such discoveries and investigations as are made, add comparatively little light. Indeed, the more the question is examined the more complicated it becomes, even in the face of most patient industry and the ablest scientific research. Having had occasion recently to examine this subject with care, it may be of interest to present some conclusions reached by the writer, as showing the present status of the investigation.

On the very threshold, I believe it may be safely stated, that not one pre-columbian or prehistoric coin, implement, inscription, valued relic, or object of art, or architecture, or industry has been found on this continent north or south, of foreign or old world origin—directly or indirectly traceable. On his second return to America Columbus found the fragment of a wrecked ship on one of the islands of the West Indies; such fragments have also been carried by the Pacific currents to our north-west coast; but these can hardly be called exceptions to the general spirit of the foregoing statement. Considering the many discoveries and alleged discoveries in many directions, over this vast territory, and considering also the thirty centuries and more of civilization, extended commercial relations and widely distributed population existing on the other continents, this broad statement of the fact seems a surprise. In the absence of *object-discoveries* directly traceable to a foreign origin, our earlier archæologists confidently expected the solution of this problem would be found in the department of language relations, or ethnology.

Language is generally a safe guide to race affinities; but here, after more than a century of research, the difficulties are found to be practically insuperable. In this department, we have also to record the fact that no written language or decipherable system of inscriptions or hieroglyphics of Native American origin have been found. The hieroglyphics, or signs and symbols, of the ancient Maya Nation of Yucatan, perhaps merit the name of writings, but the key to their interpretation has thus far defied all learning and ingenuity. It must be remembered that the "Maya Chronicles," or manuscripts, as published by the late Dr. Brinton and others, are not the writings of the ancient Mayas, but the work of Spanish priests, subsequent to the conquest of Cortez. These clerical fanatics destroyed a vast number of valuable ancient records, as devilish devices of superstition, but partly atoned for the crime by inventing a system of written letters or signs to interpret and preserve the then existing language of the Mayas, and *these* are the so-called chronicles of the Mayas. They are of great archæological interest, but like the architectural remains of this most

civilized of the native races, they throw little light upon the question of its origin.

Ancient Mexican civilization did not reach a standard high enough to supply a written language. When Cortez and his Spanish adventurers appeared upon the coast of Mexico, in 1520, Montezuma learned of his coming only through messengers bearing pictures of strange ships in the sea. The painstaking Spanish writers of Aztec and Toltec History in Mexico gathered their traditions and facts from ancient figure paintings and illustrations preserved by the native Mexicans. These were their only substitute for a written history. Ancient Peru, with all its arts and industries, appears to have had no written language. Two or three rudely sculptured or inscribed tablets have been found among the remains of the mound builders of the Mississippi Valley, but they have no language significance, and occasional quasi-writings of the hunting races of Indians can hardly be said to reach the dignity of hieroglyphics. They are but crude pictures or signs, in the main, without special meaning.

Thus we find no established basis in Ancient America or among its native races, upon which to trace language relationships with the old world. If we turn to the investigation of the *spoken* languages of the aboriginal races (in which department Major Powell, Dall, and others, have done much faithful work), we find difficulties and complications innumerable. Indeed, it is already fairly demonstrated that language relations with ancient foreign nations cannot be established or even traced. There are no connecting links. No test of kinship stands, whether we seek it on the Asiatic or European side. Major Powell says, for instance, that North America furnishes not less than seventy-five *stocks* of language, and South America as many more. These stocks spread into innumerable languages and dialects, scarcely traceable to a common origin. H. H. Bancroft, in his "Native Races of the Pacific States," has classified some six hundred of these languages and dialects, but the whole number has been estimated at about thirteen hundred. In his report of the Colorado Exploring Expedition, Lieutenant Ives says: "The inhabitants of the different Pueblo villages within ten miles of each other speak three different languages."

Notwithstanding the proximity of Alaska and Asia the efforts of ethnologists to trace affinities in language in that direction have wholly failed. The north-west point of Alaska is about as far from San Francisco as the latter is from New York, a fact one scarcely realizes without having attention called to it. Many tribes of many languages occupied, or occupy, this vast territory. Their dialects, it is stated, cannot be even

traced to a common stock. They cannot be shown to be related to the languages of the Indians of the interior. The inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands of the north-west (which constitute almost an island bridge between the two continents) have no written language, and their spoken language is wholly unlike that of their Asiatic neighbors, as it is also unlike that of their Esquimau neighbors in Alaska—thus negating all efforts to establish language relations with the ancient inhabitants of Asia through that source. To sum up the results of investigation in this branch of the subject, it may be stated that the best authorities unite in regarding the languages of our aboriginal races as radically distinguished and different from those of other continents, ancient or modern, and as manifestly original and primitive. We will not enter into the details of physical characteristics and craniology. Ethnologists have faithfully prosecuted their researches in this wide field of investigation, and volumes have been written upon it without any definite or satisfactory results bearing on this question. Beyond the fact that some of the inhabitants of our extreme north-west coast have features and facial expressions resembling those of their Asiatic neighbors, no foreign relationships or affinities seem to have been established in this department.

As may be presumed from the foregoing recital, the prehistoric remains of art and industry in America give no evidence of a foreign origin. On the contrary they verify all other proof of their originality. When Columbus discovered the first natives of the Western world, he called them "Indians," thinking he had reached the confines of Eastern India. Their designation has not been changed. Their art and architecture were apparently Indian in some of their characteristics, but this resemblance was due to the fact that they were in the main primitive and barbaric. The architectural remains of Central America, so fully described and illustrated by Stevens, Charney, and others, belong to no other known type. We look in vain for any features that connect them with the nations of the ancient world—Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, Greece, or China. The forms of pottery exhumed from the mounds and ancient graves of the Mississippi Valley, may be traced through Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Arizona, Mexico, Central America and Peru. They can be readily identified. They point to a common origin.

In the small collection belonging to the writer, specimens of the pottery of the Indians and mound builders, seem to be but primitive forms of the more carefully and handsomely made specimens obtained from ancient remains in Peru and Central America, and an examination of the museums of Europe will readily satisfy the antiquarian that these forms

bear no trace of relationship to the antique types found in Egypt or elsewhere in the old world—excepting in occasional accidental features. Another element in this ancient American problem that renders it difficult of solution is the fact that all departments of investigation force the conclusion that this continent was inhabited at a very remote period.

Some noted scientists have assigned to America an early place in the world's geologic history, and man's occupation appears to have been relatively remote. The Spaniards had conquered Mexico many years before they even discovered the ruins, Palenque and Uxinal, in the forests of Central America; and their explorers then described them as very ancient ruins. Trees had attained their full growth and fallen into decay on the site of these ancient cities, as well as upon the great earth-works of the mound builders. Mexican Aztec and Toltec history and tradition, as handed down in their pictures and symbol-chronicles in a reasonably consistent chronology, may be traced back through many centuries, estimated at from twelve to fifteen hundred years. It would seem also that a time no less than this might be required for the migration and distribution of the innumerable tribes over this broad continent, north and south, and for their development in some sections from primitive habits into comparative civilization.

Another fact of interest may be stated as bearing upon this question. The use of iron was generally known to the nations of antiquity before the historic period. In the eighth generation after Adam (as we are told in the Scriptures), Tubal Cain was "an instructor" in "a knowledge of brass and iron." Job tells us of it. It was used in constructing Solomon's Temple. It was found in abundance by Layard in the palace of Nimrod, in excavating the ruins of Nineveh. It was known in Western Europe more than 2,500 years ago, and at an early period in China; yet, it seems that *no prehistoric implement or article of iron*, or any evidence of manufactured iron has been found in America, excepting such rude implements or ornaments as were made from the native and unmelted ore. It would seem as if almost any communication with the ancient, outer world, would have led to a knowledge of iron, but it was probably never known in ancient America. Once known, it would doubtless never have been forgotten. Its uses are too manifest and the native ore too widely distributed. We will not consider the evidence of man's existence on this continent, as in Europe, as a contemporary of the mammoth and other extinct animals. The proof on this point seems well-nigh conclusive, and is now generally accepted by the best authorities. This fact, if admitted, throws difficulties in the way of the solution of this question practically insurmountable.

The well delineated face and figure of the negro on the tomb of Seti Menephistha, at Thebes (19th dynasty of Egypt B.C. 1500,) as illustrated by a number of standard historians, represent the present negro type in Africa with exactness. The original type does not seem to have changed in thirty-three centuries. Perhaps the native American may have been as long on this continent. Sir John Lubbock places about this limit upon the time of its first settlement. The ships of Phœnicia and perhaps of Troy, and later of Rome, Alexandria and Carthage, carried their commerce to many distant lands, yet no trace of their civilization, of their language or arts, appears to have reached this isolated Western Continent. The adventurous Norsemen of Northern Europe reached Greenland, and perhaps Labrador or Nova Scotia, and possibly a point further south, but they left no impress or trace behind them, excepting in the obscure records of their own country. From this brief summary it will be seen that the problem of "ancient America" is as far from solution as ever. It may be stated that archæologists who have no special or favorite theory to defend are generally accepting the following conclusions:

First: That America was first settled by a primitive people or race, at a period too remote for calculation as to time, and probably before the languages and other characteristics of the old-world nations from which they sprung had assumed definite form, and before these nations had acquired their present geographical limits.

Second: That no theory of their origin has been, or probably can be established, that is entirely satisfactory to investigators or that has been accepted as conclusive.

Third: That the theory most generally accepted, points to an Asiatic, Mongol or Polynesian origin; a theory supported by the nearness of the two continents and by some similarities in appearance and characteristics, and by the steady flow of ocean currents from the coast of Asia eastward.

Fourth: The theory of a European or African origin, through a "Lost Atlantis" or change or depression in the earth's surface between Africa and the Caribbean Islands on the west, is second in popularity and as to the number of its advocates.

The fact, however, that it requires the aid of an earthquake of vast dimensions to establish it, will probably continue to stand in the way of its general acceptance. Other theories as to the first settlement of America it will not be necessary to mention here. They appear to have no substantial basis.

G. P. Thurston.

GENERAL ROGER ENOS

A LOST CHAPTER OF ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO CANADA, 1775

It is doubtful if any officer of the Revolutionary Army, always excepting Benedict Arnold, has so excited the ire, or called forth the prejudices of historical writers as Roger Enos, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the rear division of the memorable expedition to Canada under Arnold in 1775. It is a fact, familiar to readers of American history, that Colonel Enos returned from that expedition with his division before the army reached Canada. Judge Henry, in his journal of the march, speaks of that return as a "desertion;" B. J. Lossing, Hon. I. N. Arnold, and others have adopted Henry's word. Bancroft, in his History of the United States, stigmatizes Enos as "a craven." Mr. Mills, in the February Number of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1885), refers to his conduct as "cowardice," and thus the charges are repeated by modern writers "ad libitum." So far, however, none have accused Enos with being a "*traitor*." This one more depth remains to which coming writers may consign him.

Correspondence with several authors, who have adopted Henry's language, shows that Colonel Enos' case has received from no one an exhaustive or impartial investigation. If he *was* guilty of cowardice, or desertion, his name should be placed, in the history of his times, just below that of Arnold. If he was *not* guilty of either crime, where should we place the names of those who have so maligned him? It is remarkable how very difficult it is for the present age to view calmly and with an even balance the characters who acted on either side of the struggle during the seven years' war for American Independence. The iconoclasts of the past twenty years have done much to bring about a more judicious examination of that period. Sabine's *Loyalists* was a manifestation of fairness that at the time almost "took our breath." Lowell's work on the "Hessians and other German Auxiliaries" has corrected many very one-sided opinions of that unfortunate class of British troops. Parkman's last most charming volume, "Montcalm and Wolfe," has finally toned down materially the glory of martyrdom with which we have always surrounded the sad history of the Acadians. Possibly ere the present century has expired the student of American history, not the mere book-maker, may have reached that large-hearted point of view expressed in the words "*audi alteram partem*."

With this invaluable motto, so very important in judging of events in which we were not factors, it may be worth while to ask

I. Who was Roger Enos?

He was the son of David and Mary (Gillet) Eno or Enos of Simsbury, Connecticut, and great grandson of James Eno, who came from England and settled at Windsor, Conn., 1646. He was born, Simsbury, Conn., 1729, and died, Colchester, Conn., October 6, 1808, æt. 79. He was forty-six years of age when the march to Canada occurred. He entered at an early age into the military service of the Crown during the French War. From 1759 to the close of the war he was actively engaged in the field. Nor was this military service of constraint. His name heads the list of volunteers from his own town—then Windsor—for the Canada Campaign of 1759 and 1760. The Assembly of Connecticut successively promoted him for his services in the field as follows: Ensign of the First Company, Colonel Phineas Lyman's Regiment, March, 1760; Lieutenant of the same company at Montreal, Canada, September, 1760; Adjutant of the Regiment 1761, during which year he also acted as Captain-Lieutenant of the First Company; First Lieutenant and of the same company, 1762; Captain of the Fifth Company, Colonel Israel Putnam's Regiment, 1764, in the expedition sent that year against the Indians. He accompanied his command on the expedition to the West Indies in 1762, which laid siege to and captured the city of Havanna; an enterprise as successful to the arms of Great Britain as it was disastrous to her army, which was decimated by the climate. In 1773 he was appointed on a commission composed of Colonels Israel Putnam, Rufus Putnam, Phineas Lyman, and Captain Roger Enos, sent to the Mississippi Valley to survey the lands granted by the Crown to the provincial troops engaged in the French War and the Havanna Campaign. An unpublished journal of this commission, kept by General Rufus Putnam, is now owned by Marietta College, Ohio. The principal outcome of this commission was the colony settled at Natchez, Mississippi, by Colonel Lyman. In 1775 Enos entered the Continental Army as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 22d Regiment in Arnold's expedition to Canada. He returned from that expedition with his command October 25, 1775, and on December 1, 1775, he was tried by court martial on the charge of "quitting his commanding officer without leave," and was "*honorably acquitted*."

He resigned his commission in the army, then Lieutenant-Colonel 6th Connecticut Regiment, January 18, 1776. In May, 1777, he served in a committee of Windsor citizens to secure a bounty of £30 to each man who should enlist in the Continental service. He afterward commanded

one of the Connecticut regiments thus raised, and stationed in the southwest corner of the State. Late in 1779 he left the Connecticut service and moved to Vermont, where, with others, he settled the town of Enosburg, March, 1780. In 1781 he was appointed Brigadier-General, and placed in command of all the Vermont troops then in service. In that year he wrote to General Washington announcing his return to active service in the field. In 1787 he was elected Major-General of the 1st Division of the State of Vermont, holding this position until 1791, when he resigned. Thus he was for over thirty years almost continuously in the military service of his country. From 1781 to 1792 he was a member of the Vermont Board of War; of the State Assembly; of the House Committee to settle the New Hampshire and Vermont controversy, and a Trustee of the University of Vermont, elected by the Assembly. He was also one of the House Committee to consider the Vermont resolutions passed by the Continental Congress. From his entrance into the State in 1779 until 1792, a period of twelve years, he was one of the most prominent actors and most honored figures in the history of Vermont, where none ever doubted his loyalty to the United Colonies, his military capacity, or his moral courage, and where no one at this day believes one word of the charges made against him in regard to the Canada campaign. In 1792, worn out, at the age of 63, with his long and active service, he resigned all his public offices and retired to Connecticut, where with his daughter, Mrs. General Ira Allen, he passed his remaining days. He married, March 10, 1763, Jerusha Hayden, of Windsor, Connecticut, daughter of Daniel and Esther (Mone) Hayden, and had five children, one of whom, Jerusha Hayden Enos, married General Ira Allen of Vermont, and one married Pascal Paoli, who was one of the four proprietors of Springfield, Illinois, 1823, where his descendants still reside. Such an honored record of civil and military services, drawn from the published archives of Connecticut and Vermont, should cause the historian to hesitate before accepting the second-hand statements made against General Enos, or at least prevent a one-sided judgment of his conduct in the expedition of 1775.

II. What are the real facts of Enos' conduct in the Canada expedition?

This important venture for the possession of Canada was planned by Washington, the preparations made with as much secrecy and dispatch as possible, and placed under the command of Benedict Arnold. The little army consisted of 1080 men in two battalions; Arnold, in his letter of October 13, says 950 men. The first battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene; the second by Lieutenant-Colonel

Roger Enos. The command was again sub-divided into three divisions, of which the third, or rear division, was placed in charge of Colonel Enos, and numbered 350 men. The march was begun September 11, 1775. At Fort Western Arnold sent in advance a party of eleven men under Lieutenant Steele, to open the way as far as possible. In this party was Henry, who wrote of Enos only from hearsay. The rest of the army, with Arnold's division in advance, followed as rapidly as the almost insurmountable difficulties of the way would permit, frequently making only two or three miles a day. Each division was supplied with forty-five days' provisions. The various accounts of the hardships of this march seem almost incredible. They are vividly portrayed in the journals of Henry, Thayer, Senter, Melvin, Meigs, Ward, and others, all of whose records are accessible to the student of history. It is doubtful if the terrible sufferings which they have recounted have ever been equaled in the history of military adventures. The army met with heavy rains, swollen streams, and deep morasses in an almost unknown and trackless wilderness. Their boats were dashed to pieces in the torrents, and their provisions lost or spoiled. They dug up roots and ate them, made soup out of moccasins and raw hide, and vainly sought to find nourishment in such a diet; dog meat, including the hide, and "the entrails broiled on the coals, were luxuries, and death by starvation stared them in the face."

Arnold started with his division with forty-five days' provisions. Two-fifths of this was lost by the wrecking of batteaux before October 15. To such terrible straits was this division subsequently reduced that Arnold left it and pushed ahead day and night, to reach the French settlements and send back supplies.

General Dearborn, then a Captain in the first division, says: "My dog was very large and a great favourite. I gave him up to several men of Cap^t Goodrich's company, who killed him and divided him among those who were suffering most severely with hunger. They ate every part of him, not excepting his entrails; and after finishing their meal, they collected the bones and carried them to be pounded up and to make broth for another meal. Old moose hide breeches were boiled and then broiled on the coals and eaten. A barber's powder bag made a soup in the course of the last three or four days before we reached the first settlements in Canada. Many died with hunger and fatigue, frequently four or five minutes after making their last effort and sitting down."

Thayer, who was a Captain in the second division, Colonel Greene, says of their sufferings a week after Enos had divided his scanty store with them, reserving only three days' supplies for a march back of 100 miles:

"Nov. 1, we observed a sergeant and 10 or 12 men round a fire and saw with astonishment that they were devouring a Dog between them, and eating paunch, Guts and skin. We pushed on * * * and after marching 2 days and 2 nights without the least nourishment,"—discovered the party sent back by Arnold with a supply of provision, at four o'clock on the evening of November 3. The vicissitudes of the advance party up to October 24, were not unknown to Enos, whom Arnold kept advised by letter and courier until Enos' return. Thus Arnold wrote him from the Third Carrying Place, October 15, "The three first divisions have twenty-five days' provisions, which will carry them to Chaudiere Pond and back, where we shall doubtless have intelligence, and shall be able to proceed or return as shall be thought best." Two days later, October 17, he writes in a different strain from Dead River: "I arrived here last night late and find Col. Greene's division very short of provisions, the whole having only *four* barrels of flour and *ten* barrels of pork." He ordered back Major Biglow with a Lieutenant and thirty-one men out of each company to meet Enos, "and bring up as much as you (Enos) can spare." Thus Greene's division had met with such reverses in the loss of provisions that at that date, October 16, they had less than 800 lbs. of flour and 10 barrels of pork to sustain a body of 350 men for seventeen days, that is from October 16 to November 4, when they met the provisions which Arnold had sent back from the settlements. As to his own division, Arnold wrote Enos, October 24, that, instead of twenty-five days' provision in hand, his party was reduced to fifteen days' provision, when four days' march from Chaudiere, and that a council of war had decided "to send back all sick and feeble with 3 days' provision * * * and that on receipt of this you should proceed with as many of the best men of your division *as you can furnish with 15 days' provisions*, and that the remainder *whether sick or well* should be immediately sent back to the Commissary." To Colonel Farnsworth he wrote the same day, "I find it necessary for the safety of the detachment to send back the sick, and to reduce the detachment so as to have fifteen days' provision for the whole. Those who are sent back you will supply with provisions and send back to Cambridge as soon as possible." This letter he repeated to Colonel Greene the same day. On the 27th he wrote to General Washington that he had left the principal part of the detachment eight leagues below the Great Carrying Place, short of provisions by reason of the loss of many batteaux at the falls and rapid waters; that he had ordered all the sick and feeble to return, "and wrote Colonels Enos and Greene to bring on in their divisions no more men than they could furnish with 15 days' provisions, and send back the

remainder to the Commissary." November 8 he repeats this order in his letter to the Commander in Chief: "I had ordered Col. Enos to send back the sick and feeble, *and those of his division who could not be supplied with fifteen days' provisions.*"

Colonel Enos, under date of November 9th, wrote Washington, from "Brunswick, near Kennebunk," thus:

"SIR, I am on my return from Col Arnold's detachment. I brought up the rear of the whole. Captains McCobb's, Williams and Scott's companies were assigned to my division. We proceeded as far as 50 miles up the Dead River, & then were obliged to return for want of provisions. When we arrived at the Great Carrying place, by what I could learn from the division forward that provisions were like to be short, I wrote to Col Arnold & desired him to take account of the provisions forward. He wrote me that there were 25 days' provisions for all the divisions ahead, but to my surprise before we got over the Great Carrying place, Major Bigelow with 90 men were sent back from Col Greene's division to mine for provisions. I let them have all I could spare. I continued my march with all expedition, & when about 50 miles up the Dead River overtook Col Greene with his division, entirely out of provisions, & by reason of men being sent back with orders from Col Arnold for me to furnish them with provisions to carry them to the inhabitants my division was reduced to 4 days' provisions. Col Arnold was gone ahead; the Chief of the Officers of Col Greene's division and mine were together when we took the situation of our division into consideration, and upon the whole it was thought best for my whole division to return & furnish those that proceeded with all our provisions except 3 days to bring us back, which I did without loss of time. A more particular account shall be able to give when I return to Cambridge. Shall lose no time if able to ride. I have for many days been unwell. Expect the whole of my division at this place to-morrow, when shall set out on our march to Cambridge.

"I am your most obedient humble servant

"ROGER ENOS."

From the various journals of this Expedition, it is easy to see the position in which Colonel Enos was placed, and which forced him to the course he pursued. Of the 1,080 men who composed the army, Enos commanded, in his division, and according to Marshall, only one-third, or 350 men. Arnold reached Canada with 550 men. Deducting Enos' 350, leaves nearly 200 unaccounted for, who doubtless returned sick, or fell exhausted and expired by the way. Of Enos' 350, at least 150 were simply "*attached*" to his division, and were not a part of his proper command. Henry speaks without knowledge when he says that "Enos had returned with 500 men and a large stock of provisions." Into this even Mr. Mills falls, and displays a lack of careful examination of the subject. Such an estimate places Arnold's army beyond the number reported by the best authorities. Stone, in his issue of Thayer's "Journal," says:

"In the then crude state of military authority, the control held by officers

over their men was more the result of personal regard than of deference to position. Every man had an opinion and was free to express it. Among a portion of Arnold's troops the views of officers and men coincided. Disaffection had extended to three companies, and it became advisable to hold a council of war for decisive measures, and this took place October 25, on reaching Dead River." Meigs says in his journal of that date that instead of there then being fifteen days' rations for the command, "the provisions were so reduced that the men were on the allowance of $\frac{3}{4}$ th pound of pork and $\frac{3}{4}$ th pound of flour per day for each." And a careful examination of the various journals will show that on this day the rations of the entire command, including the two divisions of Greene and Enos, did not exceed four days' supply. On this meager provision the men were to subsist for nine days. Thayer records that during the last forty-eight hours of those nine days, and just before the command met Arnold's provisions, "they were without the least nourishment." The council of war held at Dead River is recorded by three journalists, Meigs, Senter and Thayer. Of these Thayer *alone* was one of the council and present during its session.

Dr. Senter says: "Col Arnold had left previous orders for Greene & Enos' divisions to come to an *adjustment* of the provisions, send back any who were indisposed either in body or mind and pursue him with the rest." This is not a correct statement and does not agree with Arnold's letters which the two lieutenant-colonels had received. At the council of war eleven officers were present; Colonel Enos presided. Greene, Bigelow, Topham, Thayer, Ward, voted to proceed; Williams, McCobb, Scott, Hide, Peters, voted against proceeding. Colonel Enos cast the deciding vote in favor of proceeding. Senter, who was then a young man of twenty-two years, says: "Col Enos, though he voted for proceeding, yet had undoubtedly pre-engaged to the contrary, as every action demonstrated." Thayer, a man of thirty-eight years, who had already seen much severe service with Enos in the French war, and had suffered some of its vicissitudes at the surrender of Fort William Henry, who was second to no soldier of the Revolution as to his gallantry and integrity, and who was present in the council of war, says just the reverse about Enos. On the 24th of October, when Arnold supposed the two divisions to be well supplied with fifteen days' rations from Enos' bountiful store, Thayer says of Greene's division: "Had intelligence of its being 25 miles to the Great Carrying place, where the height of land is, and in the meantime destitute of provisions, for the 2 barrels we brought gave 2 pounds each man, and we had only $\frac{1}{2}$ pint left to deliver out."

"Oct. 25. We staid for Col^o Greene to consult about our situation & what to do for provisions. We sent back 48 men & 1 subaltern in 3 batteaux. The men are much disheartened, and eagerly wish to return; however, I am certain if their bellies were full they would be willing enough to proceed."

The Council of War having decided to go forward, he says: "It was resolved that Col Enos should not return back. His party who were 6 in number, & by one inferior to ours observed with regret that we voted to proceed, on which they held a council of war amongst themselves, of which were the Captains McCobb, Williams & Scott, & unanimously declared that they would return & not rush into such imminent danger. * * * Col Enos declared to us that he was willing to go & take his boat, in which there was some provision, and share the same fate with us, but was obliged to tarry through the means of his effeminate officers who rather pass their time in tipping than turn it to the profit & advantage of their country who stands in need of their assistance. Cap^t Williams stept towards me & wished me success, but told me he never expected to see me or any of us (again), he was so conscious of the imminent danger we were to go through. In the meantime Col^o Enos advanced with tears in his eyes, wishing me & mine success, & took as he then supposed & absolutely thought, his last farewell of me, demonstrating to me that it was with the utmost reluctance he remained behind, though being certain he would never survive the attempt."

And so they parted. Greene had near 400 men with three days' provisions to traverse 75 miles through a route that occupied nearly the whole of nine days before a supply of food could be had. On the 28th Thayer says: "We divided our flour equally in 10 companies, the quantity amounting to seven Pints each man for 7 Days." Enos had 350 men and three days' provisions to travel 100 miles to the first settlement. This distance had already occupied the detachment twenty-two days, from October 2 to October 24, to pass over. As Thayer says: "Oct. 2. * * * at the last inhabitants now, & meet no other until we come to Canada." Enos' command was fifteen days in reaching Brunswick.

To recapitulate: Arnold started on his march September 11th with 1,080 men and forty-five days' provision, his detachment reaching the French settlements November 4th. Within thirty days, October 14th, the first division was reduced to twenty-five days' supplies. Two days later, October 17th, the second, or Greene's division, was reduced to four barrels flour and ten barrels pork for 350 men for seventeen days' march. Ten days later, October 24th, Greene's division having received through Major

Biglow all that Enos could supply, on the 18th had only half a pint of flour left to deliver out to each man; and Arnold's first division was on the allowance of three-quarters of a pound of flour and three-quarters of a pound of pork per day, for each man. Greene and Enos met on the 25th. Enos divided his rations with Greene. They parted, October 26, each with three days' supply. Nine days later, November 3, Arnold's party were eating dog-meat, moccasin soup, broiled hide, etc.; Greene's party had been forty-eight hours without the least food, and Enos' men, on the return march, were saved from similar suffering by having killed a large moose. Enos' position, October 25th, was certainly one of extreme difficulty. He could take no action that would not be, in part, a disobedience of Arnold's orders. He pursued what seemed to him the best course when he voted to proceed. His officers took what really proved to be the best course when they refused to proceed. Arnold's orders were imperative: "Provide Greene's division with supplies, forward all of the best men of his own party that he could furnish with 15 days' rations, & send back the rest, sick or well, immediately." There was no discretionary power left to Enos. On the 18th he supplied Greene's party with all he could spare. On the 25th, when Arnold's orders of the 24th reached him, he divided his provisions with Greene, giving him two barrels of flour and two barrels of pork. On the 26th he began his return march with 300 men and three days' provision. Here was Enos' dilemma (he had 900 rations): 1st. To forward such of his best men as he could furnish with fifteen days' rations would have added thirty men to the advance march, and have left 270 men to tread the way back, one hundred miles, utterly destitute of food. Such a disobedience of orders could not be considered for a moment. 2d. To proceed with his 300 men and three days' rations would have imperilled the whole detachment, and probably, as General Sullivan says, have caused them to perish with hunger. This would have been equally a disobedience of orders.

To return home with all whom he could not furnish with fifteen days' provisions was also a disobedience of orders, as it took away from Arnold this entire division, forwarding none to the assistance of his commanding officer. Each of these lines of action, he could easily see, terminated in court-martial. Without doubt the course Enos did take saved the lives of his own division, if not of the others; preserved the *morale* of his troops, and was declared by the court-martial as necessary and wise.

Of course Enos' return was a surprise to Washington, who was entirely in ignorance of the cause. He placed him immediately under arrest, not because his time of service was nearly expired, for it had only just begun; and ordered a court of inquiry to be held November 29, 1775.

This court was composed of Major-General Charles Lee, President; Brigadier-Generals Greene and Heath; Colonels (afterwards Generals) John Stark and John Nixon, and Majors Durkee and Sherburne. Their examination of the charges resulted in the expressed "opinion, that Col. Enos' misconduct, if he has been guilty of misconduct, is not of so heinous a nature as was at first supposed; but it is necessary for the satisfaction of the world, and for his own honour, that a court-martial should be immediately held for his trial."

The court-martial was held December 1, 1775. President Brigadier-General John Sullivan and twelve field officers. "The court being duly sworn," proceeded to try Colonel Enos for "leaving the detachment under Colonel Arnold, and returning home without permission from his commanding officer." To this Enos replied that it was true he did return without permission from his commanding officer, "but the circumstances of the case were such as obliged him so to do." The witnesses for the defense were the officers of Enos' division, Captains Williams, McCobb and Scott, and Lieutenants Hide and Buckmaster. These entirely concurred in their testimony, that to go forward with only three days' supply of food was impossible; that Colonel Enos was for going forward without his division, but that his presence was absolutely so necessary to secure the harmony and safe retreat of the men that they had each protested against his leaving them. The full testimony of these witnesses can be found in Force's "Archives," Vol. III., p. 1709, and Munsell's edition of Henry's "Journal," p. 52, where the result of the trial is recorded as follows:

"The Court being cleared, after mature consideration, are unanimously of opinion that Colonel Enos was under a necessity of returning with the division under his command, and therefore acquit him with honour.

John Sullivan, President. A true copy of the proceedings attest. W. Tudor, Judge Advocate."

The subsequent testimony of General Sullivan is most explicit in confirmation of this decision, and entirely disarms of its force Munsell's intimation that the witnesses in the trial perjured themselves in Enos' defense.

"New-York, April 28, 1776.

"I hereby certify that I was President of a Court-Martial, in *Cambridge*, when Colonel *Enos* was tried for leaving Colonel *Arnold*, with the rear division of the detachment under his command, bound for *Quebeck*; and, upon the trial, it clearly appeared to me, as well as to all the other members of the Court, that Colonel *Enos* was perfectly justifiable in returning with the division, being clearly proved, by the testimony of witnesses of undoubted veracity, (some of whom I have been personally acquainted with for a number of years, and know them to be persons of truth,) that so much provision had been sent for-

ward, to support the other divisions, as left them so small a quantity that their men were almost famished with hunger on their return ; and some would undoubtedly have starved, had they not, by accident, come across and killed a large moose. Upon their evidence, there remained no doubt in the mind of myself, or any of the members, that the return of the division was prudent and reasonable ; being well convinced that they had not provision sufficient to carry them half way to *Quebeck*, and that their going forward would only have deprived the other division of a part of theirs, which, as the event has since shown, was not enough to keep them all from perishing ; we therefore unanimously acquitted Colonel *Enos* with honour.

"I further certify, that by a strict inquiry into the matter since, from persons who were in the divisions that went forward, I am convinced that had Colonel *Enos*, with his division, proceeded, it would have been a means of causing the whole detachment to have perished in the woods, for want of sustenance.

"I further add, that I have been well informed, by persons acquainted with Colonel *Enos*, that he has ever conducted as a good and faithful officer. JOHN SULLIVAN."

The estimation in which *Enos* was held by the officers of the army, and the light in which his course in the present instance was held is seen in this additional testimony.

TO THE IMPARTIAL PUBLICK.

"The case of Lieutenant-Colonel *Enos* having engaged the attention of many officers of the Army, as well as others, and as we are informed he is much censured by many persons, for returning back from the expedition to *Canada*, under the command of Colonel *Arnold*, by which Colonel *Enos's* character greatly suffers, we think it our duty to certify, that some of us, from our own personal knowledge of the military abilities of Colonel *Enos*, and others of us from information, are fully convinced that he is a gentleman fully acquainted with his duty as an officer, a man of fortitude and prudence, and, in our opinion, well calculated to sustain, with honour, any military character ; and, from the fullest inquiry, we are satisfied that (whatsoever different representations may be made) in returning to camp, with the division under his command, he is justifiable, and conducted as an understanding, prudent, faithful officer, and deserves applause rather than censure ; and we can safely recommend him as a person worthy to be employed in any military department.

WILLIAM HEATH, *Brigadier-General*.

JAMES REED, *Colonel*.

J. BREWER, *Colonel*.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS, *Colonel*.

JOSEPH REED, *Colonel*.

JONATHAN NIXON, *Colonel*.

CHARLES WEBB, *Colonel*.

DANIEL HITCHCOCK, *Colonel*.

JOHN STARK, *Colonel*.

LEVI WELLS, *Major*.

SAMUEL WYLLYS, *Colonel*.

WILLIAM SHEPARD, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

ANDREW COLBURN, *Major*.

JOEL CLARK, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

EBENEZER SPROUT, *Major*.

EBENEZER CLAP, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

SAMUEL PRENTICE, *Major*.

CALVIN SMITH, *Major*.

JOSIAH HAYDEN, *Major*.

JOHN BAILY, *Colonel*.

JOHN TYLER, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

THOMAS NIXON, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

LOAMMI BALDWIN, *Colonel*.

JAMES WESSON, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

ISAAC SHERMAN, *Major*."

Now, supposing Enos to have been guilty of either "desertion" or "cowardice," in his return from the expedition, one of the most remarkable phases of the case is the silence of both Washington and Arnold about his conduct. Neither of these ever applied such terms to his action. The strongest language that Washington used in referring to him was in his letter to Congress, November 19, in which he says, "notwithstanding the great *defection*, I do not despair of Col. Arnold's success." To Arnold he wrote December 5: "You could not be more surprised than I was at Enos' return, with the division under his command. I immediately put him under arrest, etc., etc. He is acquitted on the score of provisions."

Arnold, with his hot blood and impetuosity, so far from "depicting the cowardice and shame of Enos," simply says, in his letter to Washington, November 8, "all are happily arrived, except * * * Colonel Enos's division, who I am surprised to hear are *all gone back*." To General Montgomery he writes same day: "The other part with Col^o Enos *returned* from Dead River contrary to my expectation, he having orders to send back only the sick and those who could not be furnished with provisions." Again to General Schuyler he wrote, November 7, "near one-third of the detachment *returned* from the Dead River *short of provisions*." Again, describing his difficulties in reaching Canada, he writes, "short of provisions, part of the detachment *dishcartened and gone back*, famine staring us in the face." Beyond this not one word is found in all the writings of either Washington or Arnold that casts the least reflection on Colonel Enos, or on the opinion of the court-martial. There can be but little doubt that had Arnold known one-half the difficulties that awaited him he would never have undertaken the expedition furnished as he was. He wrote Washington, October 27th: "I have been much deceived in every account of our route, which is much longer, and has been attended with a thousand difficulties I never apprehended." He was evidently surprised at the almost insurmountable hinderances he met with; owing to which he fully expected that a *part* at least of his detachment would be obliged to return, for want of provisions. Hence his orders of the 24th to Enos, Greene and Farnsworth. But knowing nothing of the destitution in Greene's and Enos' command on that date, he naturally expressed surprise that Enos' command "are *all gone back*." From the marked absence of all complaint or censure, especially after he had become acquainted with the reasons for the return of so many, the conclusion is inevitable that he recognized the necessity for Enos' course, and accepted the opinion of the court-martial as final.

It was so accepted also by the early historians of the Revolutionary war. President William Allen, whose "Account of the Expedition of

Arnold" published in the Maine Historical Society Collections, Vol. I., prepared his paper during the life of and in correspondence with General Dearborn, one of the captains immediately under Arnold. He fully accepts the finding of the court as a justification of Enos. So does Marshall in his "Life of Washington," in both the first and last editions. Also Colonel Carrington, U.S.A., in his "Battles of the Revolution;" Drake in his "Biographical Dictionary," and many other impartial writers. The venerable Governor Hiland Hall, one of the historians of Vermont, writes me, September, 1879: "I have always believed that Enos' return from Arnold's expedition against Quebec was fully justified by the circumstances in which he was placed, and that the verdict of the court-martial of distinguished officers which investigated his conduct at the time, and which unanimously acquitted him '*with honour*,' ought to be received by posterity as his complete and perfect vindication. Recent examination of original authorities has served to confirm my previous opinion and to make it very clear to me that the censures of modern writers must have been made without sufficient and proper consideration, and that they are entirely unjustifiable."

The letters of Arnold quoted in this paper, with the action of the court-martial and the testimony of the Continental officers, are all preserved in the State Department at Washington, and are published in Force's "Archives" and the Maine Historical Society Collections. They show most conclusively that the entire charge against Enos was fully adjudicated at the time—adjudicated by his peers; by a court of inquiry of seven officers of high rank; a court-martial of fourteen officers of the Continental line, among them some of the ablest and brightest military men of the Revolution; with all the evidence before them; Enos' own acknowledgment of his return and his reasons therefor; the evidence of five officers of his command testifying on oath, not themselves on trial or to be affected by the issue of the trial; officers known personally to members of the court, and whose veracity is vouched for by the president of the court, and, therefore, cannot be impeached simply to make up a case against Enos. The decision of the court-martial, Washington, who had the power to reject, approved in general orders, intensifying the language of the decision thus: "The court, after mature consideration of the evidence, are unanimously of the opinion that the prisoner was, by *absolute* necessity, obliged to return with his division," etc., etc. The President of the Court, and twenty-five officers of the army, including three of the Court of Inquiry, and Colonel Joseph Reed, the Adjutant-General of the Army, on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, after subsequent and careful inquiry of those who went forward with Greene to join Arnold, in the most positive language

reconfirmed the action of the court. Compare those eminent men, sitting in court-martial, "the court being duly sworn," and the five witnesses testifying on oath and the honorable acquittal on oath, with the modern historian sitting in his study, one hundred years after the events of which he writes, repeating old calumnies from second-hand authorities, charging "*desertion*" and "cowardice," where he cannot prove either, and say if this last be history? The Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, shortly after publishing his life of Benedict Arnold, addressed to me this letter: " * * * I have not yet found time to give the case of Col^o Enos an exhaustive investigation, but in my late readings & reflections I have not forgotten your suggestions, & I am inclined to think my language in regard to him in my 'Life of Arnold' needs some modification. I do not think Col Enos meant to '*desert*' the Canada Expedition in the odious sense of that term. I know of no evidence that he acted from '*cowardice*,' and do not think he could be just called '*a craven*.' I shall in my next edition, p. 69, say '*the return of Enos*,' instead of '*the desertion of Enos*.' It was probably an error of judgment; an error which a man like *Morgan* would not have committed, but which a very prudent, cautious man might make without any but good motives."

Against such an estimate of Enos' conduct there is no need to protest, since it accepts the judgment of the court-martial as final, and casting no reflections on either the honor or courage of Enos. The purpose of this paper is simply to show the reading public that Enos was neither a "deserter" nor a "coward," and to enable future writers to accord to him simple justice, no more.

Horace Edwin Hayden

THE HUNGRY PILGRIMS

In the chronicles of the early days of our Pilgrim fathers, we learn that want and famine, with consequent suffering, came to their humble dwellings; that at times they were in pinched and straitened circumstances, being reduced to a half allowance of food. What was the cause of this hunger and sorrow? Why this lack of food? The sea by their side was full of fish. They came from a land which for a century, year by year, had sent its fishermen to these same coasts, and cargo after cargo of fish had been taken back to homeland. Every expedition the Pilgrims made for corn or other commodities, they sailed over waters literally filled with food, or penetrated woods with abundant game. Mourt's Relation says: "For fish and fowle, we have great abundance, fresh Codd in the Summer is but course meat with vs, our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of other Fish; in September we can take a Hogshead of Eeles in a night, with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter we have Mussells, &c. * * * Oysters we have none near, but can have them brought by the Indians when we will." * According to Governor Bradford, certain kinds of fish were so plentiful in 1621, as to be used for manure in planting their corn. He also says: "Others were exercised in fishing, aboute codd & bass, & other fish, of which y^e tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And beside water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkies, of which they tooke many, besides venison, &c. Besides they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corn to y^t proportion, which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their friends in England, which were not fained, but true reports." † Edward Winslow wrote to England by the return of the *Fortune*: "We are so far free from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty." Mourt states that in March, 1621, Carver and five others went to Billington Sea, near by, and found excellent fishing; testifying also to the abundance of all kinds of fish in Taunton River, Buzzard's Bay, Manomet River, and other neighboring waters; also to the plentifulness of game: "This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of fowle, * * * Skote [skate],

* Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter's edition, pp. 135-6.

† History of Plymouth Plantation, Collections Mass. Hist. Society, p. 105.

Cod, Turbot, and Herring wee have tasted of, abundance of musles, the greatest and best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobster in their time infinite." * * * "Squanto went at noone to fish for Eeles, at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand * * * fat sweet, he trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his hands without any other Instrument." * We are also told: "Master Jones sent shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got," * * * and "at night they returned with three great Seals, and an excellent good Cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly." Other instances of the plentifulness of fish in creeks, rivers and ocean might be given. And from the privileges granted in the charter of June 1, 1621, now preserved in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, it would seem that they must have been prepared for fishing, gunning, or the taking of game in any necessary manner; it says: "Together with all such Liberties, pryviledges, profitts & comodyties as the said Land and Ryvers which they shall make choyce of shall yeield together with free libertie to fishe on and upon the coast of New England and in all havens ports and creeks Thereunto belonging. * * * And it shal be lawfull for the said Undertakers & Planters their heires & successors freely to truck trade & traffiq with the Salvages in New England or neighboring thereabouts at their wills & pleasures without lett or disturbance. As also to have libertie to hunt, hauke, fish or fowle in any place or places not now or hereafter by the English inhabited." † But, notwithstanding all this knowledge of the land to which they went, which they must have had, and the privileges which were granted them, fears of coming want were realized during the first year, 1621. The harvest as a whole yielded poorly: "Our corn did prove well; and God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn;" the barley was "indifferently good," but the "pease not worth the growing." Bradford says the "wheat and pease" "came not to good eather by y^e badness of y^e seed, or lateness of y^e season, or both, or some defecte;" ‡ nevertheless the Pilgrims held their first Thanksgiving in November of that

* Concerning the abundance of fish in these surrounding waters, we have Champlain's testimony when in this very harbor of Plymouth in 1605: "There came to us two or three canoes, which had just been fishing for cod and other fish, which are found there in great numbers. These they catch with hooks made of a piece of wood, to which they attach a bone in the shape of a spear, and fasten it very securely. The whole has a fang-shape, and the line attached to it is made out of the bark of a tree. They gave me one of their hooks, which I took as a curiosity." —Rev. Edmund F. Slafter's *Voyages of Champlain*, published by the Prince Society, vol. ii., p. 77.

† William T. Davis's *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*.

‡ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 100.

year. The *Fortune* arrived during this same month, bringing thirty-five more settlers, and, not long after, it was realized that there was a necessity for putting them all on a half allowance. In May, 1622, their provisions were gone, and Edward Winslow was sent to Monhegan, where he was generously supplied "with a sufficiency of bread to allow each person four ounces per day until harvest;"* but while he was gone "had it not been for shell-fish dug from the sands, all must have perished."† He seems to have sought for bread only on this expedition; nothing said about fish of any kind; no effort to catch or bring any alluded to. Later expeditions to buy corn, partially successful, under Governor Bradford and Captain Miles Standish, were made to the Indians. This gave relief during January and February, 1623. Meanwhile, additional trouble was caused by Weston's colony at Wessagussett (Weymouth), which was equally reduced by want of provisions, and first made pressing, and then threatening demands upon Plymouth for assistance. Governor Bradford wrote them to "live upon ground nuts and clams, as the people of Plymouth were doing."

The situation, in the spring of 1623, was particularly distressing. Meager crops, exhausted granaries, demands from their neighbors, had reduced this brave band of pilgrims to extreme want. There is no question about this state of affairs—it was so without any possibility of a doubt; but why was not their suffering alleviated by the taking of some of the fish with which the surrounding seas abounded, or game from the neighboring forests? Such sentences as these, from Winslow, come to mind when we think of these miseries. Writing, in 1623, he speaks of the climate, soil and productions of New England: "I will not again speak of the abundance of fowl, store of venison, and variety of fish in their seasons, which might encourage many to go in their persons." And Bradford, in 1623, describes the facility with which "bass & such like fish" were taken with nets.

Now what is the explanation of this great suffering for the lack of food during these first years? The pilgrims came from a land of fishermen to a land of fish. Can it be that there was a want of hooks, nets or seines?

* Barry's History of Massachusetts, p. 109.

† "It has been stated that they were at one time reduced to a single pint of corn, which, being divided, gave to each person five kernels, which were parched and eaten." In allusion to this tradition, at the bi-centennial celebration in 1820, "when much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts had congregated at Plymouth, and orators had spoken, and poets sang the praises of the Pilgrims; amidst the richest viands, which had been prepared to gratify the most fastidious epicure to satiety, *five* kernels of parched corn were placed beside each plate—a simple, but interesting and affecting memorial of the distresses of those heroic and pious men, who won this fair land of plenty and freedom and happiness, and yet, at times, were literally in want of a morsel of bread."—Barry's History of Massachusetts, p. 120.

There is but little said of any such lack—hardly enough to warrant a belief that that was the cause. Mourt has one allusion to such a need. In January: "As yet we had got but one cod; we wanted small hooks."* This rather indicates that they had hooks but needed some smaller ones. And what Winslow says in "Good News from New England," under date of June, 1622, only makes us wonder the more that they should have been so illy prepared to take what was so near at hand. After returning from his expedition to Monhegan for food, and describing the state in which he found the colonists, he says: "But here it may be said, if the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported, how could men undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence? I answer, everything must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one saith, will go into an orchard in the winter to gather cherries; so he that looks for fowl there in the summer will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March; but these extremities befell us in May and June. I confess, that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong seines and other netting, they for the most part brake through, and carried all away before them. And though the sea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor hawsers for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place, where divers sort of shell-fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished unless God had raised some unknown extraordinary means for preservation." Here we have a partial explanation; and we can but believe with Winslow, that men would not "undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence." Bradford's "History" and Mourt's "Relation" are constantly testifying to the abundance of fish and game, and to the taking of the same. Possibly one lack of supply grew out of the comparatively few Indians then in the neighborhood, owing to their great decrease from the ravages of disease a few years before—yet Mourt speaks of being able to obtain supplies by means of the Indians.

But whatever the real reason of this suffering of the "hungry Pilgrims" may have been, it seems a little strange to us of this day, when we realize the fact that so near at hand was enough food to supply nations; that, in-

* Young, in his "Chronicles," commenting upon this, says: "This was a singular oversight. If they had had fish-hooks they could hardly have suffered so much for want of food." And Dexter's note upon the same passage is: "To this single circumstance much of their discomfort in regard to food was due."

deed, from the years long before Weymouth and Champlain, down to those of Plymouth, much of this staple food had been taken to other countries; that every expedition made to neighboring Indian or fishing station, ought to have given abundant relief; and, if lack of hook, net or fowling-piece did exist, and was the primal cause, were not the leaders and promoters very much at fault in neglecting so important a factor for the success of their pilgrimage? *



* Some of our students and historians of to-day have thought of this matter, and, although not giving a perfectly satisfactory explanation, now and then one has given sufficient thought to the subject to have a theory. Here is one from Professor Adams:

“JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, *Feb.* 18, 1885.

“DEAR MR. GOSS:

“I have always had the notion that the Pilgrim Fathers were either very poor fishermen or had poor luck. If you will read ‘Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation’ (Collections of Mass. Hist. Society, pp. 168, 197, 262), you will find him confessing that they usually had ill-luck fishing; it was ‘a thing fatal.’ My theory is that the Pilgrims, brought up as agriculturists and craftsmen, did not know much about sea-fishing. Bad bait and wrong hooks might account for bad luck. Undoubtedly the Pilgrims could have obtained plenty of clams and ‘small fry’ along their shores, but it is a well-known fact that people living by the sea get very sick of this sort of diet. It probably was for the Pilgrim Fathers what shad used to be for the hired men in the Connecticut Valley, who used to stipulate with their employer that they should not be obliged to eat that fish oftener than once a week!

“Truly yours,

“HERBERT B. ADAMS.”

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Interesting Unpublished Letters of Burgoyne.

Contributed by John S. H. Fogg, M. D.

Nov: 12th 1777.

Burgoyne to Heath.

Sir,

No alteration having yet been made respecting the accomodation of the troops, you will not be surprised at the increase of my anxiety, and I am persuaded you will readily excuse the trouble it occasions you.

The time elapsed must have been sufficient to determine what the Government civil and military, is able or disposed to do, and I request from you, Sir, as speedy a communication as may be of their final decision.

On the part of the troops, I have to inform you, that the officers are ready to sign the parole proposed as soon as the terms necessarily previous to that obligation are fulfilled, and that proper explanation is given relative to some circumstances of the regulations. I am confident the latter are of a nature that will admit of no difficulty when laid before you.

Having intimated to you in my letter of yesterday my intention of not separating my lot from that of the army, I should not trouble you with any word at present upon the subject of quarters were it not that the arrival of my baggage and that of Maj: Genl: Phillips, and the present situation of it upon the Cambridge Common exposes any men destined to the care of it to great hardship in point of weather, and without a guard, I apprehend the security of our property would be small. The Houses you mentioned yesterday are so exceedingly inconvenient, the one in point of size, and the other in being deficient in every article or furniture, that to occupy either would make my condition worse than it is. The House of Mr Temple would certainly suit me, exceedingly well, and should the great essential matters of publick faith again take such a turn as might justify me in accepting a favour, I should certainly hold myself obliged to you for your good offices to procure me that particular quarter.

That nothing may be left undone by me to accommodate all the matters in agitation, I will desire M. Genl: Phillips to attend you tomorrow morning, if you approve of it, in order to discuss and regulate every point upon which difficulties have already arisen, or upon which they may be foreseen.

I have the honor to be with great personal regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient

Servant.

J. Burgoyne.

M : G : Heath.

*Burgoyne to Heath.*Dec^{ber} 16, 1777.

Sir,

I am obliged to you for your communication of the vote of the Congress : and as I conclude it may be held decisive, I beg the favour of you to pass a letter from me to General Pigott to desire the transports may sail for Boston the first fair wind. The letter shall be ready this afternoon, and, if you will have the kindness to dispatch it by an expeditious messenger I will readily pay the expense.

I send you the parole signed by the British Officers, the German one will be ready this afternoon. I have made a point to oblige you by leaving out all preamble and condition to the names, although the officers feel yet a disappointment in their quarters at Watertown.

I beg leave to remind you of the lists promised me of prisoners of war in this State, and likewise of the release of Cornet Grant an exchanged officer.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Servant.

J. Burgoyne.

M : G : Heath.

*Burgoyne to Heath.*Cambridge, January 13th 1778.

Sir,

Having confined myself in the letter transmitted to you yesterday entirely to the prosecution of Colo : Henley, I have now to take notice of the other matters contained in your favour of the 10th Instant. You state Sir, that the insults and abuses offered to your troops have been unparalleled "unless you have been grossly misinformed." Consider the character and conduct of Colo : Henley, from whom I am to suppose your reports have come, and then say whether you have not reason to suspect misinformation. Nor is he the only person to impose upon you. Cambridge and Boston abound with ill designing men who propagate calumny in order to colour persecution. The whole air is contaminated with lies. Be aware Sir of such reporters. They are your enemies as well as mine : They strike at the character of your State. The difference of our conduct gives me a right to make this expostulation : when I complain I offer proof of the grievance. You recriminate upon hearsay.

You next inform me, Sir, that if it can be made appear that any of the Soldiers sent to the Guardships by your order are innocent they shall be released.

By what means shall we make innocence appear when men are dragged to imprisonment at a long distance and without any possibility of appeal or communication of their cases ?

In the present instance however, I take you at your word. Innocence shall appear and you shall be the judge. Eighteen men are under confinement for an insult in which *one* man alone was concerned ; this is an undisputed fact. It necessarily follows to Physical demonstration, that seventeen are innocent. Now show me upon what principle you detain them : implicitly avow the act : and refuse to make an apology.

You treat with singular contempt the idea that such of the troops of the Convention as break your orders ought to be tried and punished by mine. In the first place Sir, though *my* poor Military erudition must be brought to shame in *your* opinion I must avow that idea : and with all due respect to *your* erudition I must next request, that if you again quote my words you will do so without variation or emendation. I do contend that to commit offenders to the punishment of their own Officers in the first instance, and in every case that will allow it, is consonant to reason and justice. I do not mean to deny that if upon experience it was found we were partial in our Judgments, or in our punishments, you have a right to take justice into your hands : but you ought at the same time to remember that you make yourself responsible to God and man that the innocent do not suffer.

I do assure you it never was my intention to let drop the complaint for which you call upon me against your Officers for enlisting men into *your* service. I inclose you copies of agreement and a certificate of a muster master. I have the originals ready if you require them.

To the positive testimony in these few cases I could add the strongest circumstantial proof that till very lately the practice was publickly countenanced by your officers in general.

I add Sir, the cases of M^r Dechambault and Cap^t Swettenham as stated in letters to me and Maj Kingston, and the deposition of Lieut^t. Wilkinson concerning the assault committed on him on thursday last ; and I can collect many other enormities of the same sort.

I come now to the last paragraph of your letter in which you recapitulate and sum up all abuses, riots, rescues, insults, &c that you are informed have been committed by these troops, and you conclude with a suspicion of highway robbery. It might have been more decent Sir, to have left that insinuation to your Printers in Boston : and indeed it would have better answered your purpose : for I observe in the paper of yesterday it is not suspected, but boldly and positively asserted, that the robbery of Mr. Hopkins was by Three regular Soldiers. My answer to all this is, that most of the accusations are false : others are exaggerated : and none are countenanced by me. That there have been levities, indiscretions, faults of omission, of neglect, and of liquor, I am ready to believe : but I have never spared any efforts to correct them and they have been pretty well atoned by the beating, imprisonment, and death received at the hands of your people.

Upon the whole it is with satisfaction and pride I reflect that were all these complaints verified, and compounded into one mass, they still would not, from

their nature, weigh a feather in the estimation of Justice against the articles of grievance in the opposite scale.

I am Sir

Your most obedient

Servant.

M : G : Heath.

J. Burgoyne.

Superscription

To

M : General Heath

Burgoyne to Heath.

Cambridge Jany: 15th 1778.

Sir,

You will readily believe that it is as painful to me, as it can be troublesome to you, to find matter of complaint the continual subject of our correspondence. I am nevertheless under the necessity of laying before you two reports from the Commissary General of the Convention troops. I am persuaded you will take immediate measures to redress that which concerns the badness of Provisions, and I hope you will not spare a reprimand to your Commissary for making out an account, which I am confident you mean't to be genuine, clear, and conclusive, in a manner that will appear to any impartial person, as purposely ambiguous, and designed to leave an opening for disputes, and to create delays.

You will consider Sir, that in waiting for this account nine or ten days have been already lost since you consented to Mr. Clarke's journey to Sir William Howe. I will now reduce this matter to a very short compass : and have only to request that you will furnish me with the price demanded for the Ration supposing it to be paid in Gold or Silver, and likewise the price of the Cord of wood, Candles, and other articles, not belonging to the ration : and I am willing to leave the quantities received to be settled by the respective Commissaries at more leisure. As this cannot possibly require time, I beg the favour of you to prepare passports for M^r. Clarke to set out the day after tomorrow.

I return you my personal thanks for sending Captain Piper here, and assure you no improper use shall be made of that civility.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient

Servant.

M : Gen^l : Heath.

J. Burgoyne.

Endorsed.

From Genl : Burgoyne.
relative to y^e Com^r making
up the Acc^t. Mr. Clarke's
going off &c.

Jany : 15. 1778.

Kingston to Heath.

Cambridge Jany : 30th 1778.

Sir,

I am at a loss to account for your putting a Field Officer of the British Service at so great a distance as to answer him by another hand. In Europe, letters from Gentlemen are answered by Men of the first Quality—even Princes in the most polished Courts observe this decorum—and the King of Prussia, whose Greatness will be remembered as long as history is read, answers himself the letters he receives *even* from his own subjects.

Am I to believe such a letter as your Secretary's could be approved of by a Gentleman in your station?

Accustomed to write with candor as well as freedom I stand upon the words of my letter—and despising all tortured "illiberal" constructions, must insist upon it that in *All Cases* of letters submitted for inspection (if they are not allowed to pass) there is an *implied faith* for their return.

Of this, Sir, You must be as much convinced as myself, or any Gentleman. There could be no ground of quarrell between L^d. Col : Kingston and M^r. Gen^l Heath, the "throwing dirt or wiping it off," I disdain as much as I do the expressions.

The honour of this Country is not impeached by me, with respect to our situation it is only concerned in keeping it's faith, and for the sake of thousands on both sides I hope it will never be affected in so delicate a point.

"Detection" of the contents of open letters does very little credit to Genius.—"Conviction" strained by the help of words that were never mine, from letters submitted for approbation or rejection, is an idea of Justice new indeed, and ought to be a stranger to the human Heart. "The Liberality customary in Europe" we are entitled to,—and I think, Sir, upon a candid reading of my letter of the 27th you will disclaim that very illiberal production of the Secretary

I am Sir,

P. S. You will please to observe the word "destitute" was none of mine but applied by the Secretary.

Your most obedient
humble Servant.
R^t. Kingston

To M : Gen^l. Heath.

Endorsed,
From Col : Kingston
relative to M^r Loring's
ansuer to his Letter
&c. Jany : 30. 1778.

REPRINTS
CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON

EXTRACTS BY WILLIAM GORDON, THE HISTORIAN OF THE REVOLUTION

To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.

SIR,

The following are extracts from letters of the late General Washington, to whose papers I had free access, when residing at his house for weeks, while procuring materials for the History of the American Revolution; and of some written to myself.

Yours,

W. GORDON

St. Neot's, April 14, 1800.

To Mr. Lund Washington, Mount-Vernon.

'November 26, 1775.

"Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of these kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor my wife are now in the way to do these good offices.

"G. W."

In a Letter of Jan. 23, 1778, the General thus writes :

"I have attended to your information and remark, on the supposed intention of placing General L. [*meaning Lee*, before captivity] at the head of the army; whether a serious design of that kind had ever entered into the head of a member of Congress or not, I never was at the trouble of inquiring. I am told a scheme of that kind is now on foot by some, in behalf of another gentleman—but whether true or false, whether serious, or merely to try the pulse, I neither know nor care; neither interested nor ambitious views led me into the service—I did not solicit the command, but accepted it after much entreaty, with all that diffidence which a conscious want of ability and experience equal to the discharge of so important a trust, must naturally create in a mind not quite devoid of thought; and after I did en-

gage, pursued the great line of my duty, and the object in view (as far as my judgment could direct) as pointedly as the needle to the pole. So soon then as the public get dissatisfied with my services, or a person is found better qualified to answer her expectation, I shall quit the helm with as much satisfaction, and retire to a private station with as much content, as ever the weary pilgrim felt upon his safe arrival in the Holy-land, or haven of hope ;—and shall wish most devoutly that those who come after may meet with more prosperous gales than I have done, and less difficulty. If the expectation of the public has not been answered by my endeavours, I have more reasons than one to regret it ; but at present shall only add, that a day may come when the public cause is no longer to be benefited by a concealment of our circumstances ; and till that period arrives, I shall not be among the first to disclose such truths as may injure it."

" February, 1778.

" With far the greatest part of mankind interest is the governing principle. Almost every man is more or less under its influence. Motives of public virtue may for a time, or in particular instances, actuate men to the observance of a conduct purely disinterested ; but they are not of themselves sufficient to produce a persevering conformity to the refined dictates and obligations of social duty."

" August 20, 1778.

" It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that, perhaps, ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that that which was the offending party, is now reduced to the use of the spade and pick-axe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

" November 14, 1778.

" The question of the Canada expedition, as it now stands, appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our national deliberations: I have one objection to it, untouched in my public letter, which is in my estimation insurmountable, and alarms all my feelings, for the true and permanent interests of my country.

" This is, the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, and putting them into the possession of the capital of that province ; attached to them by the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion, and former connection of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation to be resisted by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy. Canada would be a solid acquisition to France on all accounts ; and because of the numerous inhabitants,

subjects to her by inclination, who would aid in preserving it under her power, against the attempt of every other, France, it is apprehended, would have it in her power to give law to these States. Let us suppose, that, when the five thousand troops (under the idea of that number twice as many might be introduced) were entered into the city of Quebec, they should declare an intention to hold Canada as a pledge and surety for the debts due to France from the United States. It is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by its interest ; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. If France should even engage in the scheme, in the first instance, with the purest intentions ; invited by circumstances, she would alter her views.

“ As the Marquis clothed his proposition, when he spoke of it to me, it would seem to originate wholly from himself ; but it is far from impossible, that it had its birth in the cabinet of France, and was put into this artful dress to give it readier currency. I fancy I read in the countenance of some people, on this occasion, more than the disinterested zeal of allies. I hope I am mistaken, and that my fears of mischief make me refine too much, and awaken jealousies that have no sufficient foundation. G. W.”

I apprehend this was sent to some confidential member of Congress, and that the proposal of introducing French troops into Canada had been communicated to Congress by Fayette.

“ April 22, 1779.

“ To speak within bounds, ten thousand pounds will not compensate the loss I might have avoided by being at home, and attending a little to my own concerns. I am now receiving a shilling in the pound in discharge of bonds, which ought to have been paid me, and would have been realized before I left Virginia, but for my indulgence to the debtors. Alas ! what is virtue come to, what a miserable change has four years produced in the tempers and dispositions of the sons of America ! It really shocks me to think of it. G. W.”

The Monthly Magazine, Vol. IX. 545. London, July, 1800.

PETERSFIELD

MINOR TOPICS

THE SACKVILLE PAPERS

The English "Blue Books" have not, as a rule, much interest for American historical students. In the last report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, we came across a few interesting letters relating to America. Among the first of these is one from General Wolfe to Lord George Sackville, afterward Viscount Sackville, but better known to us as Lord George Germain—dated May, 1758, Halifax. General Wolfe complains of the great delays to which the expedition has been subjected. These delays were due, in his opinion, to the incapacity of the contractors, "the necessary effect of too much rum and money" upon the discipline of the troops. For example, he says that two sergeants were found drunk upon duty, "2 centries upon their posts and the rest wallowing in the dirt; I believe no nation ever paid so many bad soldiers at so high a rate." Later on he says that their clothes, arms, accoutrements, nay even their shoes and stockings are all improper for this country. "Ld. Howe," he adds, "is so well convinced of it that he has taken away all the men's breeches." What he had substituted is not told. In another letter, after describing the siege and capture of Louisburg, he writes: "Our troops scalped an Indian Sachem the day we landed, and have killed some few of the black tribe since." Wolfe's opinion of the Colonial militia may be gathered from the following, which is the last extract we shall make from his letters: "The Americans are in general the dirtiest most contemptible cowardly dogs that you can conceive. There is no depending upon 'em in action. They fall down dead in their own dirt and desert by batalions, officers and all. Such rascals as these are rather an incumbrance than any real strength to an army."

The next batch of documents relating to America consists of letters to and from Lord George Germain, written during the Revolutionary war, some of which are of considerable value, as they give an inside view of the causes of the dilatory manner of conducting the war on the part of the British. In one of these Admiral Arbuthnot, writing during the siege of Charleston, says that he fears Cornwallis will be unable to restrain the rapacity of his troops in their march up country. It was rumored that "the gentlemen of the army had proposed to those of the navy a division of such effects as may be found in the country in certain proportions." Arbuthnot thought this would be subversive of all discipline, but Sir Henry Clinton, then Commander-in-chief, was "so warm at times" that he could not introduce the subject properly. So he "washed his hands of the whole business." Sir Henry was not backward in his complaints against the worthy admiral, and declared the "absolute necessity of either removing him or of sending a new com-

mander of the squadron without delay." While this correspondence was at its height Admiral Rodney, commanding a squadron in the West Indies, arrived in New York. Arbuthnot immediately opened fire on him for what he called his "presumptuous interference in my command," and he "intreats his lordship [Lord George Germain] to add his voice to the check it is necessary for the public service this officer should receive; because his spirit inflamed by good fortune and unguided by reason, drives at the subversion of all order and all discipline." Rodney proceeded to refit his fleet at New York, using the stores, etc., which Arbuthnot had collected. The latter complaining of this "most wanton unprecedented [*sic*] abuse of power" as he called it, ended by asking to be relieved, as the "complicated labor of this command is too much for me at my advanced age, 68, near 55 years in active service." Either his advanced years or his projected retirement saved Arbuthnot from Rodney's wrath. But he fell heavily upon Clinton. "I could not help declaring to him," says Rodney, "that if his Majesty's service called me again to America, if affairs were not carried on with more alacrity and a quicker decision, it would be impossible for us to agree, for that I came to act and not to amuse myself with the diversions of New York; that I owned myself hurt at his permitting the officers of the army to act plays at a season when their arms might have been employed against the public enemy. Nothing could induce me to go to them. I gave my reason that I was unwilling to have it reported in England that I was diverting myself with the amusements of New York instead of doing my duty in suppressing the infamous rebellion of his Majesty's deluded subjects, who, in my opinion, should be allowed no breathing time, but pushed to the last extremity." Perhaps it was fortunate for us that Rodney and men of his stamp were not appointed to high commands in North America.

"It may be said Rodney was jealous of Clinton and the other Northern commanders." This may be true, although it is not probable, as he bore as hard on the officers of his own fleet as he did on Clinton. Indeed not long before he had written, "No man under my command, my own captain excepted, deserves praise. No one obeyed my signal or orders. * * * Those whose behavior was so gross as to fall within reach of my own eye during the battle are now to be tried, but if all those who through error of judgment, inattention to signals and orders were to be tried, where could I have found judges?"

The only thing which makes us doubt Rodney's judgment is an assertion in one of these letters that "Washington is certainly to be bought—honours will do it." It would be curious to know if this was the general opinion of the British army in New York in 1780.

In short, this collection of papers, many of which are marked "Private" or "Most Secret," deserves the careful attention of the future historian of the American Revolution.

EDWARD CHANNING.

HARVARD COLLEGE.

POCAHONTUS AND CAPTAIN SMITH

A REMINISCENCE

Since writing the note on Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," Boston, 1860—in which I called in question, for the first time, Captain John Smith's story of his own rescue by Pocahontus—and the notes to the new edition of Smith's "True Relation," Boston, 1866, on the same theme, I have never written a line on the subject for publication. I had no idea at the time that the matter would excite so much interest as it has. Much has been written during the last twenty-five years on both sides the question. Some of the criticisms which early met my eye by Southern writers opposed to my view, were temperate in spirit and excellent in taste; but I sometimes felt that the authors of them were not fully informed on the subject of which they wrote: that the bibliography of the case had not been mastered. On the other hand, several newspaper articles which were sent to me were discourteous and passionate in tone, while others were personally abusive.

"Is it not enough," asks one journal, "that the ruthless Yankee has devastated our fields and ruined our homes and slain our children? Must he also despoil the tomb? Will he not rest until he has rifled our very history of its choicest traditions, and stolen the brightest jewels of our romance?" One writer stigmatized this ruthless Northern vandal by comparing him to General Butler.

Some persons felt that in calling in question Smith's story I had attacked the character of Pocahontus herself, forgetting that this innocent and doubtless interesting child of ten years of age, as she first appeared to our hero, never claimed at that time or at any other to have rendered Captain Smith this service.

My own original notes, above referred to, were sufficiently dry and uninteresting to the general reader. They were such as a Doctor Dry-as-Dust might work up for his own amusement. The note on Wingfield's "Discourse," however, had early attracted the notice of Mr. Henry Adams, then in London as private secretary to his father, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, American Minister, and it so far interested him that he examined the subject of it independently, for himself, by aid of the books in the British Museum; and the result was an elaborate paper by him published in the *North American Review* for January, 1867. This was an admirable presentation of the whole question, giving a comparison of Smith's earlier and later statements throughout in a very effective manner, and showing how little reliance could be placed on the redoubtable captain as a truthful narrator of events, particularly in his later works, where his vanity and strong love of the marvelous disposed him to garnish the stories of his early adventures. Mr. Adams's paper was probably more extensively read than my notes.

This matter lies in a nut-shell. It is a case of Captain John Smith *versus* Captain John Smith; or Captain John Smith and all contemporary evidence, *versus* Captain John Smith's later stories. It is very much the case of Hennepin *versus*

Hennepin. Seeing that the case stands thus in all its nakedness, some writers have tried to make it appear that the original manuscript of the little black letter tract, "A True Relation"—probably contained the story of the rescue, but that it was deemed politic by the authorities in London to suppress it, and that it was left out in the publication—the writer of the preface admitting that something more was written which he thought "fit to be private" and omitted it. If there had been facts narrated in the letter, the publication of which would damage the colony by preventing colonization, or in any other way, they would, one would think, have been *silently* omitted, so that no questions would be asked. One reason given for the suppression of such an incident is the revelation it would give of the dangerous character of the Indians who surrounded the colony, which would discourage emigration. Why, then, was the full account which Smith gives in that letter of several conflicts with their savage foe printed—*e. g.*, the attack on the fort at Jamestown and its near surprise by four hundred Indians; the killing of his two men in the canoe on the Chicahominy, while on a peaceful search for supplies; the attack on himself by two hundred of Pamounkey's men, where he barely escaped with his life; and his own final capture?

The rescue episode would have been, on the other hand, a revelation of humanity not to be overlooked. It would have been the richest incident to be made public for promoting colonization. All the idle and romantic young men about London would have rushed for the colony. Shakespeare would have had a new plot for a drama more fascinating than the play of the *Tempest*.

But it is amusing to see the ingenuity shown in pointing out the exact place in the narrative where the incident belonged, and which was omitted by the politic editor. A hiatus is discovered where none should exist. However perfect and well-fitting may have been the joints in the armor of Captain Smith, it is certain that there are serious defects in the connecting links which join together the sentences of his "True Relation." I have already, in the reprint of that book, pointed out many places where a judicious critic could have rendered excellent service to the printer in mending the broken, half-finished and half-punctuated sentences, and in separating paragraphs which had no connection with each other.

But this little black letter volume itself, a copy of which is now lying before me, contains within its pages the evidence that, whatever may have been omitted from Captain Smith's letter, it was not the story of the rescue by Pocahontus. On the *verso* of leaf E 3—the book is unpagged—or on page 72 of the reprint of 1866, will be found a passage introducing Pocahontus to the reader for the first time, long after Smith had returned safely to Jamestown from his captivity among the Indians,—

"Powhatan, understanding we detained certain savages, sent his daughter, a child of ten years old, which not only for feature, countenance and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit the only Nonpareil of his country: this he sent by his most trusty messenger, called Rawhunt,

as much exceeding in deformity of person, but of a subtile wit and crafty understanding; he with a long circumstance told me how well Powhatan loved and respected me, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindness he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me, a deer and bread besides for a present: desiring me that the boy might come again which he loved exceedingly. His little daughter he had taught this lesson also; not taking notice at all of the indians that had been prisoners three days till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly and in good terms to entreat their liberty."

If there had been an elaborate story of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas while a prisoner with Powhatan, in the earlier part of the book, all this introduction and personal description of the young child near its close would have been as unnecessary as it would have been unnatural to the most unpracticed writer.

In conclusion, allow me to add that Smith's "True Relation," or "Newes from Virginia," its running title, was a private letter to a friend, not addressed to nor published by the Virginia Council in London. It was passed round in manuscript from hand to hand, till it finally fell to one who says he happened upon it "by chance, as I take it at the second or third hand," and being "induced thereunto by divers well willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it than myself," he "thought good to publish it," though then ignorant of the writer.

CHARLES DEANE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., *April* 5, 1885.

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS *

VI

(Continued from page 395, vol. xiii.)

UPPER HOUSE.—The Senate, National, or State. First used officially in Massachusetts in 1718. (See Drake's History of Boston, p. 558.) "Lower House," as applied to the more popular branch of legislature, originated at the same time.

VENDUE.—(French *vendu*, sold.) A shameless assignment of offices to the highest bidders. In a non-political sense the word was used as early as 1754 in Pennsylvania. (Mittelberger's Travels, p. 22.)

WAGON BOY.—The popular nickname of the Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio. In his youth he earned his living by driving a team on a Kentucky farm.

WAR CRIES.—The presidential campaign of 1884 saw the introduction of a species of political war-cry not previously in vogue. It was based on the well-known habit of drill-sergeants in marking time for a squad of recruits, to enable them to march in step. He calls out as the respective feet touch the ground: "Left—left—left—right—left!" the pauses between Nos. 1, 2, and 3, being twice as long as those between 3, 4, and 5. It is believed that the idea of calling out "Blaine—Blaine—James—G—Blaine" in this cadenced measure, originated in a Republican meeting in New York, where in a pause between speeches, a party of Columbia College students began stamping in cadence after the manner of the "gallery gods" during too long an intermission at the play. Some one started the Blaine cry, the idea took instantly, the whole assembly followed suit, and when the meeting was over, the crowd formed an impromptu procession and marched in step to its own music. These war-cries proved a conspicuous feature of the campaign. Both parties invented five-footed sentences, and distiches, and the *esprit* of great

processions everywhere was increased tenfold by these cadenced sing-song cries, which almost compelled men to march in step, and kept up the excitement as nothing else could have done. They even assumed a threatening character during the days immediately following the election, when the result was still in doubt, and might easily have become war-cries in earnest, had the suspense continued a little while longer. During this campaign too, the peculiar student cheer, (Rah—Rah—Rah) instead of the old-time and more formal "Hurra" three times repeated, was for the first time generally used in political ranks. So, too, was the custom, also borrowed from the colleges, of spelling some catch-word in unison, as for instance "S O A P!" the separate letters being pronounced in perfect time by several hundred voices at once.

WAR HORSE.—A term likely to be applied to any energetic political worker. It is used derisively as well as in an honorable sense. The combinations in which this occurs are too numerous for specification, but one may be cited as peculiarly effective phonetically: "The War Horse of the Shawangunk" (pronounced "Shongum," a range of mountains in Northern New Jersey.)

WHIGS.—The colonial period of American history knew two parties—Whigs and Tories—and these in their pre-revolutionary form are hardly entitled to recognition in strictly national politics. They were merely importations, and men belonged to one party or the other, according to the predilections of their forefathers in the mother-land. When, however, the disturbing questions arose which led to the Revolution, party lines became marked for local causes, the Whigs, as a general thing, declaring for independence, while the Tories remained loyal to

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the crown, or at most, favored passive resistance. After independence was achieved "Tory" ceased to be recognized as a party name, and was popularly used only as a term of opprobrium. The Whigs survived, but shortly divided on the then young State's rights question into "Particularists" and "Strong Government Whigs." The first were, to adopt modern phraseology, "State-rights men," while the others favored centralization. These last subsequently adopted the less awkward title of Federalists (*q. v.*), and the Whig name temporarily disappeared, to be revived in 1820, when it at once commanded a considerable following, but was not strong enough to achieve success until 1848, when it elected General Zachary Taylor to the presidency, defeating the Democrats for the first time in nearly half a century. Their last appearance on the political battle-field was in the campaign of 1852, but there are still living old Whigs who fondly cherish the memory of what was once a "grand old party."

WHITE LEAGUE.—An organization formed at the South in 1874 to check the growth of political power among the negroes.

WHISKEY RING.—A ring of whiskey dealers who, through the connivance of Government officials, were enabled to evade the revenue laws and amass large fortunes. The ring was temporarily broken up in 1875.

WHIP-SAWING.—The acceptance of fees or bribes from two opposing persons or parties. It is believed to have originated in the New York State Assembly, and is evidently derived from the whip-saw of mechanics, which cuts both ways.

WHIP OR WHIPPER-IN.—An English sporting term adopted into the political vocabulary of both countries. The duty of the "whip" is to see that the members of the party attend to their duty as voters or legislators.

WIDE-AWAKES.—During the first Lincoln campaign (1860) torch-light processions were as popular as they are now. One of these was ordered by the Republicans of Hartford, Conn., and some of the participants, clerks in a large dry-goods establishment, provided themselves with capes and caps of glazed cloth to protect their clothing from the torch-drippings. The marshal of the occasion, having an eye for uniformity, collected these men and placed them at

the head of the line, where they attracted much notice. The idea was at once taken up by "Wide-Awake" Republicans; all the local clubs were uniformed, other towns and States followed suit, and in a surprisingly short time the Northern States were mustered in the Wide-Awake ranks. The organization and drill was semi-military, and many a soldier who subsequently fought in the Union cause thus received his first training. The Democrats caught up the idea, and organized clubs called "Little Giants" (*q. v.*) on a similar plan, in honor of their candidate, the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas. These also served as training-schools for Northern soldiers. The name Wide-awake was as early as 1853 applied to the Know-Nothings (*q. v.*), and the light-colored soft felt hats, which they were supposed to wear, were termed "wide-awake hats."

WIGWAM.—Primarily an Indian word meaning a cabin or hut. The Tammany Society of Philadelphia called its place of meeting a wigwam as early as 1789, and during the Harrison campaign (see "Log Cabin," etc.), log cabins were used as campaign meeting places under the same name. As early as 1859-60 huge buildings of rough boards were erected for political purposes in large towns, and the practice has been kept up ever since. These, too, are known as wigwams.

WILMOT PROVISIO.—A measure introduced into Congress by David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, in 1846, absolutely excluding slavery from the new territories then about to be acquired from Mexico. The measure was debated at great length, and finally suffered defeat, but the agitation led to the first formation of the "Free Soil" party (*q. v.*).

WIRE-PULLER.—The unsuspected political manager who causes events to take place, as does the operator of a Punch and Judy show, himself being invisible, and the machinery concealed.

YOUNG HICKORY.—Martin Van Buren was so called because the political mantle of "Old Hickory" (Jackson) was said to have fallen upon his shoulders.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

BOBOLITION, BOBOLITIONIST, ETC.—The *Nation*, in pointing out the omission of the above

derisive nickname from Part I. of *Political Americanisms*, said that it was in use as early as 1838. The statement called out the following letter from Mr. E. J. Stearns, of Easton, Md.:

Bobolition, if not *Bobolitionist*, was in use much earlier. At least as early as 1824 I saw the word on a broadsheet containing what purported to be an account of a bobolition celebration at Boston, July 14. At the top of the broadsheet was a grotesque procession of negroes. Among the toasts or sentiments were the following:

"Massa Wilberforce, de brack man bery good friend; may he nebber want a bolish to he boot.

"De Nited State; de land ob liberty, 'cept he keep slave at de South. No cheer! Shake de head!

"Dis year, de fourth ob July come on the fifth; so, ob course, the fourteenth come on de fifteenth."

It is by this last that I fix the date. During my boyhood (*pueritia* in the limited application) there were but three years in which "the fourth of July came on the fifth." It was certainly not on the first of these; I was too young then. It may have been on the second; but it was probably on the last.

DOUGHFACE.—In 1838 the Democratic Congressmen from the Northern States decided in caucus in favor of a resolution requiring all petitions relating to slavery to be laid upon the table without debate. This identified the party as it then existed with the slave-holding interest, and its Northern representatives were stigmatized as "dough-faces." (Thurlow Weed's *Memoirs*, II. 427.) I am further indebted to Mr. W. P. Garrison for the following reference.

George Bradburn (of Massachusetts), in a political speech in Ohio (in 1856?) said, of "the baser sort of Northern demagogues," that John Randolph—"The caustic Virginian, in his Congressional seat, branded them as 'Doe-faces.' I am not sure but we have dulled the point of that pungent epithet by changing its original orthography. Randolph spelt the word, D-O-E face, in allusion to the timid startled look of that animal, which is said to shrink from the reflection of its own face in the water."

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(*Memorial of George Bradburn*,) Boston, 1883, p. 134.

"When that scornful Roanoke artist placed his branding-iron on the base brows of this whole race of demagogues, he exclaimed, in slow, sharp, quaint intonations of voice so peculiarly his own—"It is not in our own strength that we of the South have always conquered you of the North. We have done it by using your own Doughfaces (*sic*) Your Doughfaces! (*sic*) They are dirty dogs. They will eat dirty pudding.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 138).

MORGAN, MORGANIZED, ETC.—A descendant of Mr. Thurlow Weed has kindly called the author's attention to what is doubtless the only authentic version, alike of Morgan's disappearance and of the famous saying which was somewhat guardedly cited in the earlier pages of this glossary. In his autobiography (Vol. I., p. 319), Mr. Weed says: "The election of 1827 elicited an accusation against me, which assumed proportions not dreamed of by those with whom it originated. * * * Ebenezer Griffin, Esq., one of the council of the 'Kidnappers,' who was going to Batavia to conduct the examination, observed laughingly to me, 'After we have proven that the body found at Oak Orchard is that of Timothy Monroe, what will you do for a Morgan?' I replied in the same spirit, 'That is a good enough Morgan for us until you bring back the one you carried off.'" On the following day the "*Rochester Daily Advertiser*," gave what became the popular version of the story—namely that Mr. Weed had declared that whatever might be proven, the body "was a good enough Morgan until after the election."

In concluding, for the time at least, this collection of *Political Americanisms*, the author desires gratefully to acknowledge the valuable suggestions which he has received from various quarters. Many of these he hopes to use in further expanding a glossary which is necessarily incomplete in its present form, and he will thankfully receive any additional facts, or contributions which may come within the knowledge of his readers.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

THE END.

NOTES

TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON — The Honorable Robert C. Winthrop concludes his eloquent oration on the completion of the National Monument to Washington in these words: "Our matchless obelisk stands proudly before us to-day, and we hail it with the exultations of a united and glorious nation. It may or may not be proof against the cavils of critics, but nothing of human construction is proof against the casualties of time. The storms of winter must blow and beat upon it. The action of the elements must soil and discolor it. The lightnings of Heaven may scar and blacken it. An earthquake may shake its foundations. Some mighty tornado or resistless cyclone may rend its massive blocks asunder and hurl huge fragments to the ground. But the character which it commemorates and illustrates is secure. It will remain unchanged and unchangeable in all its consummate purity and splendor, and will more and more command the homage of succeeding ages in all regions of the earth.

GOD BE PRAISED, THAT CHARACTER IS OURS FOREVER!"

FRANKLIN'S INFLUENCE—La Science du Bonhomme Richard ou le chemin de la fortune. Tel qu'il est Clairement indiqué dans un vieil Almanach de Pensylvanie intitulé: L'Almanach du bonhomme Richard. Imprimé au Collège de Tungwen. Peking, 1884. [18 leaves. French version, pp. 1-15. Chinese version, 9 leaves.]

The influence of Benjamin Franklin having coursed through the economical systems of his own country and Europe

is now, by means of his own craft, communicated through the College of Tungwen in the translation indicated above for the purposes of China. The tiny volume is another article to be added to the already rich Franklin bibliography.

It indicates that the French, who keep Poor Richard's Maxims in print, are acting as colporteurs for our most distinctive tract, even when it has ceased to have currency, save as a *curio*, at home.

T. F. D.

A CONNECTICUT NEGRO—Run away from Abraham Davenport, of Stamford in Connecticut, the 4th of June Instant, a Mulatto Man Slave, named Vanhall, aged 31 Years, about 5 feet 4 or five inches high, very swarthy; has a small Head and Face, a large Mouth, and has an odd Action with his Head when talking with any Person; has very long Arms and large Hands, for a Person of his Size, and has an old Countenance for one of his Age; his Hair like others of the Kind, was but lately cut off; was brought up to the Farming Business; is a lively active Fellow, and pretends to understand the Violin; Had on when he went away, a Felt Hat, a grey cut Wig, a light homespun Flannel lappelled Vest, which had been lined with fine old Cotton and Linnen Ticken, Doeskin Breeches; he took several Pairs of Stockings, and one or two pair of Shoes, a Violin, and a small Hatchet, &c., and 'tis probable he might change his Cloaths. Whoever takes up and secures said Mulatto, so that his Master may have him again, shall receive Five Dollars Reward, and reasonable charges paid, by Abraham

Davenport.—*N. Y. Mercury*, July 28, 1760.

PETERFIELD

THE OLD BARRACKS AT TRENTON—William S. Stryker, the Adjutant-General of New Jersey, writes: "The erection of these barracks commenced on the 31st day of May, 1758, and the work was pushed on so rapidly that we find more than one-half the building filled with soldiers on the 6th of November following. It was, however, not fully completed until March, 1759, as appears by an inscription on the building. Built in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the fear of the Indian knife and tomahawk raised a great alarm among the people of (New Jersey) King George the Second, its halls filled twenty years later with the tramp of the patriot soldier who had enlisted to deliver his country to a foreign power, or noisy with the revels of the hireling grenadier, who for gold was trying to subjugate a people determined to be free, it is to-day, in this year of peace, the quiet retreat of the aged, worn with the toils and trials of three-score years and ten."

VALUABLE RELICS—Among the many valuable and unique relics in the historical rooms of General R. W. Judson, of this place, is a captain's commission to John Tibbits, dated July 6, 1767, signed by Stephen Hopkins, then Governor of Rhode Island.

It is under the old English seal, and was issued three years before the "Boston Massacre," six years before the great "Boston Tea Party," eight years before the first gun of the Revolution was

fired, and nine years before the old patriot signed his name to the great Declaration. It closes as follows: "Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony aforesaid, the Sixth Day of July, in the Seventh Year of His Majesty's Reign, 1767. STEP. HOPKINS. By His Honor's Command.

HENRY WARD, Secr'y."

S. A.

OGDENSBURG, N.Y., April 2, 1885

THE GOOD OLD DAYS—A Scarlet Coloured Umleralla, considerably faded, but not half worn, left by a Lady about 4 weeks ago, at some house not recollected: Any person who will return the same to the subscriber, living in Smith Street, to whom it belongs, will receive her hearty thanks, or any other reasonable recompence. CATH. VAN DYKE

New York, June 29, 1774.

W. K.

THE CLEVELAND FAMILY—The poem on "Family Blood" in *The Poets of Connecticut*, by Rev. Aaron Cleveland, great-grandfather of the President, begins:

"Four kinds of blood flow in my veins,
And govern, each in turn, my brains.
From Cleveland, Porter, Sewall, Waters,
I had my parentage in quarters.
My father's father's names I know,
And further back no doubt might go."

If, in prophetic vision, the poet could have foreseen the famous volumes by Chancellor Walworth, *The Genealogy of the Hyde Family*, he would have hastened to add that name to his family record.

For the information of those who know that their own families are in that work, yet who, from its rarity, have not easy access to its pages, this is written :

The generations of President Grover Cleveland, as given by Chancellor Walworth, are : 1. William Hyde, one of the first settlers of Norwich, Connecticut, in 1660. His son, 2. Samuel Hyde, m. Jane Lee. His son, 3. John Hyde, m. (1698) Experience Abel. His son, 4. Capt. James Hyde, m. (1743) Sarah Marshall. His daughter, 5. Abiah Hyde, m. (1768) Rev. Aaron Cleveland (son of Rev. Aaron Cleveland and Susannah Porter). His son, 6. William Cleveland, m. (1793) Margaret Falley. His son, 7. Richard Falley Cleveland, m. (1820) Anne Neale, of whose children are, 8. Grover Cleveland and Rose Elizabeth. The record shows that all the descendants of William Hyde of Norwich are cousins, more or less remote, of President Cleveland ; as are also all of the Lee blood who descend from Thomas Lee, father of Jane, who married Samuel Hyde of the second generation. The immediate branch to which the writer belongs, through the Griswolds and Lords, comes seven times from the same Hyde and Lee ancestors.

Those of the Hyde and Lee descent, who are of the President's political party, may therefore congratulate themselves on their kinship. Those who are *not* may comfort themselves with the knowledge that the President's sisters are on their side. May they not also hope that the constant influence of the one who presides over the President's household, a highly educated, clear-minded woman,

accustomed to take an active part in public interests, may be "a power behind the throne" to soften party prejudices, and radiate a healthful influence for the general good ?

EVELYN MCCURDY SALISBURY

BILL OF SALE OF NEGRO WOMAN, in possession of William Edward Dean, LL.B., Fishkill, New York : "Know All Men by these Prefents, That I, Thomas Jonour Merchant of the Island of Bermudus—for and in Confideration of the Sum of Fourty Pounds lawful Money of the Province of New York to me in hand paid by the widow peter reamect m'chant of New York—whereof I hereby acknowledge the Recceipt, and my self therewith fully satisfied

Have bargained, fold and delivered unto the faid widow peter reamect of New York a young negro woman about seventeen or eighteen years of age called adigon—To have and to hold the faid bargained Premifes unto the faid widow peter reamect of New York her heirs, Executors, Administrators and Affigns, To the only proper ufe and behove of the faid widow Peter reamect her heirs Executors, Administrators and Affigns forever.

And I the faid Thomas Jonour m^{reht} of Bermudus for my self, Executors and Administrators the faid bargained premifes unto the faid widow Peter reamect her heirs Executors, Administrators and Affigns againft all Perfons fhall and will warrant, and forever Befend by these Prefents. In witnefs whereof I have hereunto fet my Hand and Seal this twenty six Day of november in the fourth

Year of His Majesties Reign Annoq ;
Domini 1705.

Tho. Jonour L.S.

Sealed and Delivered in
the Prefence of us,
Thomas Bayeux,
John Auboyneau
Benjamin Tharriette.

*Copied word for word and letter for
letter.* W. E. DEAN

GENIUS OF WILLIS—Mr. Henry A. Beers, in his recently issued work on N. P. Willis, says: "His genius, such as it was, was frankly external. His bright fancy played over the surface of things. His curiosity and his senses demanded gratification. He needed stir, change, adventure. He was always turning his own experiences to account, and the more crowded his life was with the impressions from outside, the more vivid his page. He had the artist's craving for luxury, and was fond of quoting a saying of Godwin: 'A judicious and limited voluptuousness is necessary to the cultivation of the mind, to the polishing of the manners, to the refining of the sentiment, and to the development of the understanding.' This taste for the sumptuous had been starved in Willis at home. Not only were literature and society in America far more provincial then than now, but life was plainer in every way. The rapid growth of wealth had obliterated the most striking contrasts between cities like New York and Boston, on the one hand, and cities like London and Paris, on the other. In every foreign capital nowadays one finds his simple republican compatriots grumbling at the absence

of American conveniences, cursing the steamboats, the railway carriages, the hotels, the luggage system, the portable baths, and bed-room candles, and proclaiming loudly that the Americans are the most luxurious people on the face of the earth. In Europe, and especially in England, circumstances threw Willis into a new world. He shared for a time in the life of the titled aristocracy and the idle rich, and he took to it like one to the manor born. He was at home at once amid all that gay ease and leisure. The London Clubs, the parks, the great country houses, Almack's, and the Row, the beautiful haughty women, the grace, indolence, and refinement, hereditary for generations, seemed no more than the birthright of this New England printer's son, from which some envious fairy had hitherto shut him out."

MONTREAL A SOCIAL CENTER—Dr. Francis Parkman, writing of Montreal in 1757, says: "Montreal, the military heart of Canada, was in the past winter its social center also, where were gathered conspicuous representatives both of Old France and of New; not men only, but women. It was a sparkling fragment of the reign of Louis XV. dropped into the American wilderness. Montcalm was here with his staff and his chief officers, now pondering schemes of war, and now turning in thought to his beloved château of Candiac, his mother, children and wife, to whom he sent letters with every opportunity. To meet his manifold social needs, he sends to his wife orders for prunes, olives, anchovies, muscat wine, capers, sausages, confectionery, cloth for liveries, scent bags of two kinds, and perfumed pomatum for presents, closing in

postscript with an injunction not to forget a dozen pint-bottles of English lavender. When Rigaud was about to march with his detachment against Fort William Henry, Montcalm went over to La Prairie to see them. 'I reviewed them,' he writes to Bourlamaque, 'and gave the officers a dinner. There were two tables, for thirty-six persons in all. On Wednesday there was an assembly at Madame Varin's : on Friday the Chevalier de Lévis

gave a ball. He invited sixty-five ladies, and got only thirty, with a great crowd of men ; and the company staid till seven in the morning. As for me, I went to bed early. I had had that day eight ladies at a supper given to Madame Varin. Tomorrow I shall have half a dozen at another supper, given to I do not know whom, but incline to think it will be La Roche Beaucour. The gallant chevalier is to give us still another ball.' "

QUERIES

FRENCH FORT AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN—Was there ever such a fort? By what author is one mentioned? On what maps is such a fortification recorded?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WIS.

REV. JACOB JOHNSON—This clergyman, born Groton, Connecticut, in 1713, removed to Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, 1773, and died there in 1797. He graduated Yale College, 1740. Previous to his removal to Pennsylvania, he was a missionary among the Oneida Indians in New York State. In O'Callaghan's Documentary History of New York, IV., 390, *et seq.*, his name occurs signed to various letters, thus: "Jacob *W^s* Johnson," and "Jacob *W.S.* Johnson." The original letters and signatures have been compared with his letters and signatures written while in Pennsylvania, and found

to be identical. But the letters *W S* occur in his name only during his stay as missionary at Fort Stanwix, about 1768. Can any one explain the meaning of these letters? Were they inserted to distinguish him from any other minister of the same name in these parts, or were they a designation of any peculiar office?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

WILKESBARRE, PA.

ROGER WILLIAMS—I should be glad to learn through the columns of your valuable Magazine, or otherwise, the date and place of birth of Roger Williams, when married and to whom; and the names of his children with date of birth, and to whom married, if practicable? Any other facts will be appreciated.

E. E. BOWER

Box 205, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

REPLIES

BEDLOW'S ISLAND—*A curious blunder in Orthography* [xiii. 406]—It is not easy to explain "how, why, or when the final W in this well known name was changed into an o or oe;" and until

the miscreant who did not know how to spell (probably some government clerk), makes a full confession, the inquirer. "A. B. E." will hardly be able to locate the responsibility of the curious blunder,

The reason that it is perpetuated is simply because public attention has never been called to the fact. Now that the island is to become famous, the authorities will undoubtedly see the wisdom of correcting so glaring an error. The conveyances of the property from time to time during the last two hundred and twenty-five years, are mute witnesses to the strength and importance of the final w. After the death of the first proprietor of Bedlow's Island, Isaac Bedlow, his children, Isaac Bedlow, Sarah Burger, Catharine Hassarden, and Mary Smith, "agreed by instrument of writing bearing date the 29th December, 1693," to divide the estate equally. In course of years Mary Smith, one of the daughters, by inheritance and purchase, became legally possessed of the whole island; and on the 9th August, 1732, conveyed her entire estate to two trustees—Adolph Philipse and Henry Lane. In 1746, Adolph Philipse, the surviving trustee, conveyed Bedlow's Island to Archibald Kennedy, for the consideration of £100. In 1750, 10th February, John Cruger, mayor, we find it "Ordered, that Aldermen Livingston and Lispenard, do immediately wait upon Archibald Kennedy, Esq., and purchase of him for this corporation the island commonly called Bedlow's Island, for any sum not exceeding £1000, in order to erect a Pest house thereon." In 1769, September 6, it was "Ordered that Evert Pell occupy Bedlow's Island during pleasure of the Corporation." In 1786, 30th January, it was "Ordered that the Treasurer let out Bedlow's Island."

The most important record of that century, however, is under the date of 1794, 21st April, Richard Varick, Mayor:

"Bedlow's Island granted to the State of New York for the purpose of erecting fortifications. When no longer used as a fortification to revert back to the Corporation." The correct orthography is Bedlow. EDITOR

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC [xiii. 281 and 407]—This sermon, said to have been preached by the Rev. Joab Trout on the eve of the battle of Brandywine, is printed in the *Collections of Historical Society of Pennsylvania* for May, 1851, also in *Headley's Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*. These differ from each other and from the copy published in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, xiii. 281. It is a fraud; there was no such person as the Rev. Joab Trout. It bears the ear-marks of George Lippard. I. C.

ALLEGHENY, PA.

THE LEADEN PLATE—As a bit of evidence regarding the "Leaden plate" referred to by Mr. Horace Edwin Hayden, in the August, 1884, number of the *Magazine* [xii. 182], I would submit the following letter, the original of which is in my possession :—Sir: Your favor of 22d inst. I have received, and am glad you are of the same opinion with me in relation to Indian Affairs. I send you a Copy of an Inscription on a leaden Plate, stolen from Jean Cœur some months since in the Seneca's Country, as he was going to the River Ohio, which plainly demonstrates the French Scheme by the exorbitant claims therein mentioned, also a Copy of a Cayuga Sachim's speech to Col. Johnson, with his Reply on the Subject matter of the Plate, which I hope will come time enough to communicate

to your Assembly. I am with very great regard,

Sir, Your Honour's most obedient
and very humble Servant,
(Signed) G. CLINTON

Fort George, 29 January, 1750.
To Honble. Gouv. Hamilton.

This letter itself and the speech and reply referred to therein will be found printed in full in the *Colonial Records* of Penn., Vol. V., p. 508, etc. There is also a translation of the plate which shows that this particular one was buried, or to be buried, by "Celeron, Commandant of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonnière." It says it "was buried at the confluence of the Ohio and Ich-a-da-koin, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio." On the authority of the Rev. Dr. Eaton, by the Ohio, in this case, we are to understand the Allegheny, and the creek named as the French Creek. This locality is, we believe, very near the "Indian God Rock," mentioned by Mr. Hayden; and shows that a plate bearing exactly the same inscription and date as the one usually figured was found as early as 1750.

The same volume of the *Records* contains a letter from Celeron to Governor Hamilton, dated August 16, 1749, and complaining of what he terms English encroachments upon French territory.

D. NCN. STAUFFER
NEW YORK CITY.

DID WASHINGTON LAUGH? [xi. 80]

—Two further instances in which the usually grave Washington is said to have laughed, in moments of serious danger, will, it is believed, interest the readers of the Magazine.

"When the fate of the American army seemed to depend upon making a retreat from the encampment at Trenton, Washington laughed at an odd remark of old General Scott, who was about to defend the most important and dangerous post. Scott, who thought Washington was gone, said to his men, that they had been shooting too high. 'For that reason, boys, whenever you see them fellows first begin to put their feet on this bridge, *do you shin'em.*' The bridge was defended and the army preserved."

The second occasion was when Washington, as directed by a resolution of Congress, administered the oath of allegiance to the officers of the army, before leaving Valley Forge. Major-General Charles Lee—an Englishman—withdraw his hand from the proffered Bible. "This movement," says Lossing, "was repeated, to the astonishment of all. Washington inquired the reason of such strange conduct, when Lee replied, 'As to King George, I am ready enough to absolve myself from all allegiance to him; but I have some scruples about the Prince of Wales.' Even the grave Washington was obliged to join in the laughter which followed this odd reply. Lee eventually took the oath with the rest, and subscribed his name."

N. B. WEBSTER
NORFOLK, VA.



SOCIETIES

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting April 9, in the Society's room, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in the chair. The attendance was unusually large. The record of the last meeting, and the Reports of the Council, of the Librarian, and the Treasurer were read and approved. Mr. Saltonstall, from the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report in writing, which, after referring in feeling terms to Mr. Winthrop's declining to serve as president another year, concluded as follows :

Your committee, therefore, does not consider that it would be fitting or proper that so long and distinguished a term of service, to which so much is owed, should come to an end unmarked. Various means of commemorating it have been thought of, but among these none has so much commended itself to the judgment of your committee as a suggestion from some of the more active members, that a full-length portrait of Mr. Winthrop should be obtained,—the gift of individuals, but to which all members of the Society would be at liberty to contribute,—and should be placed in the rooms of the Society with a suitable inscription. No formal action is called for to bring this about. It is understood that in accordance with the suggestion now made, a committee of members will be formed, who will take the matter in charge. This course will doubtless be most agreeable to Mr. Winthrop, as being the voluntary and spontaneous act of those composing the Society over which he has for so many years presided. It will best mark, too, the esteem in which

the donors hold him, and the personal affection which they will always feel towards him. All of which is respectfully submitted.

Charles F. Adams, Jr., Leverett Saltonstall, John Lowell, committee.

On a ballot the following officers were elected for the ensuing year : President, Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D. ; Vice-presidents, Charles Deane, LL.D., Francis Parkman, LL.B. ; Recording Secretary, the Rev. Edward J. Young, A.M. ; Corresponding Secretary, Justin Winsor, A.B. ; Treasurer, Charles C. Smith, Esq. ; Librarian, the Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D. ; Cabinet-keeper, Fitch Edward Oliver, M.D. ; Executive Committee of the Council, William W. Greenough, A.B., the Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, Abbott Lawrence, A.M., Abner C. Goodell, A.M., the Hon. Melan Chamberlain, LL.B.

Dr. Ellis, on taking the chair said :

"I must gratefully recognize my high appreciation of the honor of being placed in the chair of this Society, the oldest of the now numerous associations of the class in our country, lacking but six years to complete a century. The honor is twofold : first, in the place assigned me, and, second, in being the successor in it of one who has for thirty years filled the chair with such grace and dignity, such wealth of attainments and accomplishments. Happily, we are not to feel that we have parted with him ; remembering the venerable years with which his predecessor continued with us after his retirement from our presidency.

* * * * *

"I have held, and may have ventured to express the conviction, that in the

near or distant future the term of Mr. Winthrop's presidency may be referred to as a golden period in the records of this Society, for its full harmony, its healthful prosperity, and for the good work accomplished. Henceforward, more and more, it should be a prime object for those in its limited membership, to reinforce it by inviting to it men, young or mature, with acquisitions and trained intelligence, with congenial tastes, and, whatever the profession or task-work which engages them, with a degree of leisure to be spent in these rooms and with these materials."

Mr. Winthrop, who was greeted with loud applause, made a most feeling and appropriate reply, in which he referred to the distinguished persons, now dead, who had belonged to the Society since his first election to it more than forty-five years ago, and to the great names in history and literature—Sparks, Everett, Ticknor, Prescott, Longfellow and Emerson—which had adorned its membership during his tenure of the presidency, and he expressed his hope of still being able occasionally to attend the meetings.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting at the Cabinet, Providence, on the evening of April 7, President Gammell in the chair. Reports were read by the Secretary, Amos Perry, and by the Librarian. Among the gifts reported were several autograph letters of great value, and from the Honorable William A. Courteney, Mayor of Charleston, South Carolina, a copy of the "Great seal of the Lords proprietors of the Province of Carolina in the time of Charles II., displaying the

reverse sides of the coat of arms of the proprietors, being a fac-simile of a wax impression of the seal in possession of the Public Record Office, London, Eng." These Lords were eight in number, and their autographs are attached to the seal. The whole is a most handsome piece of workmanship. President Gammell read a very interesting paper on the life of Isaac Miles Bull, who died last autumn and who spent a portion of his life in Rhode Island, as a manufacturer, though he passed many years of his life in China. Mr. James M. Arnold spoke on the way the town records of North Kingstown were preserved, and of the picture of the "Drawing of the Deed," which he said was drawn up in Pulpit Rock, North Kingstown. He also referred to a number of natural curiosities in this section of the country.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its second anniversary meeting April 12, 1885. In the afternoon a business meeting was held in the parlors of the Young Men's Christian Association building, the President, Honorable John Jay, in the chair. The Secretary, the acting Librarian, and the Treasurer, read reports, and thirty-eight new members were elected. The following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:

President, John Jay.

Vice-Presidents, for New York, E. F. De Lancey; for Staten Island, Chauncey M. Depew; for New Rochelle, Henry M. Lester; for New Paltz, A. T. Clearwater; for Boston, Robert C. Winthrop; for New Oxford, Richard Alney; for Narragansett, William Ely; for Pennsyl-

vania, Charles M. Du Puy; for South Carolina, Daniel Ravenel.

Secretary, A. V. Wittmeyer.

Treasurer, M. H. Bartow.

Executive Committee, Joseph H. Gautier, B. F. De Costa, F. J. de Peyster, P. W. Gallaudet, and A. G. Vermilye.

In the evening a public meeting of the Society was held in the French Church Du Saint Esprit, at which the President, Mr. Jay, made an address reviewing the progress made by the Society during the past year; and the Rev. Prof. David D. Demarest read a paper on the "Huguenots on the Hackensack," in the course of which he said: "Several families of Huguenots settled on the Hackensack River in the year 1678. The leading spirit of this colony was David des Marest, who had purchased a large tract of land from the Tappan Indians, the year preceding. He was born at Beauchamp, a village in Picardy, France, about the year 1620. His father, Jean des Marest, subsequently removed, doubtless on account of the persecutions, to Middleburg, on the island of Walcheren, Zeeland. David there married Marie Sohier, daughter of Francois Sohier, of Nieppe, a town of Hainault, and thence removed to Mannheim, in the Palatinate, where the French Protestants enjoyed greater privileges. In 1663 he, with his wife and four children, embarked for America, which they reached in the month of April of that year. He joined the Huguenot colony at Staten Island, and was appointed a delegate to the Provincial Assembly called to consider the state of affairs just before the surrender of New Netherland to the British in 1664.

After a residence of two years on Staten Island he bought property in New

Harlem, and removed thither, where he resided twelve and a half years. He was connected with the Collegiate Dutch Church of New York, though attending French services when they were introduced, which was as early as 1674. He then bought property in New Jersey, with a view of bringing over some thirty or forty families of his countrymen and co-religionists from France to occupy it. The land purchased must have embraced several thousand acres on the eastern side of the Hackensack River. The southern boundary ran along a creek which empties into the Hackensack at New Bridge, about two miles north of the village of Hackensack, afterwards called French Creek. Running eastward, this boundary was a little north of Tenafly, towards the Palisades. The western boundary was the Hackensack River, extending northward into the province of New York—the boundary between the two provinces then being farther south than the present one. The eastern boundary was a creek running northward through the Closter Valley and near to the Palisades, and which turned westward and entered the Hackensack. The deed was given by Mendawasey, Sachem of the Tappan Indians, and twenty-six members of his tribe, to Sir George Carteret, Lord Proprietor of New Jersey, in behalf of David des Marest and his children, and payment was made in wampum, hatchets, blankets, hoes, knives, rum, etc., etc.

To this tract David des Marest removed with his wife, his two sons, Jean and David, and their wives and children, an unmarried son, Samuel, and Jaques La Roe. They located at Old Bridge, nearly four miles above Hackensack.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOT EMIGRATION TO AMERICA. By CHARLES W. BAIRD, D.D. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 802. With maps and illustrations. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

This handsome work is a fit companion to the *Rise of the Huguenots of France*, by Professor Henry M. Baird, the brother of Dr. Charles W. Baird, noticed in these pages in December, 1883 [x. 523]. The story of the Huguenot Emigration to America is the fruit of careful investigations that have been in active progress for ten or twelve years, not only in this country but in France and England. The materials used by Dr. Baird have been found largely in unpublished documents. The fullness and the accuracy of the information obtained appears in every chapter. The reader begins with the early efforts to project colonies of French Protestants in America, learns of the train of events consequent upon the signing of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, of the settlement of Acadia, and the persecutions that drove so many of the French people from their native France, and may trace with tolerable exactitude the fortunes of hundreds of Huguenot families in America. The names alone of a large number of the emigrants, recorded with pains-taking care by the accomplished author, in text, foot-notes and appendices, are sufficient to render these noble octavo volumes priceless in all the future. No library can afford to do without them, and the descendants of the Huguenot emigrants, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will seek and read and treasure them for their children and their children's children. It is a notable fact that Dr. Baird is the first historical writer to present in connected and substantial form the interesting account of the Huguenot emigration to America. Glowing tributes have indeed been paid to the memory of the persecuted exiles, and much has been said of the value of the contribution made by them to the American character and spirit. But the entire literature of the subject, until the appearance of this excellent work, is comprehended in a few magazine and newspaper articles, passages in works on more general themes, and a few monographs relating to local settlements. Dr. Baird writes with scholarly precision, and in a readable and pleasing style. In the production of this valuable work he has rendered a service that will be generously appreciated by a large and intelligent audience.

THE AUTHENTICATION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. July 4, 1776. By MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massa-

chusetts Historical Society, November, 1884.] Pamphlet. 8vo. pp. 28. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1885.

Judge Chamberlain discusses in this paper the long pending question as to the time of signing the Declaration of Independence by the delegates to the Congress of 1776. The arguments in favor of July 4th as the date of that act, drawn from the printed public journals of Congress and the statements of Adams and Jefferson are presented; and opposed to them the recollections of McKean, the original official records of Congress, and the demonstration of the terms of service of certain of the delegates whose signatures were appended to that instrument.

Were the question confined to the history of the parchment document which bears the fifty-six immortal names, it might now be considered as definitively settled, as this investigation shows that the printed Public Journals of 1776 are misleading, the testimony of the Secret Journals trustworthy, and that certain delegates who attached their names to it were not in Congress on the 4th of July—all proving that the instrument in this form did not exist prior to July 19th.

In deference to Adams and Jefferson, however, the hypothesis that there was an earlier signed copy still remains open.

It is an entirely reasonable assumption that the adoption of the Declaration did not require the attestation of the Members of Congress; there are strong indications that a feeling of personal responsibility was entertained by the friends of Independence as to their action in determining the position of the Colonies; it is possible that these Members were moved by considerations of policy to suppress the publication of the want of harmony in Congress in this crucial matter, desiring the display of a unanimity rather than a majority; it is noticeable that the journals show no signs of the existence of any other than the engrossed document; it is a fact that the record of the engrossed instrument was committed to the Secret rather than to the Public Journals, and that the names were withheld from the public until after the Order of January 18, 1777. These circumstances may have some weight in future discussions as to an earlier signed copy. While the subject will continue to be an interesting one for speculation, until proofs corroborative of the recollections of Adams and Jefferson are produced, it can only be a matter of speculation.

JOHN ADAMS. By JOHN I. MORSE, Jr. 12mo, pp. 337. **JOHN MARSHALL.** By ALLAN B. MAGRUDER. 12mo, pp. 290.

[American Statesmen.] Houghton, Mifflin & Co : Boston, 1885.

These volumes are among the latest issues of the "American Statesmen Series," edited by John I. Morse, Jr. The first is from his own pen, the second by Mr. Allan B. Magruder.

It would be difficult to find any two of the very able and brilliant men who carried through the American Revolution, diverse in mental character as they were, whose characters, as well as characteristics, were more diametrically opposed to each other than the two subjects of these separate volumes. Marshall cool, calm, modest, judicious, dignified, possessed to an extraordinary degree of the greatest common-sense and the greatest power of reasoning. Adams hot, hasty, quarrelsome, lacking tact, boiling over with vanity, wanting in dignity, and continually getting into difficulties, yet gifted with such untiring energy and power of will that it overcame all obstacles, and such penetration and acuteness of intellect that his conclusions and actions seemed the result of an intuition almost electrical in its nature. The former a gentleman by birth, position and education, the latter of such humble family origin that he owed to his education his social position. They were not only contemporaries, Adams being the elder of the two, but their careers were so intermingled, that it is doubtful if that of Adams as a statesman would not have closed with even greater antagonism and ill-feeling than it did had it not been for Marshall's acceptance of his renewed invitation to his Cabinet as Secretary of State; while to Adams, Marshall owed the mission to France and the Cabinet position, which alone entitle him to a place among "American Statesmen," as well as that greater office, the chief-justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which he was destined to confer upon his country obligations, second only to those conferred upon it by Washington himself.

Mr. Morse has given us, with force and entire freedom, his individual view of Adams—not a brief connected biography, but a study of the man, based upon the nine or ten volumes of Adams' work published by Congress under the editorship of his distinguished son, and his public career and writings. And this he has done well, and very agreeably. As a view of Adams, as illustrated by the chiefest of the more salient points in his long career, this "Life" is a success. But if Mr. Morse's aim was to present, in brief, a connected history of Adams and his career, for the benefit of those who have not the time to devote to a larger work, or for the use of schools, so that such readers should acquire a general knowledge of him as a whole, the book is a failure, for it is sketchy, and lacks the necessary distinct outline and detail.

Mr. Magruder has adopted a different course. He does give us a connected sketch of Marshall and his career from the beginning to the end,

fairly and impartially written. Perhaps he lays too much emphasis on the portion of his life prior to becoming chief-justice. For, excepting the mission to France and the admirable way in which he foiled so skillful a diplomatist as Talleyrand, and prevented Gerry's tortuous course from affecting injuriously his native land, he had no opportunity of showing his statesmanship. He proves that there was no real foundation for the "Midnight Judges" scandal that Jefferson talked so angrily about.

It was Marshall's long and splendid career as chief-justice to which he owes that magnificent reputation which will endure as long as the Constitution of the United States endures. It is safe to say, that had not Marshall, from his own unaided good-sense, knowledge of the men, and of the facts and circumstances, by whom, and under which the Constitution was framed—for there were no precedents for him to rely upon—made that splendid series of decisions, construing that instrument in the way he did, this country would not have reached its present strength and grandeur.

He was neither a learned lawyer nor versed deeply in jurisprudence; and until he ascended the judgment seat of the Union he had never held a judicial position of any kind. It was simply the combination in him, in a degree rarely seen, of the strongest good common-sense, unequaled power of reasoning and lucidity of statement, with absolute honesty and impartiality, which enabled him so to perform his duties as, at one and the same time, to lay deep the foundations and build well thereon the temple of a nation's liberty and his own eternal monument. Mr. Magruder has executed his task well, and made this volume one of the most valuable of the series.

THE COLONIAL JETONS OF LOUIS

XV. And other Pieces Relating to the French Colonial Possessions in America, and to their Conquest by England. By GEORGE M. PARSONS. Reprinted from the American Journal of Numismatics. For private circulation only. Monograph. 8vo. pp. 15. Columbus, O.

The series of pieces relating to the French colonies in America—known as Jetons—were issued by the Mint of France in the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. This little monograph of Mr. Parsons is devoted to a description of their devices and legends, in connection with a historical sketch of the French colonies in America. Eighteen illustrations serve an educatory purpose. On one Jeton, for instance, are two globes, one of which displays the outlines of the Western, the other of the Eastern, hemisphere; above, the sun diffuses its rays in splendor over both globes, and the legend is, *Satis unus utrique*—"one is sufficient for each:" the sun of France suffices for both worlds.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA. Principally Catholic. 8vo, pp. 40. Published Quarterly. REGISTER OF FORT DUQUESNE. Translated from the French, with an Introductory Essay and Notes. Square quarto, pp. 96. Pamphlet. By REV. A. A. LAMBING, A.M. Pittsburg, Pa. 1885: Myres, Shinkle & Co.

Father Lambing is the well-known author of the *History of the Catholic Church in Western Pennsylvania*, a model of its kind. In establishing a quarterly periodical under the above title, he has in view the commendable object of collecting and preserving the records of the past, especially among Catholics. One of the first papers published was entitled "Celeron's Expedition Down the Allegany and Ohio Rivers in 1749." The October issue contained an able essay on "The French in Western Pennsylvania in Early Times." The January issue, among other features, presented interesting data on the early history of Pittsburg.

"The Register of Fort Duquesne" is a work of surpassing interest. A limited number of copies have been printed on elegant paper, with wide margins, for the special benefit of the book-collector. The origin of the Register is explained by Father Lambing in a concise introductory essay to the volume. Although the Register professes to be of Fort Duquesne only, it contains a number of entries from the other posts occupied by the French before they took possession of the spot on which Fort Duquesne was built. The notes are pertinent and valuable.

THE LENÂPÉ AND THEIR LEGENDS, with the Complete Text and Symbols of the Walam Olum. BRINTON'S LIBRARY OF ABORIGINAL AMERICAN LITERATURE. No. V. Edited by DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D. 8vo, pp. 256. Philadelphia: 1885.

This volume embraces a series of ethnological studies of the Indians of Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland. The Walam Olum, or Red Score, was a record supposed for a long time to have been lost. Dr. Brinton says: "Having obtained the original text complete about a year ago, I printed a few copies and sent them to several educated native Delawares, with a request for aid in its translation and opinions on its authenticity. The interest in the subject thus excited prompted me to a general review of our knowledge of the Lenâpé or Delawares, their history and traditions, their language and customs. This disclosed the existence of a number of manuscripts not mentioned in bibliographies, some in the first rank of importance, especially in the field of linguistics." The book before us is curiously instructive, even

should more searching criticism prove the Walam Olum to be a fabrication. The manuscript from which it has been printed is a small quarto of forty unnumbered leaves, in the handwriting of Rafinesque. It treats of the formation of the universe, the appearance of the Evil Manito in the guise of a gigantic serpent, the flood or deluge Myth, the removal of tribes from Snake-land to the East, and wars and settlements in America.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at Utica, New York, 1831-1884. Pamphlet. 8vo, pp. 228. Utica, 1885: Ellis H. Roberts & Co.

The active work done by the Oneida Historical Society reflects great credit upon its officers and members. Its publications have brought out important facts of both local and general interest pertaining to central New York, and corrected many errors of tradition that for years had been accepted as matters of actual history. The volume just issued embraces descriptions of the Whitestone Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, the Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and the Dedication of the Oriskany monument, together with the able historical addresses of such men as Charles Tracy, Rev. Dr. Anson J. Upson, Rev. Dr. Durham, J. R. Simms, Rev. Dr. Wortman, C. W. Hutchinson, John F. Seymour, Ellis H. Roberts, William Dorsheimer, and Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley. It also contains a number of papers that have been read from time to time before the Society, and much valuable family history. Fourteen pages are occupied with the poem of Benjamin F. Taylor, read at the Whitestone Centennial. Several illustrations add interest to the volume, the most notable of which are the portraits of Hugh White, and Col. Peter Schuyler, from whom Old Fort Schuyler received its name. The publication is issued in admirable taste, printed in large clear type on soft creamy paper.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM—Its Origin and Early History, together with an Appendix of Letters and Documents, many of which have recently been discovered. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. With Maps. 8vo, pp. 373. New York, 1885: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The discovery of original documents unknown to former writers, which illustrate with a flood of light the origin and early history of American Presbyterianism, is the distinguished author's apology for entering a field so carefully trodden hitherto by some of the best scholars the churches of America have produced. While spending a summer in Great Britain, Dr. Briggs took ad-

vantage of the opportunity to explore the manuscript stores of the museums and ecclesiastical and missionary bodies of Great Britain, and was surprised at the rich harvest awaiting him. With the single exception of the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, these sources of information had not been reached by his predecessors. The religious movements in Great Britain were immediately reflected in America. The conflicts of Presbyterianism with other religious bodies in Great Britain were a legacy of trouble to the young colonial churches.

Dr. Briggs traces the growth of the foremost missionary movements of Great Britain and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a masterly pen. He says: "There are several phases of Presbyterianism, a number of different types of the general system. It is important to distinguish the essential features of the Presbyterian family from the peculiarities which belong to particular lands and special denominations and parties. There are features which determine all genuine Presbyterianism, and there are types which are the complements of one another as the legitimate children of the Presbyterian family. Presbyterianism belongs to the modern age of the world, to the British type of Protestantism; but it is not a departure from the Christianity of the ancient and mediæval Church. It is rather the culmination of the development of Christianity from the times of the apostles until the present day. It comprehends the genuine Christianity of all ages. It conserves all the achievements of the Christian Church." The book has evidently been conceived in a catholic spirit, and written upon a comprehensive plan. The author's aim to be just and kind to all denominations and parties while discussing their differences is conspicuously apparent; at the same time he unhesitatingly condemns the error, sin, and partisanship he finds in his researches, claiming that no good can ever come from the suppression of truth or principle. Authorities are very largely given in foot-notes and in the appendix. Two maps accompany the work, one showing all the settlements in the American colonies where Presbyterian churches were in process of formation at the close of the seventeenth century; the other giving all the towns mentioned by John Eliot in his Description of New England in 1650. The work is ably and concisely written, represents a vast fund of ecclesiastical lore, and is an exceptionally valuable contribution to the early history of the churches, towns, and colonies of America.

FIRST ESSAYS AT BANKING, and the
FIRST PAPER MONEY in New England.
By J. HAMMOFD TRUMBULL. From the Re-

port of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, Presented at the Annual Meeting held in Worcester, October 21, 1884. 8vo. Pamphlet, pp. 40. For private distribution.

This carefully prepared monograph contains much curious and noteworthy information. It seems that as early as 1652, in a report made to the Massachusetts General Court, there is an allusion to "what hath bin thought of by any for raising a Banke," and in the draught of an address to Charles II, in 1684, mention is made of the fact that before the establishment of a mint, in 1652, "For some yeares, *paper bills* passed for payment of debts." Mr. Trumbull, in addition to the scanty general knowledge of the first banks and bank projectors in New England, adds the substance of a rare tract printed in 1682, which has hitherto escaped notice, and which establishes the fact that a private bank of credit was founded in Massachusetts in 1781, and did not ruin its projector.

COLONEL JOHN BAYARD (1738-1807) and
the Bayard Family of America. Anniversary
Address before the New York Genealogical
and Biographical Society, February 27, 1885.
By GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON. 8vo.
Pamphlet, pp. 24. New York: 1885.

The portrait in steel of James Asheton Bayard, nephew and adopted son of the subject, the frontispiece to this little volume, represents a singularly handsome man in the prime of life. He was the grandfather of our present Secretary of State. General Wilson's discourse relates chiefly, however, to the career of Colonel John Bayard, who saw active service in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Princeton. His battalion was a part of the force led by Washington in person at Princeton. In Philadelphia, prior to its capture by the British in 1777, Colonel Bayard dispensed a generous hospitality in which nearly all of the great men of the period participated. The author relates many anecdotes, and gives fresh life and animation to the scenes of long ago. The family history which the address embodies will be warmly appreciated by the numerous descendants. The nephew, whose picture is mentioned above, is described as a tall, well-proportioned erect man, of light complexion, light hair, handsome features, and courteous manners. His wife was the daughter of Richard Bassett, of Delaware, one of the "Framers of the Constitution."

HISTORY OF ROCKLAND COUNTY, New
York. Biographical Sketches of Prominent
Men. Edited by Rev. DAVID COLE, D.D.

Square quarto, pp. 344. 1884. J. B. Beers & Co.: New York.

The most extensive town history embodied in this work is that of Haverstraw, written by W. S. Pelletreau. The map of original land grants which accompanies the sketch is of curious interest, while the text furnishes data of value and importance. The history of Haverstraw embraces also the early history of Clarkstown and Stony Point. The house of Joshua Hett Smith is pictured both with the pen and the artist's pencil. It was built in 1770, or thereabouts, and owned by Thomas Smith, Joshua Hett Smith's brother. William Smith, who removed to this country with his father in 1715, died in 1769, at the age of 73, leaving six sons, of whom were the two mentioned above. He was the owner of two-sevenths of the immense tract of land covered by the Cheesecock Patent—not less, we are told, than twenty thousand acres. The Smith family were influential and had many tenants living on their lands in the time of the Revolution, but as landlords they were not popular.

The sketch of the Central Presbyterian Church was contributed by its pastor, Rev. Amasa S. Freeman, whose fine steel portrait graces the opposite page. He has preached in this church and lecture-room thirty-eight years, and more than four thousand sermons. The history of brick-making in Haverstraw is one of the interesting features of the volume. The business was successfully established by James Wood about 1815, and has been the source of great wealth. Mr. Pelletreau describes the improvements in the making of brick from time to time, and shows how the enterprise enriched the land-owners as well as the manufacturers. The number of bricks made in 1883 was some 302,647,000.

Of special interest also is the history of "Ramapo Pass," which has been traced in detail with conscientious care. The early settlers of Stony Point are described as "honest, frugal, industrious, and simple in their tastes. No hurrying to meet cars or steamboats, no anxiety as to bank accounts, nor even a post office." Fort Clinton, the Ferries, Penny Bridge, Kidd's Dam, Grassy Point, Iona Island, Lake Sinnipink, the mines of the town, and the churches are treated with marked attention. The family sketches in the volume, nearly all written by Mr. Pelletreau, are of much more than local interest; notable among those whose history is given are the Piersons, Coes, and Gurnees. The last name was originally spelled "Garnier." The family is of Huguenot origin, and the descendants are nu-

merous, one of whom, Walter S. Gurnee—whose portrait is given—was Mayor of Chicago in 1851. Henry Pierson, from whom the Piersons of Ramapo descend, was a brother of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, the first minister of Newark, New Jersey.

The Record of Baptisms at Tappan and Clarkstown, from 1694 to 1816, which occupies an Appendix of seventy-five pages at the close of the volume, is in itself a treasure which to many will be worth the price of the whole work. Some sixty portraits embellish the pages, also several maps, and numerous views of dwelling-houses. The editor has contributed some portion of the text, particularly that of the Tappan Church and its pastors; but contributions are embodied in the book from a large number of writers, as is usual in the preparation of such publications.

HEALTH AT HOME. (Appleton's Home Books.) By A. H. GUERNSEY and IRENÆUS P. DAVIS, M.D. 12mo, pp. 155. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The authors have evidently made a serious study of the subject treated in this volume, and have had practical demonstration of the evil effects of breathing a vitiated atmosphere, drinking unfiltered water, etc., etc. Concerning "The Food we Eat," which, taken as a whole, must contain, and in due proportions, all the elements which go to make up the body whose waste it has to repair, we are told that "a piece of the dry bark of a tree contains in it nearly all of the elements of the human body, but not in a digestible form." The chapter on this topic is instructive, and if not altogether an essay on cooking, it furnishes valuable hints to every head of a home and family. Of the vegetables in common use, peas and beans are said to contain more nutriment in proportion to their weight than any other; and sweet potatoes are much more nutritious than Irish potatoes. "Pound for pound, the former contain nearly twice as much available nutriment as the latter." The chapter entitled "The Clothing We Wear" is equally worthy of close attention; but by far the best sermon in this little book of sermons is what we read about home habits. "Cheerfulness should be cultivated, as a constant habit and by all innocent means—by amusements, by social intercourse, by reading pleasant books—and maintained as one essential condition to bodily health. One should look most upon the bright, not upon the dark side, of things." The book is full of sound advice and valuable suggestion.

it may be that he felt no pride in this kingly ancestor who, when his power had become weakened by his despotic rule and the invasion of the English, selfishly transferred the sovereignty of the country to them, upon the condition that he might be allowed to continue king of his ancestral province of Connaught, a dignity of which he was shortly afterward deprived by the act of his own children, who not only rebelled against him, but immured him in a convent, where he ended his days.

The O'Connor family continued thereafter to reign in Connaught until about the close of the sixteenth century. They were one of the few Irish families that remained undisturbed, being recognized always as within the English pale. In 1326 the sovereignty was divided between two members or heads of families, who were respectively known thereafter as the O'Connor *Roe* and the O'Connor *Don*. Mr. O'Connor belonged to the branch known as the O'Connor Don—the word *Don* signifying in the Irish language head-man or chief, and those who believe that certain qualities are transmitted through races or families, will be strengthened in that belief by the statement that this family, the O'Connor Don, have for centuries been distinguished in Ireland for what was a marked characteristic of Mr. O'Connor, their high toned and delicate sense of honor.

The head of the family—or the O'Connor Don—in the early part of the last century was Charles O'Connor, a learned antiquary and the author of a critical work on the history of Ireland, that, in its day, enjoyed considerable celebrity. This was Mr. O'Connor's great-grandfather. He had two sons; the younger of whom had three children: Thomas, Mr. O'Connor's father, Denis and Catherine; all of whom emigrated to and died in this country. Thomas O'Connor came here in the year 1800, and settled in the City of New York, where he married Margaret, the daughter of Hugh O'Connor, who came from the same part of Ireland to this country in 1791, and established himself as a merchant in the City of New York in 1795. His mother was married at a very early age, for she was but in her sixteenth year when her eldest child, Mr. O'Connor, was born, which was at the house of his grandfather, 125 Front Street in New York, on the 21st of January, 1804. She died in 1816 at the early age of twenty-eight, and all that I know in addition respecting her is that I have always heard her spoken of as a woman that in force of character and natural abilities was superior to her husband, who, having been brought up as a gentleman by his grandfather, and liberally educated, was ill-fitted for the struggles he had afterward to undergo.

He had taken an active part in the Irish rebellion of 1798, and quitting Ireland from necessity or choice, he brought with him what is not often the case with political refugees, a considerable amount of property which he

had inherited. A passion for land is a characteristic of the Irish race, and it was natural that a son of the house of O'Connor should aim to become the proprietor of a large landed estate in America. Accordingly, after his marriage he bought a great tract in this State, I think about 4,000 acres, in what was then known as the Genesee County and is now a part of the county of Steuben, to which he brought his young wife and child, and labored for several years to found an estate. The effort was a failure. He not only lost all that he possessed, but became involved in debt; and Mr. O'Connor's earliest association with the law, or at least with one of the results of it, was being brought as a child daily by his mother to visit his father in the Old Provost or Jail, now converted into the present Hall of Records, where for months Thomas O'Connor was confined as a prisoner for debt, until released as we may suppose by the beneficent operation of the act for the relief of poor debtors.

This destruction of his hopes and the loss of all his property was a sad experience for the young emigrant; yet, notwithstanding this, and although he had to suffer for years thereafter from pinching poverty, it never affected his feelings toward his adopted country, to which, and to its institutions, he remained fervently attached to the end of his long life.

At the breaking out of the war with Great Britain, Samuel Woodworth, who is now remembered only as the author of the popular song of "The Old Oaken Bucket," started a weekly paper, of which Thomas O'Connor became the editor, called *The War*. It was of short duration; and its editor, in conjunction with one of his countrymen, immediately thereafter started another weekly journal called *The Military Monitor*.

The War, as I recall it, from a volume which my father had bound up, was, as well as its successor, exclusively devoted to recording the events of the contest, and Mr. O'Connor's first employment, at eight years of age, was carrying this weekly journal around to the subscribers in the city; an occupation that left an indelible impression, for he tenaciously remembered, to the end of his life, every street in the city, as it then was, and the occupant of nearly every house; a knowledge which he afterwards frequently made use of, when in cross-examining he wished to impair the credibility of witnesses by showing how little they could recollect of localities in the city in which their early life had been passed.

It would naturally be supposed that an association like this, with a journal that was chronicling weekly the events of the war, would have filled the boy's mind with the ardor incident to the struggle; but a circumstance which he narrated to me, produced the opposite effect.

In the early part of 1813, a tall, noble-looking man, as he described

him, came to subscribe for the paper, and finding the office in charge of a small boy, who attended to the business—for Mr. O'Connor was then but nine years of age—the new subscriber became interested in the boy, entered into conversation with him, and upon departing, said a few kindly words that were ever afterward remembered. This was the gallant General Zebulon Pike, who, a few months afterward, was killed while leading a successful assault upon the City of York, now Toronto, and who, as he lay mortally wounded upon the ramparts, directed the British flag, when it was hauled down from the fort, to be placed under his head, and then immediately expired. The shock the boy received at this intelligence gave him a horror of war that remained throughout his life, and may have had much to do with his adverse feelings during our subsequent struggle for the preservation of the Union.

The want of a military periodical ceasing with the war, Thomas O'Connor started a magazine devoted to Irish politics and the Catholic religion, which was soon, however, converted into a weekly journal, devoted to the same objects, called *The Shamrock*, which he conducted until 1822; and as the son's services were more or less required to assist the father in these publications, his opportunities for obtaining an education were very limited. All, I think, he ever received, was six months' tuition in a school in Barclay Street; some instruction from his father, in Latin and other branches with which the father was acquainted, and subsequently some little instruction in French.

In 1813 he was taken as a lad into the office of Henry Stannard, where he could not have remained very long, as in that year the name of Stannard disappeared from the list of practicing attorneys. He has said that whilst in this office he read Blackstone through, but could not fully comprehend it, which is not remarkable, but it is remarkable that a boy of thirteen should have been able to have read such a book at all. In 1820, in his sixteenth year, he entered the office of Stephen P. Lemoine and filed his certificate as a student at law. I remember Lemoine. He was a man of agreeable manners and convivial habits, very popular, especially among the Irish, but who was much more given to the making of rhetorical speeches than to the study or practice of the law. He was a creole from the West Indies, whose mother, Madam Noë, kept the principal young ladies' boarding-school at that time in the city; and being an only child, whom she supplied abundantly with means, he was not at all dependent upon his profession, for which he had little inclination or capacity.

In an office where there was no practice, and with such a preceptor, the

young student could learn nothing and earned but little. On the contrary, during the two years that he remained there he underwent more privations than I care to enumerate ; but his pride was as great as his poverty. I remember a kindly old lady who lived at the time in the neighborhood of Lemoine's office, who had observed, during a very severe winter, the scantiness of the raiment of the gaunt-looking young man, telling me of her asking his acceptance of some warm garments, which were courteously declined. At the end of the period stated he was relieved from this condition by Joseph D. Fay, a lawyer, at that time of considerable practice in the Court of Common Pleas, who took an interest in him and showed it in a most substantial way, for he not only gave him a situation in his office as a law clerk, but made him an inmate of his family.

Such an unusual act as making the young man a member of his family, led one of Fay's acquaintances to ask him why he did so ; and his answer was, " Because I think I see the signs of genius in him," and in Mr. Fay's family he remained until he was admitted to practice.

Fay had what Lemoine had not, a law library. He had, as was the custom of that day, his office in the lower part of the building in which he resided, and here Mr. O'Connor spent two hours every morning before breakfast, absorbed in study, and when the business of the day was over, passed nearly every evening there in the same way. The work that he studied almost exclusively, was characteristic, and for so young a man, remarkable.

It was " Comyn's Digest of the Laws of England," the most accurate, methodical and comprehensive abridgment of the common law that has ever been written, the five large octavo volumes of which he not only read from beginning to end, but studied closely, acquiring thereby a more familiar knowledge of the common law than he could possibly have obtained in any other way. He said long afterward that it was remarkable how often in the examination of difficult legal questions he fell back upon Comyn, and found how valuable this early and arduous study had been.

His associate in the office was Mr. Fay's son, Theodore S. Fay, so long our Secretary of Legation at Berlin, and afterward Minister at Switzerland, who, writing many years afterward, said : " I was a fellow-student with Charles O'Connor ; that is, I was the fellow, and he was the student." He not only attended to the duties of the office, but very soon after entering it he took charge of cases in the Ward Courts ; for he told me that he tried causes in those courts when he was but eighteen years of age.

After two years' study with Fay, he was, in 1824, admitted an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas. By the rules of the court an attorney could not make a motion or argue any matter publicly in court. This could

be done only by a counselor; no one could be a counselor unless he had practiced two years as an attorney, and Mr. O'Connor must then have achieved considerable reputation in the lower courts, and have been generally recognized as a young man of remarkable acquirements and ability, for the court did what was most unusual: it made his case an exception to its rules, and admitted him to the degree of counselor after he had practiced as an attorney but three months.

In the Supreme Court those who had not a college diploma or who had not devoted four years to classical studies, had to serve out a clerkship of seven years, and Mr. O'Connor had to remain for that long period before he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court and the Court of Chancery.

Being admitted to the Court of Common Pleas, however, he could now put up his sign as attorney-at-law, and take an office, but there was an obstacle. He had no books. At the present time, when we have in the City of New York, not only two very complete law libraries, but are also supplied with excellent digests and treatises upon every branch of the law, so as to make the examination of legal questions more a matter of labor than an intellectual exercise, it is difficult to appreciate the situation of a struggling young lawyer then, when the number of law books was limited, and there was no public collection of them in the city. It was very natural that Mr. O'Connor should have left by his will \$20,000 to the Law Institute, for he knew what the state of things was in this city before that Institute was founded, in 1828. An opportunity offered to get over this obstacle of the want of books. There was a collection which, although small, contained the books that he especially wanted, and which could be bought for the sum of \$161, and upon credit, if the payment was secured. Mr. O'Connor's proud nature stooped for the first, and probably for the last time in his life, to solicit a favor. There was an importer of English needles in the city, whom I well remember from his fresh-looking English face and kindly character, Mr. George Pardow. What Mr. O'Connor's previous relations with him were, I do not know; but he asked him to indorse his note for the price of the books. The old gentleman took a night to reflect over the request, and on the following day granted it. How deeply Mr. O'Connor felt this service, and how munificently he repaid it, will be appreciated when I mention that more than fifty years afterward, he left by his will to a great granddaughter of Mr. Pardow, one-third of his large residuary estate. Fortified with a library, he opened an office at No. 10 Frankfort Street, in this city, and began a career that, considered simply as that of a lawyer, has not perhaps been surpassed in this country. His business for some time was chiefly in the Assistant Justices, or, as they were then popu-

larly called, the Ward Courts, and in the Marine Court, with occasional cases in the Court of Common Pleas. He was almost constantly occupied in the trial of causes in the Ward Courts, because he was so generally known in these tribunals, that lawyers who could not spare the time to attend them, retained him to try cases that had to be brought or to be defended there. The remuneration was not much, but it was sufficient to enable him, from the time of his admission in the Common Pleas, to relieve his father from all further editorial labors and from labor of any kind, and to take upon himself thereafter the support of the family.

It was in the Court of Common Pleas, in the trial of a cause, that I first saw him engaged in his profession. It was on a summer afternoon, about fifty years ago, and I vividly recall how he looked, tall, spare and very erect, a highly intellectual face, lustrous, piercing eyes; flowing, raven-black hair, and a sharp, penetrating, high voice, that was always well sustained, and by which each word was slowly articulated, with a distinctness that is unusual. I recall the great impression that his voice and his whole manner made upon me, especially his voice, which vibrated through and filled every part of the court room. This telling voice and the riveting look of the eye, remained long with him, when his hair was gray, his figure slightly bent, and his manner had acquired something of the softness that comes with age.

In 1827 he was admitted in the Supreme Court and the Court of Chancery; and although it was a rule in both courts that attorneys and solicitors had to be two years in practice before they could become counselors, the rule was dispensed with in his case, and he was upon the same day admitted attorney, solicitor and counselor in both courts, showing that his reputation for learning and ability was then so generally known and so thoroughly established as to justify this unusual exception.

The writer of a long and generally accurate biographical notice in the New York *Herald*, after remarking that many distinguished lawyers owed their future eminence as advocates to their early practice in the trial of causes in the Justices Courts, says that Mr. O'Connor was an exception; that "like the giants springing from the teeth of Cadmus, he entered the legal arena at once, fully armed and ready to cope with any adversary." This is simply absurd. In the trial of causes, where the admission of testimony is regulated by fixed rules, or in the argument of legal questions that are controlled by established principles, or the authority of adjudged cases, it is impossible for any man to be fully armed for such controversies without a considerable amount of legal knowledge, much of it of a technical nature, as well as having in addition considerable experience

in the practical application of it; and Mr. O'Connor himself would have been the last to have called in question the value of the training he had received in the trial of causes in Justices' Courts, but, on the contrary, would have acknowledged that the necessity which compelled him to confine himself mainly to these courts for four years had been of the greatest advantage to him thereafter.

In the year of his admission to the Supreme Court he succeeded in a cause that gave him great celebrity among the Catholic population of the city, a class from which his business at first was chiefly derived. The annual election of trustees in the Catholic Church in Barclay Street had been for years a scene of tumultuous broil between two factions in the congregation, and the struggle that year had been particularly intense, the prevailing party succeeding only by a majority of two votes. Upon examining, however, the register kept of the names of those that had voted, it was found that two votes had been fraudulently cast in the name of qualified voters who had recently died; and as the rejection of these two votes would make the election void, the defeated party secured the services of Dudley Selden, then a lawyer of considerable prominence, and of Thomas Addis Emmet, the most distinguished advocate of his time, by whom an application was made to the Supreme Court for a writ of *quo warranto*, to set aside the election. The trustees who had been returned elected retained Mr. O'Connor and Judge Platt; and Mr. O'Connor took the point that it was incumbent upon their opponents to show, not only that two illegal ballots had been cast, but that they were cast for the prevailing candidates, and would, if rejected, show that these candidates were in the minority, which could not be done, as they might have been cast, for all that appeared, for the defeated candidates; which view was taken by the court, and the application was denied.

Another election case, a few years afterward, in which he, assisted by John Duer, succeeded in setting aside the election of an alderman in the Sixth Ward, gave him a more general reputation, as it displayed to a highly interested auditory his peculiar skill in eliciting facts, and his trenchant mode of conducting a controversy. Another suit, about this time (1833), also added greatly to his reputation, as it brought out his peculiar powers. It was a proceeding in the County Court, then composed of the first and associate judges of the Common Pleas, and the aldermen of the city, for the removal of David M. Cowdrey, a clerk of the Assistant Justices Court of the lower part of the city, for improper behavior to the justice of the court, Eber Wheaton.

Wheaton had been a schoolmaster, who, to the habits of a pedagogue

added a most irascible temper, and Cowdrey was a dull, plodding kind of a man, who had a profound contempt for his principal, whose decisions he would not only comment upon in no very complimentary terms audibly in the court room, that all, including the justice might hear him, but frequently, when asked for information respecting suits, would exclaim loud enough to be heard by all present: "Go to the other end of the room, and consult that *just ass* there."

For a controversy of so little importance there was a great array of legal talent on this trial; Francis B. Cutting and George Griffen appearing for Cowdrey, and James R. Whiting and Mr. O'Connor for the prosecution. Of course, much use was made by counsel of Dogberry's exclamation, "Oh that I had been writ down an ass!" but the feature of the trial was Mr. O'Connor's picture of Cowdrey in the court room, and his scathing denunciation of him; a kind of invective of which he was an especial master, as all will recall who remember what he said in the Mason will case of the respectable counsel who prepared the will, George D. Strong, that "he ran a race with death, and won it;" or the passage in his speech in the Parish will case, where he describes Mrs. Parish, and the frauds and contrivances by which she secured the execution of the codicils; a passage which Judge Selden, in the opinion delivered by him in the case, refers to as exhibiting "a vigor of logic, a force of rhetoric, and a perfection of art that has rarely been surpassed."

The Sixth Ward election case and the County Court trial, made him, at that time (1833) very conspicuous. His practice in the Common Pleas greatly increased, and for many years afterward he was the most prominent lawyer in that court. In that and in the Marine Court he was almost constantly engaged in the trial of causes; and as the court then sat in the afternoon, and frequently late in the evening, it was very arduous; for, after the adjournment of the court, he had to work in his office until after midnight, looking into authorities and making briefs for the business of the morrow. It was a practice where the labor was great, and the remuneration by no means commensurate. For ten years, at least, after his admission to the bar, the compensation he received merely afforded him a respectable livelihood. Up to that time, he had not, as I have heard him say, been able to lay by anything for the future; which, in view of his incessant occupation, shows how small his professional remuneration *must have been*; for the bitter privations of his youth had taught him the value of money; and though at a later period he was most liberal and generous in the disposition of it, he was, as I know, at this time, very careful in the matter of expenditure, provident and economical. It was not, in fact, until the

trial of the Lispenard will case, when he had been nearly twenty years at the Bar, that he received, from the magnitude of the amount involved, a large compensation, which was richly deserved; for, although the Court of Errors had previously decided that Alice Lispenard had sufficient testamentary capacity, and directed her will to be admitted to probate as a will of personal property, Mr. O'Connor nevertheless succeeded, on this trial, by his skillful examination of the witnesses, and especially of the late James Watson Webb, in establishing beyond the possibility of reversal, that she had not sufficient mental capacity to make a valid disposition of her real estate.

That so many years should have gone by before he began to be retained in what are called weighty cases, was owing to the fact that progress at the Bar was not as easy then as it is now. The profession was more aristocratic. A line was drawn between those who had received a collegiate education and those who had not. The latter had to work their way up from the ranks, as it was called, and the way was long and the obstacles many. This experience he had to go through. He was made to feel how widely he was separated from those upon whom the rewards of the profession were bestowed, and with the aristocratic blood that flowed through his veins, he felt it deeply and keenly resented it.

There was not only this, but there were other obstacles, one of which was the great ability of his professional contemporaries. They were a remarkable body of men, many of whom had gifts which he had not, and others a larger experience than his in certain departments of the law.

John Anthon, who preceded him as the leading advocate of the Common Pleas, was one of the greatest *nisi prius* lawyers of this or any country. Thomas Addis Emmet was not only the greatest forensic orator the United States has ever known, but he was also a learned, able, and most industrious lawyer; and Ogden Hoffman, in eloquence, was inferior only to Mr. Emmet.

I have never heard the equal of Samuel A. Talcot, David B. Ogden or George Wood, in the argument of a case before the Court in bank; and these three men, with Peter A. Jay, Samuel Sherwood, Henry R. Storrs, and Benjamin F. Butler, were the leading lawyers, for years, upon all questions relating to the laws of real property, or which are incident to it. William Slosson was pre-eminent in everything relating to conveyances and the drawing of any kind of legal instruments; and Peter DeWitt, in the investigation of titles.

Mr. O'Connor especially excelled in what was then very important, the art of special pleading; but in this he would himself have admitted the superiority of Andrew S. Garr.

The great commercial lawyers were George Griffen, John Anthon, Seth P. Staples, Robert Sedgwick, Daniel Lord, John Duer, Francis B. Cutting and Samuel A. Foot. The first of these, George Griffen, was a thorough master of the law of insurance, which could not be acquired as easily then as it is now; and this Nestor of the Bar, as I remember him, could on occasions be exceedingly eloquent.

In criminal, especially in capital cases, the leading advocates, after the death of Mr. Emmet, in 1829, were Hugh Maxwell, William M. Price, Ogden Hoffman, and Henry M. Western; and later, Mr. O'Connor, David Graham, James T. Brady, and Ambrose L. Jordan.

There were departments of the law then, to which certain gentlemen devoted themselves exclusively. There was, for instance, a class of equity lawyers, from Caleb Riggs to Ralph Lockwood, who did nothing else, and who, of course, were better informed and had more experience in equity jurisprudence than other lawyers could possibly have; and yet Mr. O'Connor in time attained a very high rank as an equity lawyer, and was eminent also as an equity draftsman, although there were men like Hay S. Mackay, whose lives had been devoted to nothing else. In the management and trial of the cases that came solely before the United States Courts, there were a select few, Seth P. Staples, Burr and Benedict, and a few others, who attended specially to that class of business, and without the assistance of one of whom it was dangerous to go into the Admiralty Court, the practice in which was then a sealed book to the great bulk of the profession. In all the branches above enumerated, Mr. O'Connor had his equals, and in some, his superiors, especially at *nisi prius*, where many of his contemporaries were more impressive than he was, before a jury; notably Ogden Hoffman, Hugh Maxwell, John Duer, James W. Gerard, Henry M. Western, David Graham and James T. Brady.

He told me that he never could make a pathetic appeal to the jury, even in cases where he felt most deeply; and where this was requisite, he generally retained Ogden Hoffman, or some other eloquent advocate.

The question then arises, how was it that with such competitors he reached a position so high, and kept it so long? The answer is, that his course of training had been such that he became more of a general lawyer than any of his contemporaries. His business had been, from the first, as I have said, of a diversified character; and as it had been his habit to investigate with the greatest thoroughness every case that came into his hands, and the law relating to it, he became well informed and skillful in more departments of the law than most lawyers. In fact, from the time he commenced to try causes in the Ward Courts, he may be said to have

studied the law, not by the reading of treatises, but by learning what was applicable to the cases that he had in hand ; and as he had great powers of application and a most tenacious memory, he acquired and retained a great amount of knowledge in every department of jurisprudence.

This study of the law through cases had another effect. It led to the frequent reading of the opinions of those judges whom we are accustomed to call "the sages of the law ;" and becoming very familiar with these early masters of English prose, he acquired a style that was distinguishable for its purity, terseness and point.

Like all close thinkers, he was careful in the use of words, not only as respects their general signification and various shades of meaning, but even as to their sound. In summing up in the *Forrest* case, he could not recall a word to express exactly what he wished to say. On the following morning, reference was made at the breakfast table to the dog's prowling about, upon which he exclaimed, "'Prowl,' that is the very word I wanted yesterday."

It would be interesting to give some examples of his peculiar style, but my space will admit of but one. In the *Lemmon Slave* case, he answered the oft-quoted assertion that the moment a slave puts his foot upon the soil of England he is free, by citing a statement of Hargrave, made upon the authority of Lord Holt and Justice Powell, that the common law of England recognized white slaves, such as villains and serfs, and the right of property in them, but that it did not apply to a negro, who, as soon as he came into England, was free ; Mr. O'Connor's commentary upon which was, that "the air of England had not its true enfranchising purity till drawn through the nostrils of a negro."

Many lawyers confine themselves to some department of the law which they prefer, or for which they think they are adapted. But Mr. O'Connor's mind was different. It adapted itself with equal readiness to any branch of the law. He found a pleasure in overcoming obstacles and getting through difficulties. He liked to grapple with new questions and to get at the root of things. In his arguments, of which I have heard many, it was a prevailing habit with him to explain the reason of legal and equitable rules, by going into their history, showing how thoroughly he had investigated the foundations upon which they rested. It was this order of mind that enabled him to master so quickly so many branches of jurisprudence, and to turn from one to the other with the greatest facility. He was once asked to what he chiefly attributed his success at the bar, and he answered by one word, "Study." He was able to apply himself to study more closely than most men, for he was spare of habit, had an excellent constitution, and throughout his life was abstemious, both in eating and drinking.


In the early part of his career he devoted himself to his profession to the abnegation of nearly everything else. The ordinary amusements or allurements of youth were unknown to him. He had no youthful friends or associates that I ever heard of, unless it might be his clerk, Mr. Hogg, an intelligent young Scotchman, who died early. He was never seen at any place of public amusement, or at any social entertainment, but only in the courts or in his office, or walking alone in the streets, generally at night, that he might get the requisite exercise and think over his cases.

Even when his position at the Bar was well established he was rarely to be seen at any social gathering; which was the more remarkable, because the Bar was smaller then than it is now, and social meetings of the lawyers at the houses of each other were then very common. His habits of application were so fixed, and the routine of his daily life so uniform, that it appeared to be difficult for him to unbend, and on the very few occasions that I then saw him in company he appeared not only ill at ease himself, but somewhat of a check upon the enjoyment of others. I remember attending his first reception upon his going into a new house, I think in Tompkins Square, about forty-five years ago, and being struck with the very formal and awkward way in which he received his guests, showing how little he was then accustomed to such entertainments. All this, however, passed away as he grew older, became more distinguished and moved more in general society; but for many years, he was a man whom few cared to approach uninvited, or to assume any familiarity with; who would frequently, in the street, pass those he knew, looking them full in the face, without returning their salutation; a man of fits and moods, who, at times could be very communicative, and at others, chillingly repellant. The indignation of jurors was sometimes aroused by the manner in which he would reply to the Court when the ruling was against him, and he did not, like many of his distinguished contemporaries, take defeat gracefully, but for a long period of his professional career was very much given to attributing the decision of judges, when against him, to other motives than the consideration of the questions that had been argued. Upon this ground he brought himself upon one occasion voluntarily into open collision with the judges of the Court of Appeals of this State, and upon another, with the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. James C. Carter, in his review of Mr. O'Connor's professional character, at the Memorial meeting of the Bar, was of the opinion that he surrounded himself with a forbidding and mysterious air, and appeared severe, austere, and repellant; but that this was one of the instrumen-

talities of his art, by which he often bewildered and confounded his adversaries. My impression is otherwise; I think the peculiar characteristics I have pointed out were partly constitutional, but chiefly owing to a greatly occupied mind, and in some degree due to a habit engendered by the circumstances of his early life. His struggle upward, which, as I have said, had been long and arduous, had left its mark upon his character. His life had been one of incessant occupation, and for many years it had been a lonely life. He was deficient in many of the qualities that make a lawyer attractive. He had none of the eloquence of Hoffman, none of the genial pleasantry of Gerard, nor a spark of the wit and humor of Brady; but he had in place of those qualities what was effective but not attractive; a cutting irony and a power of sarcasm that was at times withering. His manner was formal and his ordinary speech defiant. For years there was a grim look about him that seemed to say: "I will cut my way through all obstacles, not with the talents or abilities of other men, but in my own way and by what is within me"—which he did; and when he did, the whole man appeared to me to have changed. He became more amiable. The bitterness with which he assailed or retorted in controversy passed away. The incisive irony which, in his hands, was such a weapon, was resorted to only thereafter when provoked by some individual act of injustice, or some great public wrong. He no longer derived satisfaction from unraveling and laying bare the motives of men, but became considerate of human infirmities, and rather disposed to be apologetic than otherwise of conduct he would formerly have condemned. In the trial of a case before Judge Mitchell in the Supreme Court, a lawyer who was much younger than himself and greatly his inferior, devoted a large part of his speech to the jury to a personal attack upon him. Judge Mitchell said to me that, knowing Mr. O'Connor's peculiar power, he felt how fearful the retribution would be, and was surprised and gratified to hear him say to the jury, with great dignity: "I could reply to this assault, but if I did, it would only injure him and do me no good."

After he had been about fifteen years at the Bar, his labors had been so great that his health gave way. The chief difficulty was in the organs most used and least cared for—the eyes. He was threatened with total blindness; and under the advice of physicians was compelled to give up all further work and go abroad. No American, I apprehend, ever went to Europe more unwillingly or cared less to see it when he got there. He dropped into the Courts in Westminster Hall to look at the judges and listen to the lawyers, but this was about all. His studies had not been of a nature to give him any interest in European travel. He had been devoted



exclusively to the law, knew little else and cared for little else. He went, however, to Ireland and visited the seat of his ancestors at Belanagare, in Connaught ; the result of which was, that upon his return, he changed the orthography of his name. Before that time he and his father had spelled Conor with two n's ; but he then dropped one of the n's, upon discovering that the family name was anciently spelled in that way. I was once asked if I knew why he had changed the spelling of his name from two n's to one ; and I answered that he was descended from the Irish kings, and found, when he visited Ireland, that they spelled the name in that way ; which information, Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis, the witty clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, who was present, supplemented with the remark that he supposed that the Irish kings had always been so poor that they had never been able to make both nn's (ends) meet.

He returned from Europe about 1840, with his health re-established and his eye-sight restored. Clients and retainers flowed in upon him ; and in a very short time he came to be recognized as one of, if not the most, prominent of the leaders of the Bar. He now went more frequently into society, began to form intimacies with some of his professional brethren, and after his removal to Fort Washington in 1850, and especially after his marriage, he saw a good deal of company in his own house, where he was most courteous and affable to those who visited him.

His habit, however, of shutting himself up within himself was never entirely abandoned. He removed to Fort Washington for the benefit of getting a long walk to and from his residence. Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis was in the habit of going out every afternoon in the same train to Harlem, upon reaching which they would join each other and walk a long distance together, their respective residences being in the same direction. As this continued for several years, it would naturally be inferred that it would lead to a very familiar intercourse, especially as Mr. Jarvis is an agreeable gentleman ; but, on the contrary, Mr. Jarvis told me that, although at times Mr. O'Connor could be chatty and agreeable, he would generally walk the whole distance without uttering a syllable.

He remained in active practice after his return from Europe for about twenty-five years. This was the most distinguished part of his career, during which his fame as a great lawyer was established. The eminence to which he attained may be said to have been due, in addition to his natural ability, to his untiring industry ; the systematic way in which he worked ; the close attention he gave to details, and the acuteness with which he anticipated every question that might arise. His summing up of a cause was always able ; but his ability was chiefly shown by the skillful way in which he elicited

the facts, and by his management of the trial, which was generally owing to the thoroughness with which he had prepared himself for it. In this respect, Mr. Carter likened him to a great military leader, who when he stepped to the front of the battle, had every position guarded, and was ready to take instant advantage of any slip made by his adversary. But it was not always necessary for him to be prepared, for I have known him to argue questions of law and to try causes with remarkable ability where he had little or no time for preparation, and I have also seen him upon trials where everything appeared to be lost from unexpected disclosures in the evidence, display—to follow out the military figure—something of the genius of Marlborough, in the calmness with which he could survey the altered state of the field and direct the new movements upon which he relied for victory.

His memory was a great aid to him. I never knew a man who could remember past incidents and all the details of them, as fully as he. I was one of the first who was allowed to see him after his severe illness in 1875, when his death for many days was momentarily expected, in anticipation of which his biography had been published in the newspapers. I meant that the visit should be a short one, but he prolonged it to four hours, during which he talked over long-past events with which we were either connected or had some association, which he reproduced with a fidelity and minuteness that were marvelous, recalling things I had totally forgotten, detailing conversations in the very language that had been used at the time, and never pausing for an instant to recollect a name or a single particular; and I have frequently seen the same thing in the trial of causes. He could recall the slightest thing given in evidence with the utmost accuracy, which gave him great power in summing up on the facts; and this remarkable memory was equally available in stating with exactness what was contained in an adjudged case or a work of authority.

A striking proof of the effect of this was the respect always paid to him by the judges, and the confidence with which they relied upon any statement made by him. It was due alike to his accuracy and to his high professional integrity. He never sought to mislead the court as to the facts, or as to the law. He was quick to see where the weak point of his adversary lay, and most skillfully brought all his powers to bear upon it; but he did it fairly and manfully. He relied on the strength of his case, either with respect to the facts or the law; and never resorted to clap-trap exaggeration or misrepresentation of any kind to produce an effect upon the jury.

He and Gerard were once engaged before me in the defense of an important action growing out of the proceedings of the celebrated Vigilance

Committee of San Francisco, in California. Cutting was for the plaintiff, and whilst he was replying to a motion that had been made by O'Conor for a non-suit, he was annoyed at a conversation carried on behind him by O'Conor and Gerard, and suddenly turning upon them, said tartly: "Gentlemen, you are talking loud enough for the jury to hear you." Upon which Mr. O'Conor started up, blushing like a girl, and said: "I was not aware of it." "I know you were not," said Cutting, "for you are the last man at the Bar to do it intentionally." In fact, the class, by no means a small one, who suppose that chicane, cunning, falsehood and trickery are aids in the practice of the legal profession, have in him the striking example of a man who attained its highest honors and reaped its largest pecuniary rewards, without any of those low qualities—one of whose marked characteristics in every relation of life, professional and personal, from the commencement to the end of his career, was his truthfulness.

It remains but to fix his position as a lawyer; and I cannot do it better than in his own words. "The great lawyer," he once said in conversation, "is not the one who knows the most law, but who understands what the point involved is. I have known many cases," he said, "to go to the Court of Appeals where neither party knew what the real point was." If this be accepted as a satisfactory definition of a great lawyer, then he came up fully to the test.

Cutting having occasion to leave the city, requested him to argue a case for him before the Court of Appeals. He sent him the printed case and points, saying in his letter that he need not read the case, as the judgment below would undoubtedly be affirmed upon the points sent. "If Frank Cutting," said Mr. O'Conor to his partner, Mr. Dunham, "expects me to argue his case without my knowing everything that is contained between the covers of the appeal book, he is mistaken. I shall remain at home to-day to read it;" which he did, and the judgment was affirmed upon a point not suggested by Cutting.

After the Court of Appeals came into existence in 1847, Nicholas Hill and Mr. O'Conor were the two lawyers that were heard most frequently before it in the argument of important cases. One of the judges was asked whose briefs he regarded as the best, and his reply was that Mr. Hill's were the fullest and most exhaustive, but Mr. O'Conor's were the clearest. Hill was asked what he thought of Mr. O'Conor's arguments before the court generally, and he said, "O'Conor does not argue his cases, he states them;" which being communicated to O'Conor he expressed himself highly gratified by this appreciative compliment.

After 1865 he no longer went into court except in rare instances; but

confined himself to the giving of written opinions upon cases submitted to him. His investigation of legal questions was so exhaustive, and his knowledge of the law so extensive and so accurate, that these opinions were of the highest value, and were so constantly sought for as to occupy all the time that he was willing to devote to labor; which was in the morning, in his library at his house in Fort Washington, and in the evening, unless friends came to visit him. During this period he gave some portion of his time to literary pursuits. He was especially fond of reading Milton, and thought him a greater poet than Shakespeare, with whom, I apprehend, he was not as familiar. His mind was so absorbed in his professional duties that he had little or no leisure for literary or scientific pursuits during the greater part of his career, and it was not until late in life that literature became a recreation to him.

Throughout his life he was a man of sincere religious convictions, and whilst adhering steadfastly to the faith in which he was born, was broad-minded and tolerant with regard to all other sects or creeds, evidently believing in the truth of the passage in the Jewish *Talmud*—"That the pious among all nations have a share in the world to come."

An anecdote will illustrate this tolerant spirit. When Walker, the filibuster, had taken possession of the town of Granada in Nicaragua, all the clergymen fled, and he wrote a letter to Mr. O'Connor, requesting him to ask Archbishop Hughes to send out a priest, as there was not one in the place to render the offices of the church to the sick or the dying. Mr. O'Connor accordingly transmitted by letter the request to Archbishop Hughes. The Archbishop, a man of strong anti-slavery convictions, who looked with anything but favor upon Southern expeditions like those of Walker to extend the area of slavery, wrote to say that he was astonished that so good a member of the Catholic Church as Mr. O'Connor should send such a letter. Mr. O'Connor's reply was brief and characteristic; that he should have sent such a letter if the request had been made by Martin Luther.

To give even a brief account, in a paper like this, of the important cases in which he was engaged, in a practice that extended over more than half a century, would be impossible. The cases which he himself selected and which he had bound up and has left, by his will, to the Law Institute, alone fill seventy-nine volumes, octavo, to which should be added seven volumes of written opinions; and yet these eighty-six volumes extend only from 1849, which is little more than one-half of his professional career. The reports of cases in which he was engaged are distributed over more than 250 volumes of our State Reports; and when the importance of

many of those cases is considered, the questions they have settled, and the magnitude of the interests they involved, and we consider also the many trials in which he participated of which we have no report, it will be felt that



Ch. O'Connor

he has filled a space in the jurisprudence of this State greater than that of any lawyer that ever lived in it.

This is a very high distinction, but we have to connect with this his labors in the Courts of the United States, where he participated in

trials of national interest, and argued most important questions. This general statement will, I think, be sufficient to show what his professional labors were, and how incessant must have been the industry, and great the capacity of a man who could leave such a memorial as this behind him.

This sketch would be incomplete without at least some notice of his public, apart from his professional career. In early life he was nominated for assistant alderman of the Sixth Ward; and being defeated by his own party, and in a ward where the Irish greatly predominated, he was mortified; and never willingly thereafter sought public stations.

In 1846 he was elected almost unanimously a delegate from this city to the Constitutional Convention of the State; but his influence in that body, even in the matter of the remodeling of the judiciary, was not what might have been expected from his high position as a lawyer, and great legal experience. He was one of the thirteen members of the Judiciary Committee, a committee that held forty-two meetings without coming to any result. Twelve of the members were lawyers. Each had a plan of his own, and, like Agamemnon's cocks, no one would give way to the other. The remaining member, who had no plan, was John L. Stephen, the celebrated traveler, and author of the works upon the ruins of Palenque and Yucatan; who told me that, as his vote gave the preponderance, he voted for the plan of the chairman, Judge Ruggles, which was the plan that was adopted, solely because he talked the least.

Mr. O'Connor advocated his own plan in the convention and opposed that of the majority. I was present in Albany during the debate, and from a legislative point of view, Mr. O'Connor's speech against the report of the majority of the committee was not equal to that of Ambrose L. Jordan in support of it; who carried the convention with him. The abolition of the Court of Chancery, and the union of legal and equitable remedies in the same tribunal, however, was mainly due to Mr. O'Connor, for he knew more of the working of the separate systems that then existed than any other lawyer in the State. This great reform was opposed by some of the oldest and ablest lawyers in the convention; but they were answered by a masterly speech on his part, that admitted of no reply.

The only office he ever held was that of United States District Attorney, which was by request, until a suitable person could be found to fill it. After 1850, he interested himself in national politics, taking the extreme Southern view upon the subject of slavery, and when the war occurred, condemning the prosecution of it on the part of the North.

My views were so opposed to his upon the subject of slavery, and upon

the war, that I saw little of him for some years; not, in fact, until the illness in 1875, to which I have referred.

He visited Europe in 1869, and went to Rome, during the sitting of the Æcumenical Council; but, as I judged from his remarks, neither his tour, nor the imposing ceremonies that he witnessed there, interested him much. His illness in 1875 was a severe one, and left behind it an impairment of the stomach, from which he never fully recovered.

About five years before his death, he thought that the air of Nantucket agreed with him better than that of New York; and he removed there permanently, erecting a capacious house, upon a sand bluff overlooking the sea, and an adjoining building for his large library.

I visited him there, in the summer preceding his death, and thought that, at his age, and with his temperament and habits, he had made a mistake in quitting the metropolis where his former life had been passed, to end his days among people with whom he had had no previous associations.

In 1877 he was invited to deliver an oration before this society (the New York Historical Society), in commemoration of the centennial of the adoption of the constitution of this State. The occasion, it will be remembered, drew together an immense audience to hear him, that packed the Academy of Music to its utmost capacity; and he regarded this ovation as one of the most gratifying events of his life. After his retirement to Nantucket, he expanded what constituted the chief subject of this address into an article on Democracy for Johnson's *Cyclopedia*, and followed this up by a long letter that appeared in the public journals, to show that our political institutions have been a failure, and proposing for the country a new form of government.

The article on Democracy is rather a statement of his conclusions and recommendations, than an historical inquiry or exposition; for it never appears to have occurred to him that the adequate way of treating such a subject was by the historical method which has been followed from Montesquieu to Lieber. Both in this and in the letter he points out the defects in the working of our institutions that have long been apparent to all thoughtful men, and which, indeed, may be said to be now recognized by nearly every one but the practical politicians; but when he comes to suggest the remedies for these evils, we are impressed by the conviction that the qualities that make a great lawyer do not necessarily make a statesman. The remedies briefly enumerated are these:

The abolition of all party government and of the ballot, which mode of voting he considered the permanent basis of the present trade in politics.

The election of the chief executives and members of all legislative bodies for fixed periods, but all other officers to be removed for cause only. Rotation in office, he declared to be a false political doctrine, with a remark, that cannot be too highly commended, that "faithful service and proved capacity are singular grounds of disqualification."

His further remedies are : direct taxation and the abolishing of all duties. No coining of bullion by the government, or issuing by it of paper money. No revenue from or giving away of the public domain. The creation of corporations only under general laws. Diminishing the power to make war by taking away the authority to borrow money. An ultimate Court of Appeals, to be composed of judges selected from the States. The separate State governments to be abolished. The United States Senate also to be abolished, and the House of Representatives to be confined to



CHARLES O'CONOR'S HOUSE AND LIBRARY AT NANTUCKET.

the making of general laws ; and lastly, the President, or Chief Executive of the nation, to be selected by lot, monthly, from the Representative body. Many minor details are given which I shall not enumerate.

He did not, in his new home, altogether abandon his profession. On the contrary, although past eighty, he came in April, 1884, to this city, on his way to Washington, to argue a case before the Supreme Court of the United States, and as the argument was postponed, he remained here a few days. I called upon him, and was concerned to hear him say that he could no longer read nor write ; that his eyes failed him, and that he had to depend upon a young lady who was present and acted as his secretary. His eye had still much of its former luster and his voice had the old ring in it ; but there was something in his face which indicated that the time was not far distant when the curtain would be drawn upon all mortal things ; but I did not anticipate that it would be so soon.

On his way back to Nantucket, he caught a severe cold, which continuing after his return, acted rapidly in reducing a system already greatly impaired, and from which, at his time of life, it was difficult to rally. He felt that his end was approaching, arranged the details of a somewhat lengthy codicil to his will, and received the last offices of the church in which he was born ; his mind remaining clear to the very last.

On the afternoon of May 12th, 1884, a few moments before his death, he rose up in bed, opened his eyes, and stretching out his hand to his physician, said in a clear strong voice: "My God," and then expired ; so that his close may not inaptly be described in the well-known lines of Dr. Johnson, that

"—with no fiery throbbing pain,
No slow gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain
And freed his soul the nearest way."

Chas. P. Daly

ASA PACKER AND THE LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

That quaint old Moravian Borough of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, that boasts of having extended its hospitality to Washington, Lafayette, Franklin, Pulaski and others of Revolutionary fame, has the present honor of being the seat of the Lehigh University, founded by Asa Packer and by him alone endowed, which, although scarcely seventeen years old, is one of the richest institutions of learning in this country, and when the various trusts created by the last will and testament of its founder shall have expired, will probably be second to none in its pecuniary resources. Every student of this University willing and capable of keeping up with its curriculum is educated free. Such was Asa Packer's direction.

St. Luke's Hospital, so well known throughout Eastern Pennsylvania for its noble and practical charity, is also sustained by the endowments of Asa Packer. Indeed, when we consider the scope of his generosity, of which Washington and Lee University of Virginia, Muhlenburg College at Allentown, Pennsylvania; Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia; and many churches throughout his native State, of different denominations, can bear witness, we can the better appreciate how truly catholic were his gifts. His benefactions did not pause upon State lines nor recognize sectional divisions. In speaking of his generosity, Senator T. F. Bayard once said: "The confines of a continent were too narrow for his sense of human brotherhood, which recognized its ties everywhere upon this footstool of the Almighty, and decreed that all were to be invited to share in the fruits of his life-long labor."

Asa Packer was born in Groton, New London County, Connecticut, on the 29th day of December, 1805. His father, Elisha Packer, although a good man, was unsuccessful in business and had not the means to educate his son. It became necessary for the latter to maintain himself, which he did by obtaining employment in a tannery at North Stonington. This engagement was, however, of short duration, on account of the death of the owner of the tannery. Young Packer was then reluctantly compelled to seek the plodding and unpromising labors of the farm. But his soul was aflame and he could not brook a monotonous life. The tall wiry youth of eighteen, with a light purse and mean outfit, yet with faith unshaken and will unconquerable, left his native State to carve for himself a fortune and a home. Like Franklin and Girard he settled in Pennsylvania, to fight

the battle of life, equipped like them with no other weapons than industry, perseverance, and courage. He traveled on foot from Connecticut to Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. Here he settled and learned the trade of carpenter and joiner. From this occupation he derived his livelihood for more than a decade. Here he purchased, at a small price, a

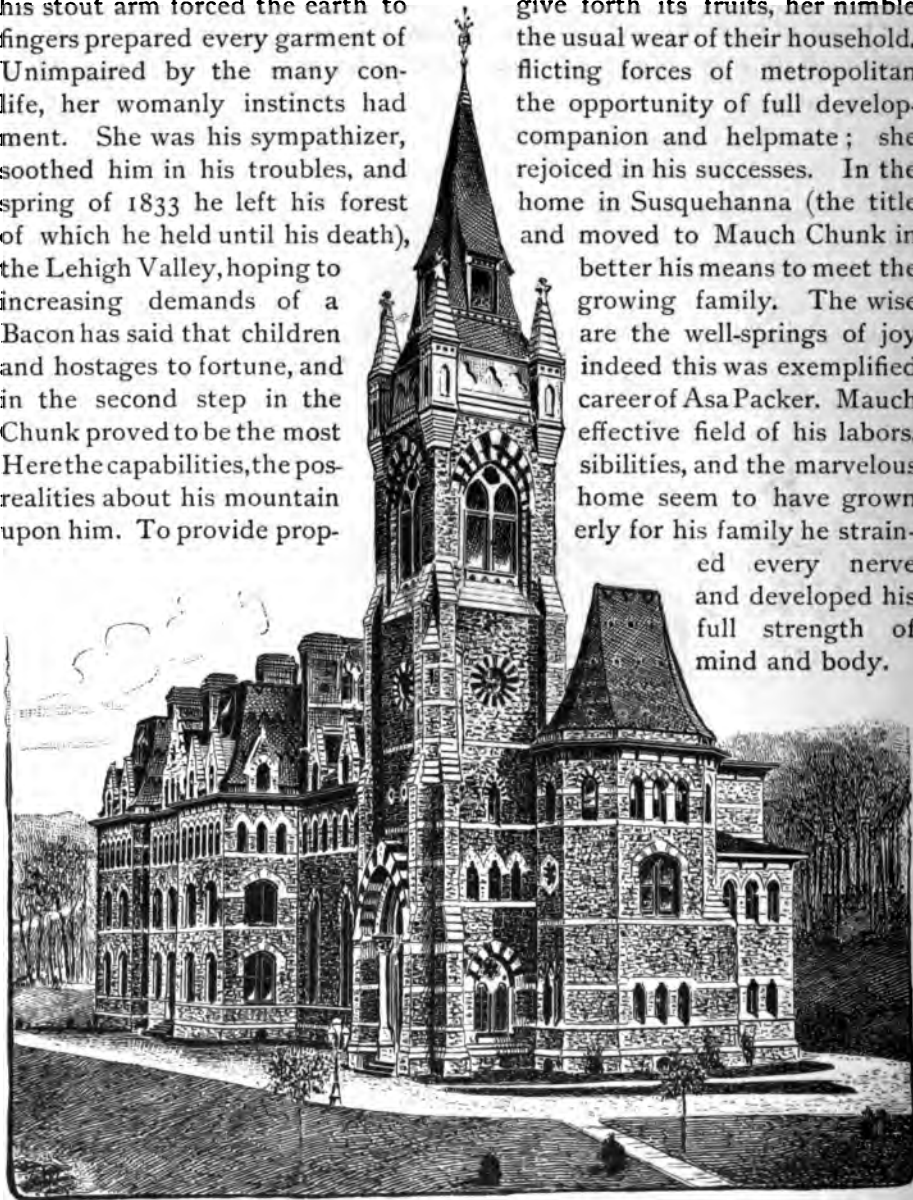


Asa Packer

few acres of land on which still stood the native forest. With his own hands he cleared this tract of trees and built a log-house. He literally made the solitary place rejoice and blossom as the rose. It is almost impossible for us of to-day to appreciate the magnitude of such an undertaking. In those times "a man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees." That portion of Pennsylvania, now the most valuable and productive, was, seventy years ago, a wilderness of primeval forests. To a

log-house he led his young bride, who was to be the pride and stay of his heart for more than fifty years till the world faded from his eyes. While his stout arm forced the earth to fingers prepared every garment of Unimpaired by the many con- life, her womanly instincts had ment. She was his sympathizer, soothed him in his troubles, and spring of 1833 he left his forest of which he held until his death), the Lehigh Valley, hoping to increasing demands of a Bacon has said that children and hostages to fortune, and in the second step in the Chunk proved to be the most Here the capabilities, the pos- realities about his mountain upon him. To provide prop-

give forth its fruits, her nimble the usual wear of their household. flitting forces of metropolitan the opportunity of full develop- companion and helpmate; she rejoiced in his successes. In the home in Susquehanna (the title and moved to Mauch Chunk in better his means to meet the growing family. The wise are the well-springs of joy indeed this was exemplified career of Asa Packer. Mauch effective field of his labors. sibilities, and the marvelous home seem to have grown erly for his family he strain- ed every nerve and developed his full strength of mind and body.



PACKER HALL.

[From a photograph by H. B. Eggert, Bethlehem, Pa.]

For a while he pursued his handicraft. In his leisure moments, however, he was carefully considering the great problem of transporting the vast supplies of coal and iron of the Valley of the Lehigh to the centers of the world's manufacture and consumption. During the latter part of the year 1833 he chartered a canal-boat, and, himself commanding and performing a great part of the manual labor, carried coal from Mauch Chunk to Philadelphia through the Lehigh Canal. This was the first of the series of acts by which he was to aid the great gifts of nature to unroll them-



THE LUCY PACKER LINDERMAN LIBRARY BUILDING.
[From a Photograph by H. B. Eggert, Bethlehem, Pa.]

selves from the fountain-head and pour their flood of wealth into the lap of the country's commerce. This first venture being a success, he secured another boat and doubled his business. In 1835 he took his brother into partnership, and in addition to the coal transportation they commenced dealing in general merchandise. This firm, known as A. & R. W. Packer, was the first through-transporters of anthracite coal to the New York market. Heretofore the coal had been transshipped in Philadelphia into sea-going vessels. The idea of so constructing canal-boats as to take their freight directly to New York through intervening bays and rivers was con-

ceived by Asa Packer. When this idea was realized, the business of the firm grew to large proportions, and he was brought into frequent intercourse with the capitalists of New York of that day. The necessity of increased and cheaper production, as well as quicker and shorter transportation, now forced itself upon him. He recognized the fact that the old methods of transportation must give way to the power of steam. He

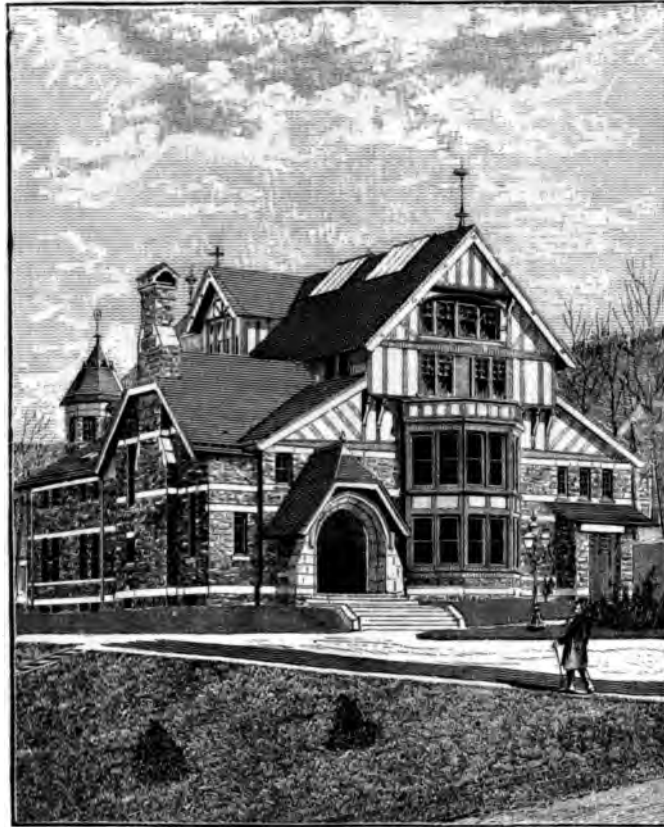


INTERIOR OF LIBRARY.

[From a Photograph by H. B. Eggert, Bethlehem, Pa.]

urged upon the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company the necessity of building a railroad along the banks of their canal as part of their system of works; but the company declined to do so, giving as their reason that articles heavy and bulky for their worth like coal and lumber could only pay water freights. The project of a railway through the valley of the Lehigh and along the banks of the Lehigh River was the result of the foresight of a man far in advance of the experience and wisdom of his time. In September, 1847, a charter was granted to the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill and Susquehanna Railroad Company. But this rail-

road project almost died in its birth. On the 4th of April, 1851, seventeen days before the charter would have expired by its own limitation, Asa Packer appeared as one of the Board of Managers, and by his efforts the grading of one mile of railroad near Allentown, Pennsylvania, was authorized and the limitation thereby avoided.

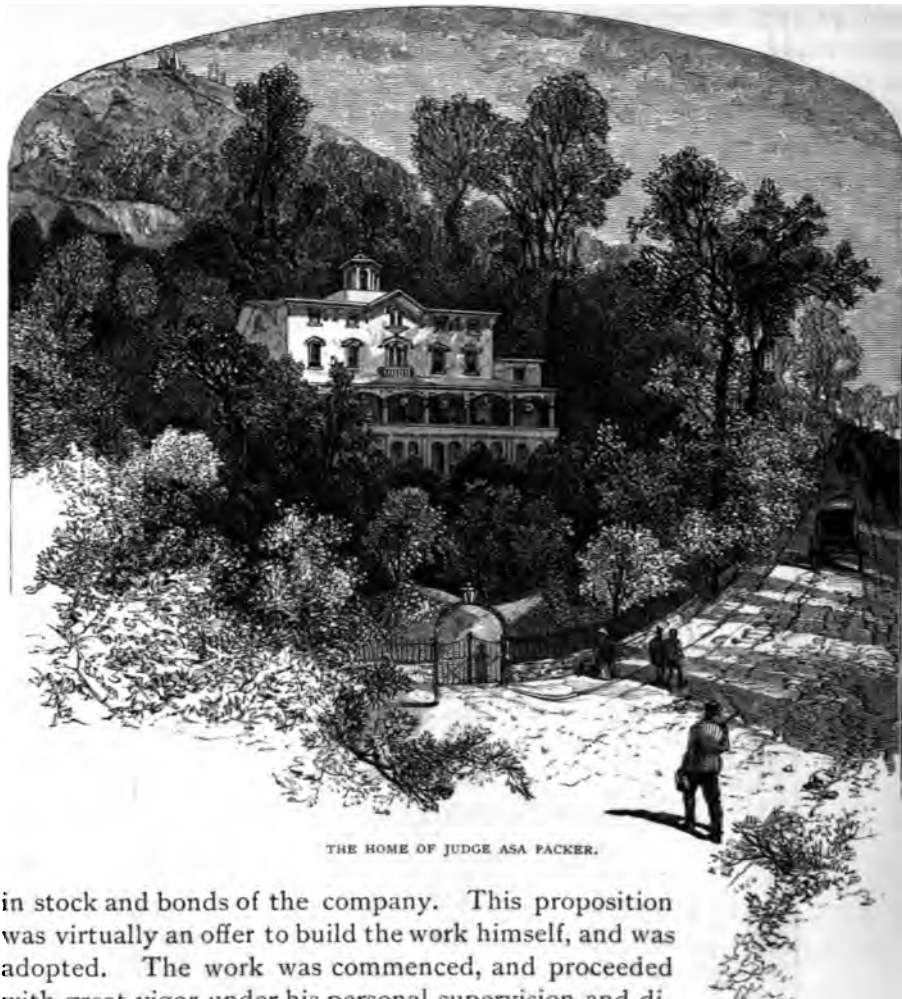


GYMNASIUM.

[From a Photograph by H. B. Eggert, Bethlehem, Pa.]

In 1853 the name of the company was changed to the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company. Mr. Packer had secured a controlling portion of the stock, which at this time was not a difficult matter, as there existed but little confidence in the success of the enterprise. But such was Asa Packer's confidence in the project which had originated in his mind that he submitted a proposition to build the road from Mauch Chunk to Easton, a distance of forty-six miles, for a consideration to be paid





THE HOME OF JUDGE ASA PACKER.

in stock and bonds of the company. This proposition was virtually an offer to build the work himself, and was adopted. The work was commenced, and proceeded with great vigor under his personal supervision and direction. But, as he received in payment only stocks and bonds many embarrassments had to be overcome to obtain money to pay the expenses. In the difficulties which at this time surrounded him, Mr. Packer applied not in vain to his generous friend the late Commodore Stockton, who gave him most valuable aid, knowing well how to sympathize to some purpose with a great mind struggling under difficulties. In September, 1855, the proposition, made four years previous by Asa Packer, to build the Lehigh Valley Railroad was realized and he delivered the railroad complete to the company.

It is needless to further pursue the growth of the railroad. As Hannibal and Napoleon had scaled the lofty Alps with engines of war to slay and destroy, Asa Packer had climbed the almost inaccessible heights of the coal regions of Pennsylvania with engines of peace to build up prosperity. His enterprise proved successful and, as the result of his skill, industry and pluck, wealth came to him.*

He was elected President of the Railroad Company, which position he held to the day of his death. The mountain-side of the anthracite coal

* The site of Judge Packer's plain brick house at Mauch Chunk was excavated from the hill-side, with results exceptionally picturesque. The view from it embraces three enterprising villages, with frowning and bold precipices between. "Mauch Chunk is in itself one of the most wild and singularly romantic combinations of mountain, forest, glen, and river that can be seen on this side of Switzerland. Nature seems to have distributed her mountains regardless of appearances, order or quantity; it is an heterogeneous medley, a saturnalia of wood-covered hills. Through them dashes the dark, sparkling Lehigh River, one of the most spirited of streams, not at all checked by the fact that it is the hardest worked river in the world. The thousand Undines that hide under its ash-colored and coal-stained waters jump up in white raiment and beautify the rocks, the waterfalls, the dams, and the rifts, which abound. So subservient has this river been made to the gigantic industries of coal and iron that it is dammed every few miles, and the long, silent, fair reaches above these obstructions remind one of Hamerton's picture of "The Unknown River," as the willows sweep the banks, and are mirrored in its placid surface. Then the scene changes, and the impetuous water finds its own varied and rapid way by rocks and rifts, and throws itself, with bold grace, over each impertinent obstacle. Few railway-rides can be more charming than that from Easton to Mauch Chunk, along the banks of this river. The traveler is treated to every variety of river-view before the grand and sublime vista breaks upon him which is opened by Lehigh Gap. Then come valley, mountain, and glen, until the unrivaled gorge at Mauch Chunk reveals itself, as a sudden turn round a modest elevation of seven hundred feet brings the railway-carriage to this hemmed-in, picturesque, and beautiful spot. The limitless coal-trade of the Lehigh Valley sends through this gorge long, serpent-like trains of coal-cars, and no sooner has one black, sinuous snake disappeared, than another takes its place. They crawl, not noiselessly but perpetually, these trains of black diamonds; and then on other tracks come dashing heavy freights of humanity,—such a conglomerate of railway-tracks, such a whizzing of engines, is rarely heard; it is the one drawback to the pleasures of the scenery. But after the visitor has watched the untiring labor of men who have dug out the iron from these towering mountains, and exhumed five million tons of coal in one year, the question naturally arises: 'Whose brain held the motive power to set all these giants in motion? Who caused these iron roads to penetrate these rocky bluffs through such formidable obstruction, through these solid and interminable beds of limestone? Who has moved inert masses, and who has made this singular gorge, where Nature has defended her solitudes and her hidden treasures by such elaborate defenses, such sullen and frowning fortresses, to yield up its key to his "Open sesame," and conquered her very rocks and rivers as his slaves?' The people answer, echoing the name of the man who made himself a millionaire, and contributed to the wealth of his neighborhood thousand of millions by creating these industries.

"Judge Packer's fame does not stop here among the triumphs of engineering. Not content with conquering Nature, he turned benignly toward the education of the multitude. He founded Lehigh University, and the fruits of his bequests will influence thousands of the great human family who may never hear his name."—*Homes of America*.

district of Pennsylvania was struck, and from its inexhaustible mineral wealth came plenteously coal and iron to gladden many a nook and corner of his country with busy workshops and comfortable homes.

Politically, he was a strict but not an ultra Democrat. In 1842 and 1843 he was elected to the State Legislature, his object being to secure, if possible, the creation of a new county out of that part of Northampton County lying north of the Blue Mountains. In this he succeeded, and in 1843 the County of Carbon was organized. He was elected one of the two first associate judges, from which he derived his title of Judge Packer. Although these associate judges generally were useless ornaments and have been discontinued in many counties in Pennsylvania, still Judge Packer proved himself of much service to his county in his judicial position, for it appears that he frequently held court and tried causes in the absence of the president judge. In 1852 he was elected to the National Congress as a Democrat, and again in 1854. He was not a noisy member, but his integrity and good judgment gave him a quiet influence which made him a useful member to his constituents.

Two offices of much higher dignity, if not necessarily of more importance to his community—those of Governor of Pennsylvania and President of the United States—were afterward brought within the reach of his ambition, if not of his achievements, by the faith which the people of Pennsylvania gradually learned to repose in his sagacity, honesty and liberality. In July, 1868, during the contest in New York over the Democratic nomination for President, which was finally decided in favor of Horatio Seymour and against Chief-Justice Chase, Mr. Packer's name was brought forward by the Pennsylvania delegation as a compromise candidate. Through fourteen ballots Pennsylvania voted solidly for him. On the fifteenth ballot his name was withdrawn, and the delegation then voted for General Hancock, and subsequently for Governor Seymour. In 1869 Judge Packer was nominated by the Pennsylvania Democratic Convention for Governor. This nomination was not desired by him; the State was overwhelmingly Republican, and his tastes and interests were not in politics. The unsought honor was pressed upon him and finally accepted. He did not throw himself and his means of influence into the canvass. Asa Packer might have been a statesman, never a politician. His popularity throughout the State was alone almost sufficient to defeat the twenty-five thousand Republican majority which General Grant had the year before over Governor Seymour, for Judge Packer was declared defeated by only four thousand five hundred. Soon after the announcement of the vote, many even of his political enemies published the fact that he had been "counted out."

After the canvass of 1869 Judge Packer took no active part in politics, although always being interested in the success of the Democratic party.

Judge Packer died on the 17th day of May, 1879. He is buried in the little hillside cemetery at Mauch Chunk in the Lehigh Valley. An unostentatious marble shaft marks his last resting-place. The great monument of his many exceptional qualities is the Lehigh University, named not *after* but *by* him, with his usual modesty. The expressed desire of Judge Packer,



THE LABORATORY.

[From a Photograph by H. B. Eggert, Bethlehem, Pa.]

as well as the wording of the charter, render it impossible to ever change the name of the institution ; however, the principal building of the University (and it is a model of academic architecture) has been, since his death, named after him "Packer Hall."

The total amount Judge Packer gave from time to time to this University is about two and a half million dollars. By the probable increase through judicious investments, and by the large share of the estate which will eventually come to the University on the expiration of the various trusts created by Judge Packer's last will and testament, it will be one of

the wealthiest institutions of learning in this country. Because of its present wealth, and the probability of an increase, of its central situation, and freedom from all prejudices which are gathered around some of our older colleges, this institution may be the commencement of the first true *American University*. The buildings of the University are situated in a well regulated park of some twenty acres. The original forest trees, which witnessed the early Moravian struggles and compromises with the savage, form now the collegiate shades of Lehigh, from whose doors no deserving youth is ever repulsed. Asa Packer was indeed "a *noble* of Nature's own creating."

David Brodhead



ANTIQUITIES IN THE WESTERN STATES

There can be no more fascinating field of research, nor one which offers a wider scope for conjecture, than that which the antiquarian finds in his studies among the ruins and relics of a peculiar people who centuries ago—ages before the red man came—inhabited this country. These researches and discoveries, while they throw no light upon the subject of the origin or character of this people, have revealed enough to prove beyond a doubt that a race existed upon this continent who possessed to a remarkable degree the knowledge of arts and sciences now unpracticed and unknown.

As a writer once said in connection with this subject: "If it is pleasing as well as useful to learn the history of one's country, to feel a rising interest as its beginnings are unfolded, and its sufferings, its wars, its struggles, and its victories delineated, why may it not also be agreeable to read the story of its antiquities, which are of a graver and more majestic character than anything connected with modern history."

It has been a favorite theory with some that the first inhabitants who peopled America came hither by land at a period when it was united with Asia, Europe and Africa, a bond of union which was ruptured by the force of earthquakes and upheavals by internal commotions, thus severed into distinct continents; so that those animals which had not passed over before this great physical disturbance and rupture were excluded, while the men could resort to the use of boats. Whatever may have been the means of reaching this country, from whatever point, or at what period can only be conjectured, but that the emigrants were a partially civilized and an agricultural nation, possibly equal in number to the present, cannot be successfully disproven. One of the most extensive of the ancient works in the West, was the fort, town or fortification on the Muskingum River in Ohio. Its site was on an elevated plain, above the present bank of that river, about half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. As described by a writer in a MS. written about 1830, now held by a gentleman in Michigan, it consisted of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines and in square and circular forms, and was about four hundred rods in circumference, so situated as to be nearly surrounded by two small brooks running into the Muskingum. The largest *square* fort, by many called the town, contained forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth,

from six to eight feet high and from twenty to thirty feet in breadth at the base. On each side were three openings at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways. The entrances at the middle are the largest, particularly on the side next the Muskingum. From this outlet is a covered



EXPLANATION.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NO. 1—WALLS OF THESE WORKS. | AND 8 HIGH, WITH A SUBTERANEAN WAY LEADING TO ITS TOP. |
| NO. 2—THE CONICAL MOUNDS. | NO. 5—REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT WELL. |
| NO. 2—ENCLOSED BY A CIRCLE, REPRESENTS A VERY LARGE MOUND SURROUNDED BY A WALL AND DITCH. | NO. 6—TWO PONDS, OR EXCAVATIONS. |
| NO. 3—TWO COVERED WAYS FROM LARGE FORT TO THE SHORE OF MUSKINGUM. | NO. 7—ELEVATED OCTANGULAR OBLONG SQUARE, 180 FEET LONG, 30 BROAD, AND 9 HIGH: LEVEL ON THE TOP. |
| NO. 4—A 2D OCTANGULAR SQUARE, 150 BY 120 FEET, | NO. 8—A 3D ELEVATED SQUARE, 180 FEET BY 54; NOT AS HIGH AS THE OTHERS. |

way formed of two parallel walls of earth two hundred and thirty feet from each other; the walls at the highest point on the inside are twenty-one feet, and forty-two in width at the base, but on the outside average only about five feet high. This forms a passage of about twenty rods in length, leading, by a gradual descent, to the low grounds, where at the time of its construction it probably reached the river. Its walls commenced at sixty feet from the ramparts of the fort, and increased in elevation as the way descended to the river. The bottom is rounded in the center, or "crowned up," like a well-constructed turnpike road. Within the walls of the fort, at its north-west corner, is an oblong elevated square one hundred and eighty feet long, one hundred and thirty-two broad and nine feet high, level on the summit and nearly perpendicular at the sides. "Near the south wall," the account says, "is an elevated square one hundred and fifty by one hundred and twenty-eight feet high, similar to the other, excepting that instead of an ascent to go up on the side next the wall, there is a hollow way ten feet wide, leading twenty feet toward the center, and then rising with a gradual slope to the top. This was most likely a secret passage. At the south-east corner is a third elevated square of one hundred and eighty by fifty-four feet, with ascents, at the ends, ten feet wide, but not so high nor perfect as the others.

"Besides this forty-acre fort, which is situated within the great range of the surrounding wall, there is another containing twenty acres, with a gateway in the center of each side, and at each corner these gateways are defended by circular mounds. On the outside of the fort is a smaller mound, in form of a sugar-loaf; its base is a perfect circle, one hundred and fifteen feet in diameter or twenty-one rods in circumference. Its altitude is thirty feet. It is surrounded by a ditch four feet deep, fifteen feet wide, and defended by a parapet four feet high, through which is a gateway toward the fort twenty feet in width. Near one of the corners of the great fort was found a reservoir or well twenty-five feet in diameter and seventy-five in circumference, having its sides elevated above the common level of the adjoining surface by an embankment of earth three or four feet in height." It was undoubtedly very deep when in use, as since its discovery by the English settlers, they have frequently thrust poles into it to the depth of thirty feet. It appeared to run to a point like an inverted cone or funnel, and was undoubtedly that kind of well used by the inhabitants of the old world, which was generally large enough at its top to allow an easy descent down to the fountain, and convenient ascent with the water borne in a vessel on the shoulder according to the ancient custom. On both sides of these walls have been found articles of pottery and copper utensils; one was in form of a cup, another a vase, and one very

curious hammered copper jug with handles on each side—showing an enlarged acquaintance with that metal, far exceeding that possessed by the Indians.

At Marietta, Ohio, also, there are, or were, some years since, remains of extensive fortifications, consisting of walls running in straight lines, some six or ten feet in height, inclosing nearly fifty acres of ground, possessing many peculiar features in their construction, and showing evidences of superior engineering skill, and where, too, many articles of interest have been found.

The French of the Mississippi once had a tradition that an exterminating battle was fought in the seventeenth century, about one hundred and eighty years ago, on the ground where Fort Harrison stood, between the Indians living on the Mississippi and the tribes on the Wabash. The bone of contention was the land lying between these streams, which both claimed. There were engaged in this battle about two thousand warriors on each side, and the issue was, of course, to decide the question as to the future possession of the lands. The grandeur of the prize for which they were contending was peculiarly well calculated to inflame the ardor of the savages, and the contest was a fierce and bloody one, commencing at sunrise and continuing without cessation until sunset, when the Wabash warriors came off victorious; but nearly the whole force engaged lay dead upon the field. The victors, it is stated, had but forty and the vanquished but twenty warriors remaining alive.

As to the state of the arts among the more ancient nations of America, some idea may be gained from the curious facts brought to light by the discoveries that they made brick of good quality; and articles manufactured of copper and plated with silver have been met with, on opening some of their ancient works. In several tumuli the remains of knives and even of swords, almost destroyed by rust, have been discovered. Glass has never been found in any of their works in the Ohio valley except in one instance; "but mirrors made of isinglass have been, in as many as fifty places within my own knowledge," says Mr. Atwater, in a paper written for the Antiquarian Society; "one a very large and elegant article found near Cuchulle." From the great thickness of these micæ membraneca mirrors they answered the purpose very well indeed.

Along the Ohio, where the river had in many places worn and washed away its banks, hearths and fire-places are brought to light two, four, and even six feet below the surface. Two stone covers of stone vessels were found in a stone mound in Ross County, Ohio, ingeniously wrought and highly polished. These covers and vessels were quite equal to and closely resembled similar articles used in many parts of Italy. In digging

a trench on the Sandusky River (fifty years ago), in alluvial earth, at a depth of eight feet was found a pipe which displayed great taste and skill in its manufacture and carving. The rim of the bowl was in high relief, and the front represents a beautiful female face. The stone of which it is made is the real *talc graphique*, exactly the same as the stone of which the Chinese made their idols. No talc of this species is known to exist on the west of the Alleghanies. It must have been brought, therefore, at some remote period from some part of the Old World. Fragments of fishing nets and moccasins, or shoes made of a species of weed, have been found in the nitrous caves of Kentucky. The mummies which have been found in these places were wrapped in a species of coarse linen cloth, about the texture of burlaps or a trifle finer. It was evidently woven by a process similar to that which is in vogue in the interior of Africa, the warp being extended by some light machinery and the woof passed across it; it is then twisted, every alternate two threads of warp together, before the second passage of filling. The second envelope or covering of these bodies was a kind of net-work of coarse threads formed of very small loose meshes, in which were fixed the feathers of various birds.

The art of this tedious but beautiful manufacture was known to the inhabitants of Mexico and of the islands of the Pacific. In the latter the robes thus made constituted the State or Court dress. The outer covering of these mummies usually consists of leather. The manufacture of leather from the hides of animals, is a very ancient invention known to almost all the natives of the earth; but to find it in America wrapped around mummies as in several instances brought to light in nitrous caves and in Kentucky caverns, shows a knowledge of a branch of arts in the possession of the people of America at an era coeval with the Egyptians—as the art of embalming is found in connection with that of tanning the skins of animals.

Among the vast variety of discoveries made in the mounds, tumuli and fortifications of these people, have been found not only hatchets made of stone, but axes as large and much of the same shape as those made of iron at the present day, also pickaxes and pestles and mortars, with various other implements. Besides these there have been found very cleverly manufactured swords and knives of iron or steel.



THE CAVE MYTH OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

I

Among the curious things discovered by the Spaniards in the New World was a novel account of the origin of mankind. "There is in the island," says Peter Martyr, speaking of the island of Hayti, "a certain region, called *Gaunana*, where they say that mankind came first out of two caves of a mountain; and that the biggest sort of men came out of the biggest cave, and the least sort out of the least cave." (Peter Martyr—*Decades*, i. Bk. ix.) Peter Martyr goes on to relate a legend of this notable event—how these first men were opposed by the sun-god in their first attempts to escape from their subterranean prison, and how many of them were metamorphosed into rocks, animals, etc.; but the story is somewhat confused as well as puerile, and need not be repeated here. It is chiefly interesting as the earliest recorded version of a remarkable origin-tradition, which has been found to run through the entire length of America, cropping out here and there, under various forms, with a frequency which makes it a marked feature of the American folk-lore.

The natives of Greenland told the missionary Egede that the first Greenlander came out of the ground, and that he got his wife out of a little hillock. (Egede—*Description of Greenland* (London), p. 185.) The Patagonians, at the other extremity of America, are said to have a tradition that the first of the human race were created, together with all the animals, "in great holes in the earth," and that they were then brought out of the ground by the gods, their creators, and were turned loose "to shift for themselves." (J. G. Müller—*Die Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, 3, 266.) From various intermediate parts of America similar tales have been reported by numberless authorities, varying in their details or given without any details, all pointing to the existence among the American aborigines of a wide-spread belief that their earliest ancestors were created within, or at least once lived within the interior of the earth.

Among the United States tribes such notions are, or were, very common. Heckewelder, speaking of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, says: "They consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode before they came to live on its surface. . . . As to the form under which they lived while in the bowels of the earth, their mythol-

ogists are not agreed. Some assert that they lived there in the human shape, while others, with greater consistency, contend that their existence was in the form of certain terrestrial animals, such as the ground-hog, the rabbit and the tortoise." (Heckewelder—*Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 249.) Similar views respecting their origin were held by the Iroquois. The Reverend Christopher Pylæus, who had lived among the Iroquois and spoke their language, had been told, according to Heckewelder, "by a respectable Mohawk chief," a tradition as follows: "That they had dwelt in the earth where it was dark and where no sun did shine. That though they followed hunting they ate mice, which they caught with their hands. That Ganawagahha (one of them) having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth he found a deer, which he took back with him, and that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, and the favorable description he had given them of the country above and on the earth, their mother, concluded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly they did so, and immediately set about planting corn," etc.

We are not told by Heckewelder whether these traditions of the Delawares and Iroquois were associated by them with any particular localities. Usually, however, the place of origin is pointed out in some suitable spot within or near the territory of the tribe, and is naturally held in peculiar veneration. The natives of Hayti, as has been seen above, showed the very caverns out of which the first men came; and we are told by Cussic, a later authority for the Iroquois tradition, that the place at which the first small band of Indians was believed to have issued from the earth was a certain eminence near the Oswego falls. (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, part v., p. 636.) In like manner the Wichitas, on the Red River, believed that their forefathers came out of the mountains which bear their name. (Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River*, p. 69.) The Choctaws and others of the so-called Apalachian tribes, connected a similar tradition with a certain artificial mound within their former territories. In a cave within this hill the "Master of Breath" molded the first Indians out of clay, and when the soft material had hardened into flesh and bone, he brought his creatures out and gave them the surface of the earth for their dwelling-place. (Dr. D. G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, 2d ed., p. 242.) The Minnietaries, on the Upper Missouri, pointed out two hills as marking the spot of the tribe's origin. Either the exit from the earth had taken place near these hills, or, according to one authority, the hills were themselves the first man and first woman, who, after having emerged from the earth and become the parents of a numerous progeny, the ancestors of the present race of

men, were transformed into these shapes. (Jones, *Traditions of the North American Indians*, vol. iii., p. 187.) It was said by the old man of the Minnecottas that formerly a pilgrimage to this spot had been peculiarly efficacious for barren women, although it was admitted that this virtue had disappeared in later degenerate times.

Side by side with these tales of an "earth-born" ancestry is another group of origin traditions, perhaps equally extensive, which represent the first men as having come, not out of the ground, but out of some body of water, a river, a spring, or a lake. The Caddos, Ionies, and Amaudakas believed that their original ancestors came out of the Hot Springs of Arkansas. (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, v., p. 682.) One branch of the Omahas asserted that their founder arose out of the water, bearing in his hand an ear of red maize, for which reason the red maize was never used by them for food. (Long, *Exped. to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. i., p. 326.) In the country of the Blackfoots there are, according to De Smet, two lakes, known as the Lake of Men and the Lake of Women. Out of the former of these came the fathers and out of the latter the mothers of the Blackfoot tribe. (De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, p. 178.) These two accounts of man's origin, viz.: that he came out of the ground and that he came out of the water, have usually been regarded as distinct from one another in origin and meaning; but I shall attempt to show farther on that they are in fact identical—that they are both simply the imperfect or mutilated renderings of a fundamental myth into which a cave and a body of water enter as prominent and essential features. At this point it is sufficient to remark that the two accounts are frequently given by different authorities as current in the same tribe, and that we often find in the cave-legend itself a water feature introduced so awkwardly or with so little apparent reason that it can best be explained as a "survival" of a point in the story of which the true import has been forgotten. For example the Minsi branch of the Delawares believed that the cavern out of which their forefathers came was situated *under* a lake (Heckewelder, *loc. cit.*); the Mandans, on the Missouri, remembered that the orifice through which they had emerged from the ground was near the sea; and the Iroquois, according to Cussic's version of their tradition, after having escaped from the mountain in which they had been imprisoned, were led by their god, Tarenyawagon, on an apparently aimless journey to the eastward as far as the sea and then back to the site of their origin.

Other legends, which I regard as presenting the story more nearly in its original form, give a still greater prominence to the water feature. According to an old tradition of the Choctaws, at the time when they were

brought forth from the cave in which they were created, the whole earth was submerged under the sea, so that their creator was obliged to build a wall of earth for their resting place, until the waters could be drawn off into seas and rivers. (D. G. Brinton, *op. cit.*) Very similar is the tradition of the Navajoes, of New Mexico. According to their tradition, as recorded by Dr. Ten Broeck, all mankind and all the animals once lived in a gloomy cavern in the heart of the Cerra Naztarny mountain, on the river San Juan. A lucky accident led them to suspect that the walls of their prison-house were quite thin, and the raccoon was set at work to dig a way out. As he did not succeed, the moth worm took his place and after a deal of hard work effected an opening. But when he reached the outside of the mountain, he found all things submerged under the sea, so he threw up a little mound of earth and sat down to ponder on the situation. Presently the waters receded in four great rivers and left in their place a mass of soft mud. Four winds arose and dried up the mud, and then the men and animals came up, occupying in their passage several days. As yet there was no sun, nor moon, nor stars; so the old men held a council and resolved to manufacture these luminaries. There were among them two flute-players, who, while they had dwelt within the mountain, had been wont to enliven them with their music; and when the sun and moon were finished, they were given into the charge of these musicians, who have been carrying them ever since. (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, iv., pp. 89, 90.)

These are the main points of the Navajo legend, as recorded by Dr. Ten Broeck. It will be observed that the sea—which is nothing less than the primeval sea that forms so common a feature in cosmogonies—holds quite as prominent a place in the story as does the cavern itself, and the two might easily become separated in an incomplete version. Either the cave or the water might be dropped. In fact, there is another version of this tradition, given by Colonel J. H. Eaton, in which there is no mention of a cave. The Navajoes, according to Eaton's version of their story, came out of the earth in the middle of a certain lake in the valley of Montezuma, at some distance from their present location. (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, iv., 218.)

Passing from the United States to Mexico, we come upon one of the best known and most often discussed portions of the American aboriginal history in the story of the so-called Aztec Migration. It is unnecessary to review here the historical theories which have been based upon this oft-repeated tradition, in which the early Spanish fathers were quick to discern either a distorted reminiscence of, or a diabolical parody upon, the wanderings of the children of Israel. The utter worthlessness of the

story as historical material becomes apparent the moment we give due prominence to the fact, upon which all authorities are agreed, that the name of the place from which the Aztecs set out on their wanderings, Chicomoztoc, means "Seven Caverns." The best commentary on the story of Chicomoztoc is found, as has been pointed out by Doctor Brinton, in the Central American legend of the Seven Caves of Tulan Zua, from which issued the four legendary founders of the Quiche tribe.*

Among the legends of the Peruvians our tradition under both its forms holds a prominent place. The natives of the valley of Xauca declared, according to Herrera, that they were descended from a man and a woman who came out of the spring of Guaribalia; those of the valley of Andabayla declared that their forefathers came out of Lake Socdococa; those of Cuzco, out of Lake Titicaca. In the neighborhood of Cuzco were two celebrated caves around which centered several legends of this sort. The cave of Chingana, which was just above the city and near the great temple of the Sun, was the site of a legend of Inca Rocca, who, according to the version of his story given by Montesinos, was hidden for a time in this cave by his artful mother and was then brought forth and shown to the people as their heaven-sent ruler. Some five leagues to the eastward of the city was the still more famous cave of Pacarin Tambo. This was a sanctuary of great repute during the Inca period, holding among the Peruvians a place analogous to that of the Delphic cave among the Greeks. In its vicinity was a sacred grove, about it were buildings reputed to be of great antiquity, and the whole locality was popularly believed to be exempt from pestilence and earthquakes. Out of this cave came, according to the most common accounts, the four brothers, whose story, variously told by the Spanish writers on Peru, forms the basis of the history of that country. Another legend declares that at the time of the flood, when the greater part of mankind was destroyed, six brothers took refuge in this sacred retreat, from which they emerged in the end to restore the human race. Still other legends connect with this cave the advent of Viracocha, the great culture-hero of Peru, to whose story we shall have occasion to recur on a subsequent page.

II

The question which occurs first, upon surveying this group of legends

* The elaborate legend of Chicomoztoc was but one of many forms which our "cave myth" seems to have assumed in Mexico, as elsewhere. F. Diego Duran, who left a manuscript work entitled *Historia Antigua de la Nueva España*, says that the Mexicans had no certain knowledge of their origin, some claiming to have proceeded from fountains and springs of water, others that they were natives of certain caves, others that they were created by the gods, etc. Short, *Ancient America*, p. 135.

so alike in their general tenor, is, are they historically connected with one another in the sense that they are the fragments of some primeval tale current among the Indians at a time when they were less widely scattered over the continent than at present, or have they sprung up at several centers independently of each other? This question is one of great interest to American ethnologists, but one to which, in the present state of our knowledge respecting the mode of growth and diffusion of popular tales, it would, perhaps, be rash to attempt an answer. It may be said, however, in favor of the former hypothesis that this account of man's origin—at least wherever the story is circumstantially related—is, so far as I have been able to discover, peculiar to America. It is true it has sometimes been classed with those Old World legends which represent man as of an *earthy* nature, either as having been fashioned out of clay by the hands of some Promethean potter, or as having sprung from a seed of stones or of dragon's teeth scattered over the soil, but a close inspection of any of its detailed versions will show that the story-teller has in mind a thought essentially different from those embodied in these classic legends. The first men, according to the Indians' account, did not spring up vegetable-like from the surface of the earth; they came *out* of its interior, in the human shape and often accompanied by the animals of the chase. Indeed, when closely scanned, the story is seen to be an account, not of man's origin, but simply of a change in the scene of his existence. Except in a few cases in which we are told that the original men were created by the gods before being brought above ground, we receive no hint as to how their life began. We are merely told that they came a long time ago out of a cave or out of a lake, within which, so far as we are informed, they had lived from the beginning. This is a characteristic feature which I have not met with distinctly portrayed in any legends outside of America.

But whether or not these tales have any true kinship with one another, it hardly admits of doubt that they have a common basis, either of fact or of logic, and that they may be regarded as practically, if not actually, different versions of a single original tale. What is this basis, and what is the meaning of the story? This question has often been asked, and has been answered variously. From a number of proposed "interpretations" I select two, which seem the most worthy of consideration, as well from their inherent plausibility, as from the names by which they are indorsed. Mr. Herbert Spencer, speaking, in a recent work, with express reference to the Navajo tradition, of which an outline has been given above, says: "Either the early progenitors of a tribe were dwellers in caves on the mountain; or the mountain marking most conspicuously the elevated region whence they

came is identified with the object whence they sprung." (Spencer—*Principles of Sociology*, vol. i., p. 393.) And again: "Where caves are used for interments, they become the supposed places of abode for the dead; and hence develops the notion of a subterranean other world." (Ibid. p. 219.)

Underlying the tradition of the Delawares and Iroquois, Heckewelder saw an admirable philosophical meaning—"a curious analogy between the general and the individual creation." This view has been adopted by Doctor D. G. Brinton, the eminent student of American folk-lore, who presents it as follows:

"Out of the Earth rises life, to it it returns. She it is who guards all germs, nourishes all beings. The Aztecs painted her as a woman with countless breasts; the Peruvians called her Mama Allpa, *mother Earth*; in the Algonkin tongue the words for earth, mother, father, are from the same root. *Homo, Adam, chamaigenes*, what do all these words mean but earth-born, the son of the soil, repeated in the poetic language of Attica in *anthropos*, he who springs up like a flower? As in Oriental legends the origin of man from the earth was veiled under the story that he was the progeny of some mountain fecundated by the embrace of Mithras or Jupiter, so the Indians often pointed to some height or some cavern, as the spot whence the first men issued, adult and armed from the womb of All-mother Earth. . . . This cavern, which thus dimly lingered in the memory of nations, occasionally expanded to a nether-world, imagined to underlie this of ours, and still inhabited by beings of our kind, who have never been lucky enough to discover its exit. . . . Such tales of an under-world are very frequent among the Indians, and are a very natural out-growth of the literal belief that the race is earth-born." (*The Myths of the New World*, 2d ed., pp. 238-245).

Between these two radically different interpretations of the tradition—the one that it is based upon an actual fact in the tribe's history, the other that it is the outgrowth of a bit of primitive philosophy—it would be hard to make a choice were there no other criterion than an *a priori* probability. I propose to inquire whether there is not some other criterion—whether there is not internal evidence to be obtained through an examination of various versions of the story itself which will conduct us to something better than a mere guess, however plausible, at its origin and true significance. What the true character of the story is, may not be in itself a question of much importance; but, if I mistake not, we have here an excellent field for the employment of that comparative method of study which has let in so much light upon the myths and legends of the old world—a field in which we may search profitably for some of the

laws which govern the growth of popular tales, and where we may obtain a glimpse of the process by which the world has been flooded with so much fable and so much error. We may be sure that none of these tales was first told in the precise shape in which it happened to be found. Like all popular tales they have a history; they have grown into shape through long telling, and by a comparative examination of them—assuming that they are at the bottom one and the same story—we shall be able to determine with some approach to certainty what details are original and essential and what are local and unimportant.

The legend is nearly always associated with some cavern, sometimes with an actual mountain cave, as that of Pacarin Tambo in Peru, sometimes with a hollow imagined to exist within the mountain, the entrance to which is no longer visible. Sometimes, as has been observed by Doctor Brinton, this cavern assumes the proportions of a nether-world. We will begin the examination with a case of this kind and see if we cannot obtain some clue to the original character of this imagined hollow in the earth. The following is the version given by Lewis and Clark of the tradition of the Mandans, on the Upper Mississippi:

“The whole nation resided in one large village underground near a subterranean lake. A grape-vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light. Some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo, and rich with every kind of fruits. Returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them, that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms of the upper region. Men, women, and children ascended by means of the vine; and when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. . . . When the Mandans die, they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers, the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burden of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross.”

The notion of an under-world as the abode of the dead, such as is presented in the above legend, is very common in mythology. It is suggested by Mr. Spencer, in the passage above cited, that it originated in the custom of using caves as places of interment of the dead. But however well this custom may account for the fact that the dead are supposed to descend to the lower world, there are certain strongly marked features about this region, as portrayed in mythology, which point clearly to a quite dif-

ferent source for its original conception. Man looks at the over-arching sky, which seems to touch the horizon on all sides, and prompted by an instinctive idea of symmetry, continues its curvature in imagination below and under the earth, until a corresponding vault is formed beneath his feet. The apparent revolution of the heavens at night confirms and gives definiteness to this idea. The world becomes, in his imagination, a gigantic sphere—in the Mundane Egg of the Hindoos, the Great Cocoon of the Polynesians. Hence it happens that the lower world is supposed to be of the same dimensions as the upper world. It would take, says Hesiod, an anvil nine days to fall from Heaven to Earth and an equal length of time to fall from Earth to the bottom of Tartarus. For the same reason those nations which have imagined the upper, visible half of the world to consist of several distinct heavens rising one above the other, have usually assigned the same number of divisions to the lower world. In the mythology of the Babylonians these heavens were seven in number, one for each of the seven planets; and in the lower world there were seven gates, through which the dead must pass, as is seen in the legend of the Descent of Ishtar. The Seven Heavens and Seven Hells of the Mohammedans still perpetuate this ancient physical conception of the universe. The Polynesians of the Hervey Islands imagined ten heavens of blue stone, and their divisions of the lower world were likewise ten in number. (Rev. W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 2.) In the Greek mythology there was but a single Olympus, while the divisions of the lower world were three in number; but the fact that the Oceanus nine times encircles the earth, and that the Styx, which is simply a reflex of the Oceanus, passes nine times around the Elysian Fields, and that *nine* is the number of days required for an object to fall from heaven to earth, can hardly be without significance and possibly points to an ancient ninefold division of the world, which had disappeared in the classical period.

We might conjecture upon general grounds that the idea of an underworld found among the Mandans and many other American tribes sprang from the same sort of reasoning as has evidently given rise to it among other nations. Fortunately we have evidence that such is the case. Prince Maximilian of New Wied, who visited the Mandans subsequently to Lewis and Clark, and learned additional particulars respecting their belief in an underground origin, tells us that the Mandans, like so many other nations, supposed the world to be divided into stages or stories. These were eight in number; four of them were *above* the earth, and four *below*, the earth itself forming the fourth stage from the bottom. (Maximilian, *Travels in North America* (London Ed.), p. 366.) There seems, therefore, to be very little

room for doubt as to the original character of the cave of the Mandan legend. The forefathers of this tribe not merely came *out of* the earth, they actually came *through* the earth, conceived of as a thin, flat disk dividing the great cosmic sphere into two equal parts.

Among the Navajos we obtain equally satisfactory evidence touching the original of this legendary cave. Doctor Ten Broeck tells us that he often conversed with the Navajos on the subject of their beliefs, and he gives us, among other particulars, this very important item: "The old men say that the world (i. e., the earth) is, as it were, suspended; and that when the sun disappears in the evening, he passes under and lights up our former place of abode, until he again reappears at morning in the east." There can be no question as to the location and the real character of the cave into which the sun descends at evening, and from which at morning he comes forth. Under one disguise or another this cavern occurs in legends the world over. It is the cave into which the Polynesian Mani descends to visit his deserting mother, and into which Orpheus descends in search of Eurydice; it is the Latinian cave, in which Selene, the Moon, woos Endymion, the Setting Sun. Nor need we be disconcerted because the Navajos have located it within a particular mountain. One of the most rigid laws of folk-lore requires that a legend, even although more than half intelligible as a nature-myth, shall have assigned to it some suitable site, which can be pointed out in confirmation of it. On the island of Hayti occurs a still more glaring illustration of this law. In the same chapter in which Peter Martyr gives the Haytian tradition of the first men, above cited, is recorded a parallel tradition that originally the Sun and the Moon came out of a certain cave on the island. This cave, known as Joanaboina, was fitted up as a temple, and was adorned with many images, two of which, larger than the rest, were probably intended to represent the Sun and the Moon. To the Spaniards, this tradition must have seemed even more puerile than that of the origin of mankind; but, stripped of a very thin disguise, it is simply an account, perfectly true from the point of view of a barbarian, of what may be seen daily or nightly taking place.

Legends which contain so distinct and so intelligible references to an under-world can hardly have grown by a process of expansion either from a vague belief that man is a child of the soil, that he is "earth-born," or from the practice of cave burials. On the contrary, we may feel certain that they are the more perfectly preserved forms of the tale we are pursuing, and that its growth, so far, at least, as the cave is concerned, has been one of *contraction*, if the expression may be allowed, rather than of *expansion*. The omission of one or two particulars from the Navajo or the

Mandan legend would leave the under-world, to which they plainly refer, simply a mountain cavern, and we might seek in vain to guess the import of the story. That this curtailment actually has been made in the greater number of instances, may reasonably be conjectured.

We have already proceeded far enough to suspect that we are dealing with a tradition based, not upon philosophy nor upon actual history, but upon mythology. After having seen that the cavern which dimly lingered in the memory of the Indians was, in fact, an imagined under-world, we need not be surprised if the first men of whom they tell prove, upon a closer acquaintance, to be, not their flesh-and-blood ancestors, but their ancestral gods. As the story of gods, the legend has a meaning, whereas, when told of men, it is sheer nonsense. Not only is it true, from the point of view of primitive man, that certain of the gods, particularly Sun and Moon, come out of a cavern—that of the under-world—but we have seen that in Hayti the fact has actually assumed the form of a tradition. The clue is worth following up. Is it not possible that these curious legends, that have so perplexed American antiquaries, are simply stories of the sunrise—instances of that metamorphosis of mythologic tales which has given so much legendary history to the old world? Before searching farther for evidence upon this point, we will look a moment at the sunrise from an ancient and barbarian standpoint, to ascertain what traces it would be likely to leave in legend.

In primitive geography the earth is surrounded by water. Whatever may be the ground of this belief, it has prevailed very generally among the natives of both hemispheres. Sometimes this world-sea appears as a limitless and profound abyss of waters, on which the earth floats, and out of which it was brought up in the morning of time by the Boar, as said the Hindoos; by the Muskrat, according to the Algonkins, or, according to the Polynesian story, by the fish-hook of Mani. But more often it seems to have been regarded as a sort of river encircling the lands, as the Oceanus of the Greeks; while, in the more elaborate geography of the Hindoos, there were seven concentric seas or rivers, consisting of seven different fluids.

The world-sea, as well as the cave of the under-world, was an important element in the primitive conception of the sunrise and sunset. Out of this sea the sun arose every morning, and into it he returned at evening. On its waters he floated during the night in a cup or barge, or he swam in them like a fish. Another theory of the sun's movement, after his disappearance below the western horizon, was that he entered the lower world and during the night passed under the earth, to emerge again in the morn-

ing on its eastern side. In this case he must cross the river in going to or coming from the entrance to the lower world.

When the story of the sun's rising and setting became confused and entered upon its mythological career, the world-sea contracted its dimensions and became simply a lake or a river in the lower world. It is the Wai-Oro-Tane of the Polynesian mythology, the Water of Life, in which the old Sun nightly bathes to recover his youth; it is the hateful Stygian wave of the Greeks, the Lake Avernus of the Romans. We have seen that there was said to be a lake in the Mandan under-world; so, too, the Navajos, who likewise thought that they would return after death to the cave of their forefathers, told of a marsh which they must cross in order to reach its entrance.

This conception of the sun's rising from a sea, as well as from an under-world, furnishes the connecting link between our cave legend and the equally prevalent tradition that the first man or first men came out of the water. Attention has already been directed to the fact that in many versions of the story the cave is found associated in various ways with a body of water, a connection which we are now in a position to understand. The Aztecs related that their ancestors, after emerging from the seven caves of Chicomoztoc, crossed an arm of the sea, using for boats the trunks of cypress trees. Place for Chicomoztoc the under-world, and understand by the sea the world-sea, and the story becomes intelligible. So, too, we can now readily interpret what must have seemed to Heckewelder a profound mystery, the statement of the Minsis, that the cave out of which they came was under a lake.

Through obscure reminiscences, such as these, preserved here and there, we can catch occasional glimpses of the great cosmic tale of the rising sun. In the mythology of Peru, however, we may find the most distinct traces of its gradual transformation into a legend.

The Peruvian Viracocha is one of those personages who form a connecting link between mythology and traditional history. He appears in legend under a double aspect. On the one hand he is the highest of the Peruvian gods, the creator and preserver of all things—a deity to whom, indeed, no temples were erected nor sacrifices offered; yet who was revered as the supreme and invisible God, higher than the Sun, and whose title Pachacamac, world-sustainer, was too sacred to be uttered except in an attitude of deep humility. On the other hand he appears in legend, in a completely anthropomorphized shape, as a culture-hero, one of those personages of whom all nations tell, who first introduced among men the rudiments of the arts and the usages of religion, and taught them whatever else was

essential to their well-being. It has already been said that the advent of Viracocha was sometimes connected with the cave of Pacarin Tambo. More often, however, he is said to have come out of Lake Titicaca. There are several versions of his story, differing in details, but agreeing as to the main fact that he arose in the first place from the waters of the lake. The vicinity of the lake was the scene of his first exploits. Here he assembled the brute-like inhabitants of the country—or perhaps he created them—and formed them into an organized society and gave them laws and customs. He erected, too, those massive temples whose ruined walls are still seen on the shores and islands of the lake. Thence he journeyed northward with his people, and having founded the city of Cuzco, established there the rule of the Incas; and finally, when his work was done, he descended the slopes of the mountains and spreading his mantle disappeared over the western ocean.

Viracocha is described as a white man. The name is said to mean "the fat or foam of the sea." The idea conveyed, says Doctor Brinton, is that of whiteness, foam being called fat from its color. In this account of the first appearance of Viracocha, Doctor Brinton sees an "allegory of the morning light flinging its beams like snow-white foam athwart the waves of Lake Titicaca." (*Op. cit.*, p. 243.) According to his interpretation of the myth, Viracocha is the Spirit of Light, met with again in the Algonkin myth of Michabo, the Great White-one, and in those of Quetzalcoatl, of Bochica, and of other American culture-heroes.

But whether we accept this interpretation, or look upon Viracocha rather as the Sun itself, the source of light, we may suspect that none of the legends has retained the myth quite in its original form, and that the true Viracocha came, not out of Lake Titicaca, but out of the imaginary world-sea. What else are this mysterious arrival and disappearance of the Peruvian deity than those daily recurring phenomena to which the Greek bard refers, when he speaks of the sun as coming from, or as descending toward, the waters of Oceanus? To be sure, the story was localized at Lake Titicaca, just as in the Navajo tale the cavern is placed within the Cerra Naztarny mountain, and for the same reason. When once the true character of Viracocha had been forgotten, yet it was remembered that he had arisen from the sea, there was no more fitting site for the legend than this actual lake. So, too, the ancient Babylonians pointed to the Persian Gulf as the sea out of which came Oannes, the man-fish who brought them their civilization. Every morning, said the Babylonian legend, this beneficent being came up out of the sea, and, after passing the day among men, returned into it when the sun set. It is an old story, which can be paralleled again and again in the folk-lore of the nations.

A portion of the story of Viracocha was transferred to the history of Manco Capac, the reputed founder of the family of the Incas. Accompanied by Mama Oella, his sister and wife, and claiming to be a child of the Sun, Manco Capac made his first appearance, like Viracocha, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. He found mankind in the lowest depths of savagery. He taught them how to clothe themselves, and to build houses, and to worship the Sun. Finally, directed by an omen, he chose the site for a city, which he called Cuzco, and established his authority there, as the first Inca.

It is quite possible that Manco Capac was a real person. But in this case his true history has evidently been lost, and, as has often happened elsewhere, its place has been supplied from the resources of mythology. The story of the sun-god has become inwoven with actual history; and when, therefore, we are told by Herrera, in a brief passage, that the inhabitants of Cuzco claimed to have come originally out of Lake Titicaca, can we doubt that this tradition is simply the story of Viracocha-Manco-Capac in its last stage of detrition?

In Peru, then, we gain a tolerably clear insight into the history of our tradition, or at least of one form of it. If in other parts of America we cannot trace its growth so distinctly, we may plead the defectiveness of the record. Under the most favorable circumstances, where a people has possessed a literature, the recorded portion of its folk-lore is never more than a small segment of the mass of legends which pervade the country under countless local forms. Much more is this true of the American legends, for a knowledge of which we are indebted entirely to the occasional reports of travelers and missionaries, who have, no doubt, often failed to catch their spirit and have sometimes colored them unintentionally with their own ideas, or have dropped from them, as unimportant, the very details most significant of their true character. To expect with such fragmentary materials to construct an unbroken chain of evidence connecting a given legend with an original nature-myth, as has been done in repeated instances in the field of Aryan folk-lore, is of course idle. We may be satisfied if we can obtain a few unmistakable indications that the evolution of folk-lore has taken the same course among the natives of America as among the Aryans of the old world, and if with a knowledge of the sort of evidence for which we are to look, we can clear away some of the obscurity which envelops the American traditions.

It remains to add a few words concerning the process by which, or rather the medium through which, this apparently violent transmutation of a solar phenomenon into an absurd legend has been effected. Travelers

who have recorded the traditions of barbarous tribes have not usually thought it necessary to give us their authority, nor to say, even if they knew, in what form a given tradition has been preserved. But occasionally the narrator has spoken of the *songs* of the tribe, which contain their mythic and legendary tales. Herrera, Acosta, and other Spanish writers on America refer frequently to the songs of the natives of Hayti, Mexico, and Peru, which were sung or chanted, as an accompaniment to the dance, at their periodical religious festivals. In recent times, since folk-lore has come to be looked upon as a subject worthy of careful study, attention has been directed more particularly to this important fact, and collections of such barbarian songs have been made. It is now certain that among many tribes, and it is probable that among all tribes, the authority for their traditional history as well as for their mythology is their ancestral songs, or poems, to give them a dignified title, as was the case in ancient Greece and Rome. This fact not only accounts for what is else the almost inexplicable persistence of tradition, but it also furnishes the clew to that confusion, which has everywhere taken place, of mythological with actual events. The rhythmical phrases of which the song or chant is composed may endure unaltered for a long time, especially where the keeping of the songs is the care of a regular priesthood or of a guild of professional bards. They may, indeed, endure so long as finally to become unintelligible. In the time of Varro, the Romans no longer understood fully the hymns of the Salic priests. The Aztecs are said to have chanted around the pyramid of Cholula songs containing phrases of an import unknown to themselves, and the songs sung at the festivals of the Tamanacs, on the Orinoco, were unintelligible to the people. (Adelung, *Mithradates* iii. 3, p. 90, and iii. 2, p. 655).

Since mythology and tradition rest at every stage of their growth upon authority of this uncertain character, it is not surprising that confusion and mistakes arise. There is a continual call for commentary. Points which are not understood must be interpreted, and things incredible must be explained away. Ambiguous phrases, taken in a wrong sense, may change entirely the character of a story. As its growth goes on it becomes more and more human in its proportions and aspect. The god becomes a demi-god; then an ancient king or hero. The history of the hymn or chant from its earliest form of an invocation to some object in nature, through its more highly developed form of a song of praise to some deity, becoming at length completely anthropomorphized—to Apollo or Viracocha—down to its final transformation into the ballad and epic poem, is the history of mythology and legend. In the field of Aryan mythology this develop-

ment, starting with those hymns of which the Vedas afford us specimens, may be distinctly traced; and we may be confident that had we as complete a collection of the songs of barbarian tribes as we have of the poems of the Aryan nations, we should be able to trace the same transformation going on there. Let us suppose, to illustrate the case before us, that an ancient Peruvian chant addressed to the rising Sun, under the name of Viracocha, contained a phrase which may be translated, "He cometh up from the sea, or from the great hollow." There is abundant warrant for assuming the use of such a phrase. The ancient hymn to the nature-god was made up of such expressions, describing his movement, his appearance, and the blessings he brought to men. Now, let it be borne in mind that this phrase may be ambiguous in regard to *tense*; for those modifications of the verb which distinguish nicely the time of an action belong only to the more highly developed languages, and are wanting or neglected in barbarian speech. Even the Hebrew, a language of literature, is so deficient in this respect that oftentimes it is impossible to determine, except by the context, whether a given expression is descriptive, historical or prophetic, in its import. If, now, a chant or hymn such as we have supposed were to be preserved and sung at religious festivals until a time when Viracocha was no longer distinctly identified with the Sun, but had become a personal deity, the ambiguous phrase will most naturally be taken in an historical sense and will be understood as meaning, "He, Viracocha, *came* out of the sea." Here we have already a tradition, due simply to a misinterpretation of an old song; there has been no intentional invention or deception on the part of any one; language alone is responsible. And when once the story has been started that the great and beneficent Viracocha came out of the sea—or out of some cavern—men will not be long in discovering the precise spot where the event took place.

Geo. P. Jones.

ELIZABETH

ENGLAND'S SOVEREIGN FROM 1558 TO 1603

Every generation of the English-speaking race since her time has had its season of romantic interest in Queen Elizabeth's life and character. The bigotry, prejudice, and hostility with which she was environed intensified the peculiarities and contradictions of her nature and influence, thus no figure in the history of English politics stands out in more unique and indelible colors. Her intimate association with the beginnings of American history in the sending out of expeditions to Virginia, and the naming of this great commonwealth, has fanned the blaze of glory which surrounded her diadem into as radiant a light on this side of the Atlantic as on the other. In the educating process every child in our schools learns more or less of the greatest queen in the world's annals, and can, even at an early age, glibly recite the chief events of her forty-five years' reign. The "Elizabethan Age"—with its brilliant statesmen, soldiers, intellectual personages, and rising institutions—is invested with an indescribable fascination for the young student, and the period justly holds a place in universal history that in many of its important features has never been surpassed. Elizabeth herself, through the loftiness of her position, has undoubtedly received more credit for this than she deserved. But the lessons to be drawn from her remarkable career are none the less valuable. The ability to govern a kingdom may have been her inheritance, yet the skill and good sense to do it successfully and acceptably for nearly half a century must be traced to other sources than mere natural gifts.

When the tall, graceful, handsome, self-reliant, and self-poised young woman of twenty-five was crowned queen of the realm by an adoring people, she was new to the cares of empire. She had hitherto lived in seclusion, forecasting perils and misfortunes only in her future. But with untiring industry through all those dark years of her childhood and youth she had been acquiring an education that was to prove an element of unfailing strength in her ascent to the highest pinnacle of worldly prosperity. The nation, surprised and delighted with the discovery that she was a scholar of rare attainments, fell madly in love with her, again and again. She was versed in the Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and Flemish languages, "understood more Greek than any four men in England, either in Church or state," could speak the Holland Dutch indifferently, was accomplished

in music to some extent, and had written poetry that was pronounced "very good for a princess"—whatever that may signify. History had been her favorite and persistent study from childhood, and in this she excelled. She was keenly alive to all the follies and mistakes of her ancestors, and being equipped with a knowledge of regnal science was enabled to avoid the shoals and quicksands on which the barks of so many former princes had been wrecked. It is a wonder that her head was not turned with the homage paid her; but her well-stored mind was intent on matters of high import. Her studies had broadened and balanced her perceptions. Idleness she regarded with contempt. She worked hard all her life, and ruled her household with rigid economy. She was conscious of her powers, and also was shrewd and far-seeing enough to court without intermission the popularity of the multitude by every art that genius could devise. She was on the alert to make the holidays of her subjects merry days. She encouraged learning and the drama. She bestowed unexpected courtesies every now and then upon the literary characters of the day, which no English monarch had heretofore done. Even her fantastic dress was quite as much a matter of policy as vanity, for the notion that pomp and power were inseparable then prevailed in all countries. It was supposed that the eye must be dazzled with the one before the other would be recognized.

Six years after her coronation, in the summer of 1564, Elizabeth paid a visit to the University of Cambridge. She was there received with great ceremony. When she reached the entrance to Queen's College, where Sir William Cecil and the doctors were in waiting, her lords and ladies alighted, but she remained sitting on her horse. "She was dressed," we are told, "in a gown of black velvet, pinked [cut velvet], and had a caul upon her head set with pearls and precious stones, and a hat that was spangled with gold, and a bush of feathers." After much kneeling on the part of her hosts, and a Latin oration that occupied half an hour, Her Majesty descended from her saddle, and was lodged in King's College, the best apartments being assigned to her use. The following day was the Sabbath, and she attended divine service in the college chapel, entering under a canopy carried over her head by four doctors of divinity. The sermon was in Latin, in the midst of which she sent one of her lords to tell the preacher to put on his cap, which he did, and wore it to the end. Before he could leave the pulpit she sent him another message to say "that it was the first sermon she had ever heard in Latin, and she thought she should never hear a better." On Monday she attended the disputations in St. Mary's Church. No scholars were present but such as had taken at least one degree, and all were very uncomfortable about their clothes, for

it was known that the queen's eyes had been roaming over the congregation during sermon time the day before, and that she had severely criticised sundry soiled hoods and gowns, and expressed displeasure because some of the doctors' hoods were lined with white silk and others with miniver.

The question before the doctors on this occasion was whether "Monarchy were better than a republic?" and as they spoke in low voices Elizabeth left her seat and came to the edge of the stage just over their heads and listened attentively. The doctor who was to decide the disputation asked her permission, and she responded with much humor in Latin. She also chatted gayly in the same classic language with several of the learned doctors as she rode through the street on her return to her lodging. On the day prior to her departure from Cambridge, at the conclusion of a disputation in St. Mary's Church, being urged to "say somewhat in Latin," she rose in her grandest style and made a speech of considerable length in Latin which marvellously astonished her auditors, who at its conclusion shouted themselves hoarse.

In 1565 Elizabeth visited the University of Oxford, and one of the imposing ceremonies attending the reception given her was an oration in Greek, "to which she made suitable reply in the same language." Disputations both in physics and divinity were held next day in the church from two o'clock until seven, the queen sitting through to the close. Dr. Westphaling, the last orator, spoke so long that Elizabeth, who intended to make a learned speech herself, sent a message for him to close his discourse without delay. He paid no heed to the royal mandate, and held forth still another half hour. The queen was obliged to postpone her own speech till the following morning, much to her annoyance. She sent one of her lords with a tart message to Dr. Westphaling demanding an explanation of his extraordinary disobedience to her commands. He replied with great humility that having committed his discourse to memory he found it impossible to omit any part in order to shorten it, lest he should put himself so entirely out of cue as to forget all the rest, and so be brought to shame before the University and Court. Elizabeth laughed heartily at the poor doctor's predicament, and said she could do better than that herself. The next day she delivered her oration before the whole University with great *éclat*, and took occasion in the midst of it to interrupt herself and order one of her attendants to bring a stool for Cecil, her Secretary of State, whom she observed standing on his lame foot, and when after some little delay he was comfortably seated, she proceeded with her discourse as fluently as before. This was supposed to have been her method of reproof, or perhaps a stroke

of private revenge for the discourtesy so recently received from Dr. Westphaling.

Many years later Elizabeth gave a brilliant example of her learning and eloquence by scolding extemporaneously in Latin, in reply to the diplomatic insolence of Paulus Jaline, the handsome and audacious ambassador of the King of Poland. This gentleman was ushered into the queen's presence, attired in a long robe of black velvet, well buttoned and jeweled, and advanced to where she sat under her canopy of state surrounded by her nobles and courtiers, and kissing her hand, and performing all the ceremonials proper on the occasion, retired about three yards and began an oration in Latin, that was quickly discovered to be a bold remonstrance against Elizabeth's assumption of maritime superiority over other nations, and a covert threat from the new Polish king in case of her Majesty's failure to redress certain losses to Polish merchants occasioned by her foreign policy. The affront roused the queen to such a degree that she started from her chair of state, and preventing the Lord Chancellor, who had risen to reply, she overwhelmed the astonished diplomatist with such a vivacious vituperation in extempore Latin as perhaps was never before expressed in that language.

Circumstances rather than choice threw Elizabeth originally on the side of the Reformation. She had no profound concern for serious things. She resented the necessity of being the patron of "heretics," in whose objects and theology she had no interest, yet submitted to it, and her vacillations are explained by the reluctance with which each successive step was taken. She represented herself to foreign ambassadors as a Catholic in everything, except in allegiance to the Papacy. She made no concealment of her distaste for Protestantism, declined fellowship either with Scots, Dutch, or Huguenots, and affected no particular respect for the Church of England of which she was supreme governor. She left the Catholics in her household so unrestrained that they absented themselves at pleasure from the Royal Chapel, without a question being asked; and allowed country gentlemen all possible latitude in their own homes. But as rulers are credited usually with all the evils that happen while they are at the helm of power, they have the right in equity to the honor of the good. The greatest achievement in English history, the "breaking of the bonds of Rome," and the establishment of spiritual independence, was completed without bloodshed under Elizabeth's auspices, and Elizabeth must ever have the glory of the work.

There was scarcely a day in which Elizabeth did not devote some portion of her time to reading history. It was a study of which she never

tired. In winter she transacted business with her Secretaries of State every morning before daylight, caused the orders in council, proclamations, and important papers relative to public affairs to be read to her, giving orders and making notes. Her breakfast was a simple meal. She ate very little at any time, and in her declining life became still more abstemious. Wine she rarely used, fearful it would cloud her faculties. During the morning hours she uniformly discussed intellectual topics with the most learned gentlemen of her court. The accomplished Sir Henry Savill, for instance, read Greek to her, and for a long time kept her supplied with political information. In the evening she was accustomed to unbend, sought diversion in music and song, and in pleasant conversation and story-telling.

Elizabeth possessed the costumes of all the civilized countries of the world, to which was added every species of invention that the age could produce in the way of fashion. Some of her wardrobe memorandums are very amusing as well as curious. She had, for at least one decade, eighty wigs from which to choose when she wished to produce unusual effects. In the spring of 1580 she became uneasy about the growing inclination of her subjects to emulate the height and amplitude of the royal ruff, the characteristic feature of her costume, and by an act of Parliament officials were placed at corners of the streets, armed with shears, for the purpose of clipping all ruffs that exceeded the size prescribed by this droll statute. The singular fancies of Elizabeth concerning her dress are exhibited in her portraits, some of which are almost barbaric in their general appearance. She had so little knowledge of art that she was best pleased when her features were painted without light and shade. Her robe in the celebrated picture in the Cecil collection is covered with eyes and ears, to signify her musical qualities and her power of obtaining intelligence; and to indicate her wisdom, a serpent is coiled upon her sleeve. A quaint portrait in the Hampton Court collection represents her in a loose robe, formed of the eyes of peacocks' feathers. Her miniatures are rare, and in much better taste than her portraits in oil.

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE SUPERIOR

A STUDY FROM THE JESUITS' JOURNALS

Two hundred and fifty years ago, when British and Dutch settlements existed as a mere fringe along the Atlantic coast of America, the French were establishing a realm, which, from its capital at Quebec, was designed to reach along the St. Lawrence, the Ohio and the Mississippi river valleys, to the Mexican Gulf, and out to the Pacific Ocean. It had been early recognized that the Protestant British possessed and could not be expelled from the regions east of the Alleghany Mountains, but, for all that was west and north of them, the French kings and the French priests were prepared to fight to the very last with weapons carnal and arguments spiritual. Among the many grand ideas which have attached themselves to this our continent, few have more interest to the politician, theologian, historian, poet or romancist than this, of building up a New France in its interior—its motto that of the French Canadians of to-day, "*Notre langue, notre religion, et nos lois.*"

Times were those indeed of strong convictions, when heroic efforts and great sacrifices of personal means and comfort were gladly made to carry out such convictions. The European Reformation had stirred up national antipathies, and the wars consequent upon it had scarcely terminated. The era of Oceanic discovery had been followed by a struggle among all the maritime nations for the possession of the new worlds, which had not yet ended. And one cannot quite dissociate the energy of the Jesuits in carrying the Cross from Canada into the hamlets of the most distant interior Indian tribes from a desire to appropriate for France all their territorial discoveries. The ecclesiastical side was, however, officered at least as brilliantly and served with even greater devotion than the political. Obedience to their Superiors' commands was the cardinal virtue of the members of the Society of Jesus; "*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*" their motto, abnegation of self their constant endeavor; faith in dogma their settled purpose; and we find their energies, pent up in many ways, bursting forth in travels for discovery, in endeavors to Christianize the most unpromising fields, in unremitting labor and voluntary exile from civilization, in which, the more intense the suffering, the more it was welcome; whilst martyrdom and death were hoped for as supreme gain and the highest reward. Their journals—published in France, "*avec privilège du Roi*"—partake

somewhat of the nature of Emigration literature, and thus have a secular side; they detail the extent of their travels, the riches of the countries in furs and forests; but the main object of their annual printing was to proclaim the fact that the harvest of souls was plentiful and the laborers few, that the field of spiritual work was well-nigh fallow, that the Devil had possession, and worse devils in the shape of heretics and aliens would perpetuate his rule, unless true believers entered forthwith into the war. Beyond these political and social objects we can also discern without a doubt the writers' earnest wish themselves to do nobly if they lived humbly, and to attain eternal happiness if they suffered terrestrial misery.

The water-ways were then the sole means of inter-communication, the avenues for all trade, the strategical lines for all campaigns. "Rivers," says Father Albanel in 1672, "are to the savages what their farms are to the French, the source from which they derive their whole subsistence, whether by hunting, fishing or trading." At the mouths of the rivers, therefore, the soldiers both of Church and State after many struggles fixed their quarters; at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, Quebec; at that of the Saguenay, Tadousac; to control the St. Maurice there was Three Rivers, and to dominate the Ottawa, Montreal. To Quebec, as the chief trading post, came annually fleets of hundreds of canoes laden principally with furs, to see the pale faces, to wonder at European civilization, and to obtain such articles as would advantageously replace their primitive utensils or enable them successfully to war against their enemies. For, while hunting was the Indian's daily labor, excellence in which was honorable, war was ever his master passion. Some tribes were comparatively peaceful, but the noblest savages were as ready as the noblest Europeans to cry "Havoc" and fly at each others' throats.

The lordly Iroquois were the Normans of America, the Vikings among the red men. Their chief village was on the head-waters of the Hudson; others were on Oneida, Seneca and Cayuga lakes; another behind Rochester, on the Genesee. Then, as ever since, New York was the Empire State. What a vantage ground the position gave! They had the trough of Lakes George and Champlain and of the River Richelieu for a route to Three Rivers or Montreal, and by the Black River they had easy access to Lake Ontario. They thought they had by virtue of this position the right to control the trade of all the Western Indians with Quebec, and saw with envy and anger the Hurons trading with the French by the Ottawa route and the Jesuits establishing a mission in the Huron country. Never very numerous, their energy was marvelous. They burned the French mission houses and extirpated the Hurons on the Georgian Bay, driving poor

relics of them to the end of Lake Superior on the one hand and to the shelter of the walls of Quebec on the other. Some of the Nipissing tribes, allies of the Hurons, had to flee to Lake Nipigon. Father Lemoyne writes in 1658 that while one Iroquois expedition had left in mid-winter for River du Loup, on the St. Lawrence, to surprise the Montagnais and some Algonquins, another had gone to chastise the Ottawas, on the other side of the Sault Ste Marie. The Isle au Massacre on Bic Harbor, almost opposite the Saguenay, and another island in Rice Lake, north of Lake Ontario, each saw the expiring gasp of many cowering victims of their rage; fire in the former and starvation in the latter case being the dread means of their vengeance. Father Albanel, on his way to Hudson's Bay, *via* the Saguenay, in 1672, found the ruins of trading depôts which were forsaken through fear of their terrible raids, and, on the shores of that bay itself, addressed the local chiefs and claimed for the French the credit of having procured, by subjugating the Iroquois, peace even for them! Before that, however, this "cursed nation," as the Jesuits called them, resolutely forbade the "black robes" to attempt the conversion of the Abenakis and Naraghanses of New England, the Nadouechiouec and Tobacco Indians of Ohio and Indiana, the Poulacs and Kilistinons around the Hudson's Bay, even the peoples of Lake St. John and the north shore of the St. Lawrence gulf. They enforced, too, neglect of the remnants of the Huron church, dispersed among the Sonnontoueronnonns (south-west of Lake Superior) not to speak of the Upper Iroquois, "who would task the labors of several priests, if the home Iroquois were reduced to their duty."

The first attempt to reach these western tribes was made in 1656. A fleet of three hundred Algonquin canoes came down to trade, and two Jesuit Fathers set out with them on their return. One was forced to give up the attempt; the other, Father Garreau, was killed by the Iroquois who lurked on the line of travel. Four years later, sixty canoes came down, and two other Fathers renewed the effort. One was left at Montreal, owing to the caprice of an Indian who would not let him stay in his canoe. The other, Father René Menard, was more fortunate, in that he was allowed to proceed. "But," writes the journalist, "we do not know but an accident like that of Father Garreau's will happen him, for we hear that a hundred Iroquois are lying in wait for the expedition just beyond Montreal, who may fall upon it in some narrow pass, or perhaps in some rapid, where it is enough to have to struggle against rocks and currents, without having to encounter enemies."

"The rich harvest," exclaims the same writer, "must, however, be purchased at the cost of labor, of tears, nay, of blood. One destined to the

glorious work must resolve to live in utter want, suffer all the hardships of climate without shelter, endure a thousand scoffs and many blows from the heathen savages whom demons sometimes incite. He must spend days in the water, or upon the snow, destitute of fire. For months he must subsist upon boiled raw-hide, or the lichens which grow on the rocks. He must work without ceasing, and, as if he had a body of iron, he must live without nourishment, rest without a couch, sleep little, walk far, and all the while be prepared to receive a blow from the fatal tomahawk at the whim of some medicine man or discontented brave. With barbarians one must be a barbarian—say with the Apostle, *Græcis ac barbaris debitor sum*, and cease to live as a man that they may learn to live as Christians.”

Father Menard was himself aware of the danger; this is how he writes to a favorite associate, a letter which explains the man and his task better than pages from a later pen.

“Three Rivers, Aug. 27th, 1660; 2 a. m.

Reverend Father, *Pax Christi*:

I am probably writing to you my last word—which I hope may be the everlasting seal of our friendship. May your affections, good Father, be of service to me, through the blessed results of your holy intercession. In three or four months, you must surely place me on the list of the dead you remember and pray for—in view of the manner in which these people live, of my age, and of my weak constitution. Notwithstanding this, I have felt such a strong call, such a supernatural bidding, that, without doubt, failure to seize this opportunity would cause eternal remorse. We were taken somewhat unawares, and could not provide clothing or other supplies, but He who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the lilies of the field will care for His servants—and death from our sufferings would be hailed as joy. I am overwhelmed with business and can only commend our journey to you for prayer, and embrace you as heartily as I hope to do in eternity.”

Let us, on the other hand, try to enter into the feelings of the Red men. The whites appeared to them “strangely ugly, with hair about the mouth as well as on the head—which the Indians have not.” All the tribes complained that from the time the French came to trade with them they began to die off. They would sometimes fumigate their heads to avoid infection; at others they would accuse the whites of poisoning them and selling them unwholesome provisions (1611). The orphans were sadly numerous, for after the Indians began to use wine and spirits they died in great numbers (1634). “Not so,” said a chief in 1636; “it is not your

drink which kills us, but your writings; for since you have described our country, our rivers, land, and forests, we are all dying. This was not so before you came." A Huron convert told the Jesuits in 1639, as the general opinion of his nation, that all they were doing was a blind to cover their malevolence, that they were really aiming at the ruin of the country and the death of its people. "You will see," was the remark of one of this convert's relatives, to whom he spoke of the good works of the missionaries—"You will see your children die before your very eyes; you yourself will speedily follow; and if we listen to them, we shall go through the same gate." "Whether it is the work of the devil or the Providence of God," adds the annalist, "we dare not say, but of five children there were in family, but one remains. Soon after that speech, one was carried off by fever; another has been ill for months and cannot live; the eldest, who was one of our pupils, a lad of fourteen, died very suddenly; an adopted daughter has a dangerous cough; the youngest boy is dying too, while the Lord has seen fit to afflict the wife also, who after losing her four children, herself died of small-pox in our hospital. Truly the poor man may say *Probasti me et cognovisti me!*" Father Paul le Jeune writes of one outbreak of disease: "François Xavier, formerly Nenash Koumat, was first attacked and taken to the hospital. Next Noel Negabamat, and as I was sending him to Quebec in a canoe, to be placed with other sick people, I was told that Fr. Xavier wished to see me, and I must be quick if I wanted to find him alive. The same day four Indian families arrived at Sillery, intending to settle and join our flock. The ways of the Lord are strange; He giveth and He taketh away; He buildeth up and He destroyeth. He is master, and what he willeth he doeth, blessed be his name forever. But what a strange part I had to play—for while I had been striving to make of the savages a sedentary people, I now had to drive them away! 'Go, my dear friends,' I cried, 'but no further than you can let us hear from you.' I cannot describe the emotions of my soul, but I know it is not the Lord's will that the heart of man should be fixed on anything here. Thus having banished these poor afflicted sheep, Father Vincent, a young Indian and I placed the sick man in a canoe and carried him to the Home of Charity and Pity. Then I went to the bed-side of Fr. Xavier, and seeing him in a pitiable condition, I covered my face with my handkerchief and bent my head on his pillow unable to speak a word." Father Menard himself wrote in 1657, when he was laboring among the Iroquois, "The hostility to our Faith and to our persons which the Hurons had transmitted to these aborigines—persuading them that we carried with us disease and misfortune to every country we approached—caused our

reception to be cool and the presents to be spurned which we offered as a help to the introducing of our religion."

Nothing was heard of Menard for a year after his leaving for Lake Superior, but late in 1661 a canoe reached Quebec, captained by the son of an Indian with whom he had been living, who reported him in good health, while the letters he brought announced the discovery of a number of populous tribes. "Send help," was the urgent cry, "to save both bodies and souls." Destroy the Iroquois, and you will firmly plant the Faith along two thousand miles of country!

But, alas, for disappointed hope and for trust misplaced! Death was following the Father with that swift foot which not only steals into palace and hovel alike, but leaves its imprints by the wigwam and the portage also. "We shall see," writes the annalist of 1663, "a poor missionary, worn out with the apostolic work in which he had grown gray, laden with years and infirmities, expiring in the wild woods alone, a prey to wild beasts, hunger, and every wretchedness. The Lord brought us yesterday thirty-four canoes of Ottawas, with whom were seven Frenchmen, out of nine who left with them; the other two being Father René Menard and his faithful companion, John Guérin, who have trodden that other path which leads more quickly to the safe haven of our common country."

The poor Father and his eight French comrades, leaving on the 28th of August, 1660, with the Ottawas, reached their country on the 15th October,* after untold hardships; ill-treatment from their fellow travelers, and such extreme want of food that the Father could scarcely walk; but, "as one can go a long way even when very tired," he was enabled to reach the wigwams of the tribe. The head of the family where he was quartered, an overbearing and vicious man who had four or five wives, treated him badly and forced him to live in a separate hut of pine boughs. Heavens! what a dwelling during the almost insupportable winter of that region. Nor was he better off for food than shelter; there was often nothing else among four or five than a single little boiled fish. Often they had to be content with a kind of moss which grows on the rocks; they put a handful in their kettle, which thickens the water somewhat, forming a scum, like snail broth, which nourishes the imagination more than the body. They resorted sometimes to the bark of the oak, the elm, or the white wood, boiled with a little fish; while acorns were eaten with more pleasure than chestnuts are in Europe. So the first winter passed. The second winter they did better, having stored up some fish, Indian fashion; also some grain (wild rice) which grows in marshes and is shaken into the canoes as they are

* It now takes less than two days! This paragraph is a free translation.

paddled among the stalks. The church founded by the Father there was indeed but small, consisting chiefly of the elect, of whom the most numerous were little dying children, whom he had to christen secretly, because the parents hid them when he appeared, believing, as the Hurons used to do, that baptism was the cause of death. Having but slender hopes of converting many of the older savages, sunk as they were in brutality, polygamy and all sorts of vices, he resolved upon undertaking a fresh journey of three hundred miles, to visit a tribe of poor Hurons who had fled from the Iroquois to the westerly end of Lake Superior. He sent three Frenchmen to reconnoitre, who found the tribe so weak and poorly off that they advised him not to go, as he would be in danger of starving too. But when they counseled him thus, and asked what prospect of success he could have, how he could surmount the precipices, the long portages, the numerous rapids, the arid and sterile country, bare of subsistence—he had but one answer, “The Lord calls me; I must go, though I do forfeit my life.” “St. Francis Xavier,” he said, “whose existence seemed so necessary for the conversion of the heathen, died in the endeavor to enter China. Shall I, then, who am of so little worth, refuse to obey the voice of Heaven, which calls me to succor the poor Christians who have had no ministrations for so many years? No, souls must not perish under the pretense of saving the life of this weak mortal. Should we have been redeemed if our dear Master had preferred His life to that obedience to His Father which brought about our salvation?” So he went, he and some Hurons who had come to trade with the Ottawas, taking one Frenchman, and, for his whole provender, a bag of dried sturgeon and a little smoked meat, which he had been saving up for a long time against this journey. “Adieu,” he said to the other Frenchmen, tenderly embracing them. “I am saying to you the long farewell. In this world you will see me no more; I pray to the Divine goodness we may meet again in Heaven.” The poor Hurons, indeed, though lightly laden, some for want of food lost strength and courage, and left the Father, saying they would hurry to their village* and send some strong young men to fetch him. He stayed a fortnight, near a little lake, but as his provisions became exhausted, he resolved to start, in a small canoe he had found among the underbrush. But on the 10th of August, while following his companions, he mistook some rock or tree and lost his way, for at the foot of the next portage Guérin looked behind him, shouted, fired five gun shots, but to no purpose. He determined then to push on to the Huron village, to hire people at any cost to search for the lost man, but he lost the way himself and was two days in reaching it. What could he then

* Near Point St. Esprit.

do, knowing nothing of the Huron tongue? Nevertheless, "as charity and necessity are eloquent," he made them understand that the Father was lost; he promised a money reward to one young warrior, who feigned to seek for him, but in two hours returned and reported he had met the enemy. "To arms," cried the braves; pity and desire to find the priest both vanished. Thus deserted—left to the hands of Divine Providence alone—stretched on some rock or on the ground, in a country where mosquitoes and other stinging insects are particularly worrying—hunger and other torments seizing him—he died, and, may we not surely add, he hallowed in that death those beautiful far-western shores.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Arthur Harvey". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

TORONTO, April 30th, 1885.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Five Unpublished Letters

(FIRST LETTER)

Robert Morris to his son William in London

Contributed by Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont

Philadelphia Aug^t 20th 1794

My dear W^m You will find enclosed herewith a letter of M^r. James Wood, a mathematical instrument maker in Southwark London, who is recommended to me by M^r. Harper, as a person perfectly competent to the building of Steam-engines, and applying the force thereof to such uses as may be required. Deliver to him my friends letter and hear what he says, and then give him mine. Enquire fully as to his abilities in respect to building or erecting steam-engines, and if you find him really competent encourage him to come out directly, There is no doubt he will make a fortune by it. If he is not competent let him remain where he is. If you find him fit for our purpose, and he wants assistance to pay his passage and buy cylinders or materials necessary for the Steam-engines, you may agree to assist him, and I expect M^r. W^m Constable will, by the arrival of M^r. Warder, be possessed of means by which he can do the needful, but the smaller the sum the better.

It is of importance to get a Steam-engine erected at the *Delaware works*, now "*Morris Ville*" and if M^r. Wood should be incompetent, find out a person who is capable, and encourage such a one to come over, for he will assuredly make his fortune. I want also a man who understands making ship bolts in a rolling mill. Be cautious in your movements in making these enquiries, or you may attract the notice of Government, and get yourself into a scrape. Resting this matter with your discretion.

I am your affectionate father

Rob^t Morris.

(SECOND LETTER)

Louis Philippe in America

Contributed by Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont

When the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe) took refuge in America in the year 1797 he brought letters of introduction, and a credit from Gouverneur Morris on W^m Constable, who at that time hap-

pened to be in Europe. The Duke and his brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, were received by M^r. James Constable, M^r. Wm. Constable's partner, who was the writer of the following letter to *M^r. Gouverneur Morris*.

Dear Sir

New York 21 November 1797

* * * We have deferred writing to you from time to time, in expectation of the pleasure of seeing you here, but from your late letters to our W^m C, that event seems uncertain for some time, and it is therefore necessary for us to acknowledge your communications to the House, by replying to your letters addressed to him.

Your favor of 11th May contains a credit in favor of the Duke of Orleans for one thousand dollars. The Duke was informed of your directions immediately on receipt of your letter, and drew for the sum. Early last month he came to this city and showed us your letter to him of 20th May, without signature, but sufficiently intelligible to us to furnish the sum he required, being \$3000, of which we paid \$1500, and gave him a credit on Boston for the remainder, which he drew for from thence. The amount is accordingly charged to your account. The Duke and his brothers arrived here two days ago from Boston, and go to Philadelphia immediately, but they gave us hopes of returning to New York in the course of the winter.

your ob^t servants

W^m & J^a Constable

M^r W^m Constable on his arrival from Europe entertained the Duke of Orleans, and his brothers, at his country seat on the banks of the Hudson near Bloomingdale. The sum advanced to the Duke on Mr. Morris' credit, was repaid in 1818 with interest to M^r Morris' family, as M^r M. died in 1816. It amounted to \$13,000.

H. E. P.

(THIRD LETTER)

Contributed by Townsend D. Cock

Extract from a private letter written to a gentleman in New York.

Dear Sir

Natchez Nov 1st 1813

You no doubt have heard of the hostility of the Creek Indians at their massacre at Fort Nimnis, that surely was a horrid disaster, but it cannot be expected that they will be successful in all their attacks upon us, or in any more of them. It appears from credible information that the men who were garrisoning that place were on that day completely infatuated, they it appears were to have a great ball or frolic on that day (there being a good many families in the Fort) and so bent were they upon their diversions, that although they had been warned by a negro and a friendly Indian of the approach of the hostile Indians, they paid no

regard to these informants and did not discover the Indians until they were rushing in at the gate. They then flew to their arms and fought desperately but in a few minutes so many Indians and whites had fallen in the gate that it was impossible to shut it. There was about three hundred persons in the Fort, one hundred and forty of whom were men, the remainder women and children. They were all killed except about fifteen men who effected their escape some of them badly wounded.

I am with sincere regard
Your friend and servant.
Samuel Clement.

(FOURTH LETTER)

George Washington Parke Custis to Thomas Carberry, Esq.

Contributed by Hon. Horatio King.

The original of the following unpublished letter was found among the papers of the Washington National Monument Society. Mr. Carberry, to whom it is addressed, was a prominent citizen of Washington, and, when the letter was written, a member of that Society. H. K.

Arlington House,
7th April, 1839.

My D^r Sir,

Your very polite letter has been duly received, and I am much gratified to learn that the Corporation of Washington purpose to erect a statue in their City Hall, of the Founder of the City and Father of his Country.

The Head of Stuart is incomparably the best likeness of the Chief in his latter days, but in the person, that great Master of Portrait Painting failed entirely. Trumbull has painted the only correct portraiture of Washington as regards the person—For the person of Washington was unique, like that of no one else. Stuart has given a plumpness, or fleshiness, rounded off on the models of the Academy. Washington was never fleshy, as witness his weight. I placed the weights in the scales at the M^t Vernon Mill, the very last time that the General [was] weighed, accompanied as he was by Governor Crawford of Canada. The Governor not so tall by several inches, but compact, and fleshy, outweighed the General by a good many pounds. Washington then observed, that in his very best days, his weight never exceeded from 210 to 220 pounds. This weight for a man rising six feet in height, of extraordinary breadth of frame, and a matchless combination of bone and muscle, would indicate anything but fleshiness. That the Hero was a "man of thews and sinews," everybody knows, but of his hand and wrist, moderns have not even an idea. Dear old General La Fayette, observed to me at M^t Vernon: The last time I saw you here, (in the fall of 1784,) *you held the good General by one of his fingers, at that time, my D^r Sir, you could do no more.* I was nearly four years

old. Houdon's statue, taken in 1786, in the Capitol at Richmond, is a very fine work, and gives a good idea of both the face and person. I have a bas relief of Houdon. But of all my originals, I greatly prefer Trumbull's, taken in 1790.

The resignation of the Commission in Annapolis is one of the most illustrious acts in the life of the *Pater Patriae*, and nothing could be in better taste than to select that memorable event, to give the character to your contemplated work. He was of course *in uniform*, being the General in Chief until his resignation was consummated. His uniform (Blue and Buff, the antient Whig colours of England) was as plain as hands could make it, which with the old fashioned cocked Hat, and a black ribbon cockade, constituted the costume of the Mereschall de France and Commander in Chief of the Armies of America and France in the War of the Revolution. In 1799, when in command of his last Army, in which I had the honour to bear a commission, a blue coat with embroidery, was the arrangement made by a board of General officers as the costume of the Chief. Washington merely asked, Can this affair be done in the United States on being told no, that the embroidery must be executed in Europe, the venerable Chief declined the whole affair instantler. Nay, he even gave away to his adopted daughter, the present Mrs. Lewis, the magnificent white plume, made of the feathers of the Carolina crane, and presented by General Cotesworth Pinkney, and contented himself with the plain blue and buff, the old fashioned hat, and black ribbon cockade, emblems of the days of his Country's trial. This pure yet dignified Republican, avoided show in every action of his long and meritorious life. True, tinsel and embroidery could have added nothing to "Him, on whom every God did seem to have set his seal, to give the World assurance of a Man."

As you have been pleased to request my advice on this interesting subject, one very dear to my heart I can assure you, I would respectfully suggest—That the Pedestal be plain but massive, the corners supported by the Roman Faces—In the centre of the Pedestal, the Civic Wreath, with simply the words, *Pater Patriae* in letters of bronze. These two words speak volumes.

Any advice, or assistance I can render you, in regard to your most patriotic and praiseworthy undertaking, you may always command.

With much regard,

I remain D^r Sir,

Your ob. & bl sert.

George W. P. Custis."

Thos. Carberry, Esq.

(FIFTH LETTER)

*Gen. John A. Dix to Hon. Charles A. Mann**Contributed by Gen. C. W. Darling from the original copy in the Oneida Historical Society.*New York 17th June 1850

My dear sir

I feel a little curiosity to know what is the state of public feeling in relation to the doings in Congress. Is it one of indifference, or is the prevailing quietude the calm which precedes the storm? I really think the course of most of the leading men in Congress is more exceptionable than it has ever been heretofore. There is a determination on the part of the South to keep California out of the Union, and many of our Northern men are playing into their hands. In this city nothing sound is to be expected. Commercial interests rule the day. The prices of stocks and of merchandise are considered by a large portion of the business men as of more importance than the preservation of great principles. A merchant told me the other day he was satisfied our whole policy in relation to slavery was wrong—that we ought to repeal all laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the United States, beginning with an amendment of the Constitution. This gentleman is one of the most wealthy and respectable in the city. Another of equal wealth and respectability told me he had no objection to the re-establishment of slavery in this State. A few such examples of perverted principle and feeling, are quite enough to satisfy one that our only hope is from the country. If you can give us any reasonable assurance that sound principles are to be upheld, it would be gratifying.

I am, Dear Sir

Yours truly

John A. Dix

Hon Chas A Mann

REPRINTS

A Letter from George Washington.

Capt. W. W. Armstrong, of the Pension Office, great-grandson of Gen. John Armstrong, has in his possession an interesting Washington relic in the shape of the following letter written by General Washington to General Armstrong :

FAIRFAX C.H. Virg'a Mar. 20, 1770

Dear Sir

Your obliging favour of the 24th of Jany. came to my hands sometime after the date thereof ; & to which, I should have given an immediate answer but was in hopes that by delaying of it awhile to have said something more to the purpose than I am like to do at present in respect to the matter you did me the honor of mentioning, in behalf of y Son.

At this time, I do not know one good opening for a young Practitioner in Physick, anywhere within the circle of my acquaintance—true it is we have lost one of the two (Doct. Laurie) that used to supply Alexandria and the County about it, but his incapacity to attend the calls of his profession made way long before his death, for the other (Doctr. Rumney), who is well established in the business, & not like to be affected by a young Gentleman lately from the College of Philadelphia, one Mr. Alexander, notwithstanding his large family connections in this County.—From hence to Fredericksburg I think there is not an opening worth Mr. Armstrongs embracing—below that Doctr. Mercer ; from his acquaintance and enquiries, will be able to give you a much more satisfactory acct. than I can.—

A Gentleman of the turn of mind you describe your son to be, regularly educated in the Study of Physick, and modest of deportment, Can never fail to command esteem that will improve upon acquaintance—such I wish most of our young gentlemen were, but we have had some from the College of Edenburg (lately) that are rather too full of themselves.—If Doctr. Armstrong should take a turn into Virga. any time this spring, I should be exceedingly glad to see him at my house, and should think myself very happy if it was in my power to render him, or you, any acceptable Service.

Mrs. Washington returns you many thanks for your good wishes, & joins very cordially with me in tendering our best respects to yourself and Mrs. Armstrong.—
I am Dr Sir

Yr. Most Obed. & Hble Servt.

G. WASHINGTON.

—*Washington Star.*

WASHINGTON'S ANCESTRY

To explode fictitious history that has once got into print is, indeed, a difficult task. After all Col. Chester's masterly researches into the Washington pedigree, the mistake of tracing the President from the Washingtons of Northamptonshire is still from time to time repeated; and in the latest edition of Murray's *Handbook for Northamptonshire and Rutland* (1878, p. 167) we read that in the chancel of Great Brington Church there is "a slab for Lawrence Washington, d. 1616, the great-great-grandfather of George Washington. This Lawrence Washington, with his father, came to Brington from Sulgrave, and his second son John emigrated to America."

Now, in the short synopsis of Col. Chester's immense genealogical labors, reprinted by him from the *Herald and Genealogist*, in 1866, as *A Preliminary Investigation of the Alleged Ancestry of George Washington*, etc., it is shown that of the two brothers, John and Lawrence Washington, who are stated in Baker's pedigree, to have emigrated to America "about 1657," John was knighted, and Lawrence became a clergyman in Essex, the former being in 1657 about sixty-two, and the latter fifty-five years of age. "If," says Col. Chester, "they were the Virginian emigrants, the one must have abandoned his knighthood, and the other rejected his surplice and bands; for the actual emigrants were never known in Virginia except as 'esquires' or 'gentlemen,' and by the latter appellation they described themselves in their wills. For either of these rejections there could have been no possible cause, as Virginia was then a loyal colony, and the established religion that of the mother-country. Sir John Washington had at least two wives. The first, named Mary, was buried at Islip, in Northamptonshire, while the name of his widow was Dorothy, and she was buried at Fordham, in Cambridgeshire. John Washington, gentleman, the Virginian emigrant, states distinctly in his will, dated September 27, 1675, that he brought his first wife from England with him; that she died in Virginia, and was buried, with two children, on his own plantation; and that his second wife's name was Anne, whom he appointed his executrix."

In *Harper's Magazine*, vol. lviii., No. 346, p. 521, there appeared an article entitled "The English home of the Washingtons," the writer of which gave an account of his visit to Brington, and described the church and the Washington memorials, illustrating them with engravings. He assumed as true history the story which Mr. Simpkinson, in his tale *The Washingtons* (1860), had founded on the parish registers, the monuments in the church, and entries in the Althorp household-books. Mr. Simpkinson afterwards became intimate with Col. Chester, learned from him the results of his laborious investigations, and was anxious to disclaim for the tale the authority of actual history. This he accomplished in a letter printed, I believe, in the *New York World*, which was reissued in an abridged form in the *Magazine of American History*, August 1, 1881.

But all has been in vain. People still go on quoting Mr. Simpkinson against

himself, either ignoring his disavowal or misunderstanding the clear proofs of Col. Chester's discoveries. During fifteen years Col. Chester was trying to trace the pedigree of the president back to England. The Virginia emigrants have been identified, and their wills examined ; but the missing link between England and Virginia cannot be found.

"Washington " has never been an uncommon surname in England, and it is still to be met with in all parts of the country. As a place-name it occurs to the north in Durham, and to the south in Sussex. I thought that perhaps the first emigrant might have gone from Westmoreland. Henry Washington was mayor of Kendal 1657-8. Richard Washington filled the same office 1685-6. Col. Chester endeavored to take up this clue, but unfortunately the Kendal register-book for the years 1632-79 is lost—the very period during which the first emigration is supposed to have taken place.

Too much stress must not be laid on what President Washington wrote in his letter to Sir Isaac Heard. He says : "I have often heard others of the family, older than myself, say that our ancestor who first settled in this country came from one of the northern counties of England ; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember." As Col. Chester observes, "Taking the tradition for what it may be worth, it is quite certain that Northamptonshire cannot be accounted one of the northern counties of England."

At the close of his *Preliminary Investigation* (1866), Col. Chester says that "he has accumulated a large amount of information from almost every source accessible to him, and believes that it embraces the real history of the family ; but he yet lacks the positive clue that would solve the mystery, and enable him to reduce the chaotic material to order."

Who can now hope to succeed, when such a man has failed ?

J. DIXON.

From Notes and Queries. LONDON, ENG.

MINOR TOPICS

HISTORICAL ERRORS CORRECTED

In the oration of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, read on the occasion of the completion of the Washington monument, appears the following passage : “‘ If I could now present myself ’—wrote Edmund Randolph, who had made injurious imputations on Washington before and after his dismissal from the Cabinet in 1795—‘ If I could now present myself before your venerated uncle ’—he wrote most touchingly to Judge Bushrod Washington in 1810—‘ It would be my pride to confess my contrition, that I suffered my irritation, let the cause be what it might, to use some of those expressions respecting him, which, at this moment of indifference to the world, I wish to recall, as being inconsistent with my subsequent conviction. My life will, I hope, be sufficiently extended, for the recording of my sincere opinion of his virtues and merit, in a style which is not the result of a mind merely debilitated by misfortune, but of that Christian philosophy on which alone I depend for inward tranquillity.’ ”

It is due to the truth of history, to refer to the fact—well-known at the period to which the passage refers—that Mr. Randolph never was *dismissed* from the Cabinet of General Washington.

In the earliest and best known biography of Washington, written by his intimate friend, Chief Justice Marshall, it is stated (vol. v., page 639), that “On the 19th August, the Secretary of State had *resigned* his place in the administration.”

Washington Irving, in his biography of Washington, vol. v., page 223, referring to the same occurrence, says : “As Randolph entered the Cabinet, Washington, who was conversing with Pickering and Wolcott, rose and handed to him the letter of Fauchet, asking an explanation of the questionable parts.

“Randolph appears to have been less agitated by the production of the letter, than hurt that the enquiry concerning it had not first been made of him in private. He postponed making any specific reply, until he should have time to examine the letter at his leisure, and observed on retiring, that after the treatment he had experienced, he could not think of remaining in office a moment longer.

“In a letter to the President the same day he writes, ‘ Your confidence in me, sir, has been unlimited, and, I can truly affirm, unabused. My sensations, then, cannot be concealed when I find that confidence so suddenly withdrawn, without a word or distant hint being previously dropped to me. This, Sir, as I mentioned in your room, is a situation in which I cannot hold my present office, and therefore I hereby resign it. It will not, however, be concluded from hence that I mean to relinquish the enquiry,’ ” etc.

In the life and "Writings of George Washington," published by Jared Sparks, vol. i., page 507, it is stated, that, "The day following that on which the President affixed his name to the treaty, Mr. Randolph resigned the office of Secretary of State." Mr. Sparks' statement of what occurred on the occasion of Mr. Randolph's withdrawing from the Cabinet is in accordance with the statement made by Washington Irving.

Mr. Randolph, in his letter of vindication addressed to General Washington, states, "On Wednesday, the 19th of August, 1795, I was going to the President's, as usual, at nine o'clock in the morning, when his steward, Mr. Kidd, came to me at Mr. Rawle's in Market Street, and informed me that the President desired me to postpone my visit until half after ten. I supposed at first that he might wish to have the latest hour for writing by the southern mail of that day, or perhaps to ride out. But, as I was desirous of asking him a short question, which would determine me as to the manner of executing a piece of business to be carried to him that morning; I inquired of Mr. Kidd if he was then occupied with any particular person? and I was answered that the President was every moment expecting some gentlemen. Accordingly, I turned to the office, and at the appointed hour, called at the President's. I desired the servant to tell the President, that I was come; but being informed that Mr. Wolcott and Colonel Pickering (the Secretaries of the Treasury and War), had been there for some time, I went upstairs, and began to think that the steward had committed a mistake. I supposed, that a consultation of the heads of departments had been intended to be held by the President earlier in the day, and that it might be proper for me to explain the cause of my delay. But when I entered the President's room, he with great formality rose from his chair and Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering were also marked in their efforts to a like formality. I therefore resolved to wait for the unfolding of this mysterious appearance. Very few words passed between the President and myself, and those which fell from him showed plainly to me, that he wished to hurry to something else. Immediately afterwards he put his hand into his pocket and pulling out a large letter, said something of this nature: "Mr. Randolph! Here is a letter which I desire you to read and make such explanation as you choose." I took it and found it to be a letter written in French by Mr. Fauchet,* on about fifteen pages of large paper. On reading the letter I perceived that two of the most material papers, which were called the dispatches Nos. 3 and 6, were not with it. I observed to the President that I presumed the letter to be an intercepted one. He nodded his head. I then said that at that time I could recollect very little which would throw light on the affair. * * * The President desired Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering to put questions to me. This was a style of proceeding to which I could not have submitted had it been pursued." * * * The President "desired me to step into another room, while he should converse with Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering upon what I had said. I retired, and on re-

* The French minister.

volving the subject, I came to this conclusion ; that if the President had not been worked up to prejudge the case, he would not have acted in a manner so precipitate in itself, and so injurious and humiliating to me ; and that he would in the first instance have interrogated me in private. After an absence of about three-quarters of an hour, I returned into the President's room, when he told me that as I wished to put my remarks on paper, he desired that I would. I replied that it should be done. * * * The President then asked me how soon I could finish my remarks, I answered, as soon as possible. But I declared to him at the same instant, that I would not continue in the office one second after such treatment."

In order to form a just estimate of this transaction, and of the relations then existing between the two principal parties to it, the following brief recital of facts seems necessary :

In 1775 Mr. Randolph, then twenty-two years of age, "sought the camp of Washington at the siege of Boston, and became a member of his military family." In 1776 he represented the City of Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia, in the Convention, which framed its first Constitution, and which conferred upon him the office of Attorney-General of the State. In 1779 he was deputed to the Continental Congress and remained a member until 1782. In 1786 he was elected Governor of Virginia by the General Assembly and was chosen by the same body one of the seven delegates to the convention at Annapolis, and in the following year, to the general convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, over which Washington presided. In 1788 he was elected to the Virginia convention called to decide upon the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution, which he earnestly advocated, and Patrick Henry, with his well-known eloquence, as earnestly opposed. In 1790 he was appointed by Washington the first Attorney-General of the United States under the new Constitution, as he had been the first Attorney-General of Virginia. In 1795 he succeeded Mr. Jefferson as Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Washington, and until his voluntary withdrawal therefrom on the 19th of August, 1795, Washington had had for twenty years at least no more devoted and intimate friend and ardent admirer, nor any in whom he had more unlimited confidence. In his letter addressed to the President vindicating himself from the imputations of official misconduct which had been drawn by his political enemies in the cabinet from the secret and incomplete dispatch of Fauchet—imputations afterwards *disclaimed* and *repudiated by Fauchet himself*—Mr. Randolph says, ' Sir, never until the 19th of August, 1795, could I have believed that in addressing you without the restraint of official relation I should use any other language than that of a friend. From an early period of my life, I was taught to esteem you ;—as I advanced in years I was habituated to revere you :—you strengthened my prepossessions by marks of attention ; and if by some others you have been insidiously pampered with more lavish assurances of an affectionate attachment ; from me you have experienced a sincere anxiety to continue your reputation upon its ancient

basis, the hearts of the people. * * * That you pre-judged my case is proclaimed by your actions.

"On the evening of the 11th of August, 1795, Mr. Fauchet's letter was presented to you by Mr. Wolcott. At all hours of the day I was ready to obey your summons. On every day except Sunday; and perhaps twice a day I had a private interview with you. Twice I spoke to you of the warmth which Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering had discovered on the 12th in the discussion of the treaty in your room, and which undoubtedly, as it now appears, sprang from a knowledge of that letter. On the 14th you veiled your meditated stroke by a visit at my house. On the 15th you invited me in the most cordial way to dine with a party of chosen friends, and placed me at the foot of your table. On the 18th the same air of hospitality was assumed. But the system of concealment, which had been practised under the united auspices of the British minister and the American Secretary of the Treasury, was not thought unworthy of your adoption; —Mr. Wolcott had been privy to the letter at least from the 28th of July, and the President of the United States from the 11th of August, when the final catastrophe seemed to be secure. Why was all this stratagem observed towards him of whose fidelity you had never entertained a doubt? * * * It was in perfect unison with the events of the 19th of August; when your tribunal of enquiry had been sitting more than an hour before I was admitted; when I was received in the form of a state criminal; when those who had been plotting against me, were invited to interrogate; when in military style I was directed to retire until you should converse with them."

In another part of this letter to the President, Mr. Randolph reminds him that up to this date (his withdrawal from the Cabinet), he had been the most constant and zealous defender of the President against the criticisms of his administration by the leaders of his own (Mr. Randolph's) party, and thereby incurred their serious distrust. How incredible, then, the statement that Mr. Randolph "had made injurious imputations" on Washington *before* his withdrawal from the Cabinet. Even after that date, under all the provocation which he had received, nothing to Washington's disparagement was ever uttered or written by Mr. Randolph, so far as is known, except what is contained in his "Vindication" above quoted from. And even in that, under the circumstances already referred to, his language must be conceded to be no more severe than was unavoidable, and scarcely more than a recital of facts.

In this connection it would not be just to overlook the letter of Mr. Randolph to the Hon. Bushrod Washington of July 2, 1810, quoted by Mr. Winthrop. In that letter Mr. Randolph declares: "I do not retain the smallest degree of that feeling which roused me fifteen years ago against some individuals. For the world contains no treasure, deception or charm, which can seduce me from the consolation of being in a state of good will towards all mankind." He then expresses "his contrition that he suffered his irritation, *let the cause be what it might*, to use some of those expressions respecting him" [General Washington] "which at that moment

of his indifference to the ideas of the world, he wished to recall, as being inconsistent with his subsequent conviction." "My life," he adds, "will, I hope, be sufficiently extended for the recording of my sincere opinion of his virtues and merit in a style which is not the result of a mind merely debilitated by misfortune, but of that Christian philosophy on which alone I depend for inward tranquillity."

When this letter was written, the Christian frame of mind, which at all times strikingly distinguished Mr. Randolph, had been heightened and rendered almost over-sensitive by the recent death of an idolized wife, the sudden prostration by paralysis of his talented and accomplished only son, and the sure approaches of the same disease menacing his own enfeebled health.

Yet from this letter, in which Mr. Randolph neither retracts, nor acknowledges error in, *any* statement of fact made in his "Vindication," attempts have been made to impute to him a recantation of that vindication.

In 1855 the "Vindication" had become very scarce, and it was republished in a limited edition by one of his grandsons, with a preface by the editor, in which is contained references to the testimony of some of the most distinguished and patriotic men of the nation, Mr. Randolph's contemporaries, declaring their conviction of the conclusiveness of his defense and their knowledge of the purity of his motives.

P. V. DANIEL, JR.

RICHMOND, Va., *May*, 1885.

THE OLDEST ORCHARD IN ONEIDA COUNTY

The Kirkland Orchard on College Hill, in Oneida County, stands on a portion of the grant of 4,760 acres made by the Oneida Indians and the State of New York jointly to Samuel Kirkland, Missionary, or, as he was then titularly called, Dominie Kirkland. This grant was made in 1788, but the Dominie did not transfer his residence to Clinton from Oneida Castle until 1792. It could not have been, therefore, earlier than that date when he planted his apple trees. It was, probably, several years later. Counting the rings of logs recently cut I found the approximate age of the trees to be eighty to eighty-five years. This would conform to the record of his having, very soon after his settlement in Clinton, brought over from Connecticut and planted a small nursery at the foot of the hill near where a district school house now stands and an orchard of later growth had long stood, but which was removed, in 1884, to make room for a hop-yard. The trees, having attained suitable size, were transplanted to the hillside above, about half way to the site of his school or academy for Indian youth, now Hamilton College. The selection of a site for his school showed Kirkland's admirable practical good sense as well as æsthetic taste. He was equally at home in horticulture, for a more favorable location for fruit does not exist in Central New York. Opening just below the college

and running down with ample spread into the valley is a complexity of swales, facing fully to the south-east. Sheltered from both west and north-west winds, this vale opens to the full to the morning sun. It is to-day the home of such fruits as cannot be successfully grown and ripened at the distance of half a mile to the east or half a mile to the west. Besides, there is in Central New York no finer outlook than over the broad Oriskany Valley down into the Mohawk and over the Trenton and Deerfield hills and the ranges that flank southward to Paris and Hanover. To-day you can stand under the Dominie's trees and count the chimneys of New York mills, the steeples of Utica, the furnace stacks of the iron smelters, besides a half dozen thriving villages of great beauty. When the orchard was planted we can only imagine the wild glory of the scene, especially in autumn, when the predominance of maple, ash, linden, elm, and great masses of sumac interspersed with hemlock and a vast interlacing of Virginia creeper, must have rendered the valley a glory beyond description. A fine brook, gathering springs up a deep glen cut and left behind in an old geological era, pours through the orchard and contributes to-day to a mill dike. By this brook Sconondo was buried. The dearest friend of Kirkland, we know they must have often walked in this sunny swale, or in summer heat sat under the giant maples that still flank the glen.

A very high bluff above and overhanging the glen, has several aged hemlocks. A few years ago they constituted a peculiar feature of the scenery as one looked south from College Street. Nothing could be more striking, as they sentinelled the whole country. But the lightning selected one after another, and splintered them to their death. I have sometimes thought the speech attributed to Sconondo: "I am an aged hemlock; the winds of an hundred winters have whistled through my boughs," must have been suggested by these very trees. Nothing more august marked the scene in all this section.

The orchard numbered about 200 trees, covering four or five acres. Another orchard farther south is probably to be traced to this little nursery sowed at the foot of College Hill.

The fruit was as varied in quality as is usual with seedlings. No grafting was done until Mrs. Robinson, the daughter of Kirkland, and her husband, the Rev. Dr. Edward Robinson, deeded a portion of the land to John Powell. Two men then lived on College Hill whose tastes were pre-eminently horticultural; one was Josiah Noyes, Professor of Chemistry in Hamilton College, and John Powell. Both of these men put forth strenuous efforts to introduce the best varieties of known apples, pears, plums, and whatever else they could acclimatize. They grafted with enthusiasm. Powell went so far as to graft the wild cherries in the woods, "for the birds" he said, with a mingling of poetry and gentle good nature. Owning a large part of the Kirkland orchard, he began to improve the fruit by grafting. In the middle of the century, while the trees were still in full vigor, no finer autumn sight could be seen than the Spitzenburghs and Russets that clothed the branches. No codling moths or curculios had then entered a claim to our choicest fruits.

Many of the original fruits were, however, of such special value as to preserve them from the grafting saw. It was easy to trace the blood of the stock back to English and French apples of fame over one hundred years ago; notably the Swaar, the English Pippin, and the Bellefleur. A good horticulturist will thus detect the ancestry of almost any wild fruit. Of the better seedlings one alone has proved of such superior quality as to enable it to secure a place among the market apples of to-day. This shows Bellefleur blood predominating, but as Patrick Barry thinks was the result of a cross with the Swaar. It bears the name of the originator; and alongside Hamilton College I think the Dominie would now rejoice to see the Kirkland apple growing in its luxuriance and beauty. Certainly the college has been less just to its founder in taking the name of another patron, than the owners of the orchard in giving his memory a perpetual youth in the ever-propagated and rejuvenated apple.

The orchard retained its vigor until about the middle of the century. When John Powell died, proper care of the trees ceased. The professional grafter was allowed to cut at will. To increase his pence no man's propensity is so violently toward slaughter. The trees were otherwise, for a few years, neglected. As a result most of them are dead, and the rest bear the wounds received in the era of professionalism. A few are sure to fall each year, and the hardiest will hardly outlive the century. But among the survivors is the original Kirkland apple tree. This will be carefully guarded, and at last replaced by a root sucker that will only repeat the same fruit and stand as a memorial in the twentieth century or even twenty-first, of the man who taught the Oneidas the arts of peace in the eighteenth. To make it more sure of preservation a stone will even be set up beside the tree, recording its historical value.

It contributes in no small degree to the interest of the Kirkland orchard that it stands on ground that was never covered by State title. Granted to the Dominie, the title passed directly through him from the Oneidas to the present owner.

E. P. POWELL


CLINTON, New York.

NOTES

TICKET—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: I send you an early use of this word to indicate a list of candidates to be voted for, which is interesting in connection with the Chapters on "Political Americanisms," just concluded in your Magazine. Sarah Franklin writes from Philadelphia, under date of October 3, 1766, to her brother Governor William Franklin: "The old ticket forever! We have it by 34 votes!" The passage is found on page 191 of "Letters to Benjamin Franklin, from his family and friends, 1751-1790." New York, 1859.

SAMUEL A. GREEN

BOSTON, May 8, 1885

YALE COLLEGE SETS A GOOD EXAMPLE— The Public are Advised, that in the 5th Masters Thesis printed this Year, which is marked by an Index, to be disputed, viz., *An, si quis a mola actione, &c.* a very material Error escaped the Correction of the Press: Under it stands, *Affirmat*, whereas it should have been, *Negat*, as was designed.—*New Haven, Sept. 22, 1768*

The above notice was printed as an advertisement in The New York *Journal*; or, the *General Advertiser*, Sept. 29, 1768.

PETERSFIELD

WAS WASHINGTON A CHRISTIAN?—I picked up, recently, at an old book-stall in New York city, a volume of sermons by the distinguished Dr. James Abercrombie, of Philadelphia, who was in his day excelled perhaps by no other preacher of the Gospel. He evidently had the volume bound himself, for "Presented. June 6th, 1831, to Mrs. Mary

Abercrombie, by her affectionate husband, Jas. Abercrombie," is written on the fly-leaf, and a number of blank sheets of writing-paper are bound in on which to jot down his thoughts from time to time. On these leaves we find in his own hand-writing, the following extract from a sermon by Dr. Wilson, of Albany, 27th October, 1831:

"Washington was a man of valour and wisdom. He was esteemed by the whole world as a great and good man, but he was not a professing Christian, at least not till after he was President. When the Congress sat in Philadelphia, President Washington attended the Episcopal Church. The Rector, Dr. Abercrombie, has told me that when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered, Washington's custom was to rise just before the ceremony commenced, and walk out of the church. This became a subject of remark in the congregation as setting a bad example. At length, the Doctor undertook to speak of it with a direct allusion to the President. Washington was heard afterwards to remark that this was the first time a clergyman had thus preached to him; and that he should, henceforth, neither trouble the Doctor nor his congregation; and ever after that upon Communion days, he absented himself altogether from the church."—"Report of Sermon in Weekly Free Press."

Then, as a commentary on the above, follows his own version of this anecdote of President Washington:

"Copy of a letter from myself to Origen Bachelier of N. Y., Nov. 29th, 1831.

Sir—Yours to the address of 18th

Inst. arrived, I was absent from the city, and did not receive it, till after I had perused yrs of 26th Inst. With respect to the enquiry you make, I can only state the following *facts*; that as the Pastor of the Episcopal Church (an humble *assistant minister* to its *Rector*, the Rt. Rev. Dr. White) observing that on Sacrament Sundays, Gen'l Washington, immediately after the Desk and Pulpit services, went out with the greater part of the congregation, always leaving Mrs. Washington with the communicants, she *invariably* being one, I considered it my duty, in a sermon on Public Worship, to state the unhappy tendency of *example*, particularly of those in elevated stations, who invariably turned their backs upon the celebration of the Lord's Supper. I acknowledge the remark was intended for the President, and, as such, he received it. A few days after, in conversation with, I believe, a Senator of the U. S., he told me he had dined the day before with the President, who, in the course of conversation at the table, said, that on the preceding Sunday, he had received a very just reproof from the pulpit, for always leaving the church before the administration of the Sacrament; that he honored the preacher for his integrity and candour; that he had never considered the influence of his example; that he would never again give cause for the repetition of the reproof; and that, as he had never been a communicant, were he to become one then, it would be imputed to an ostentatious display of religious zeal arising altogether from his elevated station. Accordingly, he afterwards never came on the morning of Sacrament Sun-

day, tho', at other times, a constant attendant in the morning. Of the assertion made by Dr. Wilson in the conclusion of a paragraph of your letter, I cannot say I have not the least recollection of such a conversation, but had I made use of the expression stated, it could not have extended farther than the expression of private individual opinion. That Washington was a professing Christian is evident from his regular attendance in our church; but, Sir, I cannot consider any man as a real Christian who uniformly disregards an ordinance so solemnly enjoined by the divine Author of our holy religion, and considered as a channel of divine grace. This, Sir, is all that I think it proper to state on paper. In a conversation, more latitude being allowed, more light might, perhaps, be thrown upon it. I trust, however, Sir, you will not introduce my name in print.

I am, Sir,

Yrs.

James Abercrombie "

The MS. pages of this volume contain, also, many other interesting historical items.

WILLIAM L. STONE

JERSEY CITY, *May 5th*, 1885

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS—There is a serious typographical error in *History of Virginia Company*, to which my attention has recently been called, which would probably not have happened, had I not been abroad, when the work was published. In quoting from Hamor, on page 91, he is made to write that Pocahontas, "and her two sons" witnessed her marriage. The *her* should have been

his, the sons of Powhatan. By copying from the *Virginia Company*, the error is reproduced in *English Colonization of America*, published in 1871, by Strahan and Company, London. It is my desire to make the correction as wide as possible. In this connection, I would refer to a *lapsus penne* in *Virginia Vetusta*,

published this year, by Munsell's Sons, Albany, New York. The preface to the work correctly mentions the children of John Rolfe as named Thomas and Elizabeth, but on page 141 Elizabeth is called Jane, the name of her mother.

EDWARD D. NEILL

ST. PAUL, Minnesota, April 23, 1885

QUERIES

WASHINGTON'S HAT—The three-cornered cocked hat, of the late Gen. Washington, has been presented to the Museum of South Carolina, by Gen. Thomas Pinckney. *The Minerva, New York, Dec. 4, 1824.*

Is this interesting relic still in existence? The hat is the only article of Washington's apparel unaccounted for.

PETERSFIELD

JOSEPH AXSON—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History:* On December 26, 1759, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded, at Fort Prince George, by His Excellency William Henry Lyttelton (afterwards Lord Lyttelton), Captain General and Governor in Chief of South Carolina, with Attakullakulla, and other headmen and warriors of the Cherokee nation. Among the witnesses to this treaty was Joseph Axson, sworn interpreter. Is anything known of his life and family? Did he come from England and are the Axsons of New Orleans his descendants?

ERNEST AXON

66 MURRAY ST., HIGHER BROUGHTON,
MANCHESTER, ENG.

FIRST STATE CHARTER—What State was the first to receive its charter, after the declaration of Independence?

This question was asked at a teachers' examination, but we have not been able to find any authority on that subject.

JOS. A. KREITLER

CLEVELAND, O., May 2

PATRICK HENRY—I should be glad to learn through your valuable *Magazine*, or otherwise, why "Junior" is added to Henry's name. I find it so in several old Documents from 1765 to 1775. I have a *fac simile* of the signatures of the first Continental Congress, which met September 5, 1774, and among the names from Virginia are Richard Henry, Sec., G^o Washington, and "P. Henry, Jr."

It is no answer to say that his father's name must have been Patrick, for it was John.

R. W. JUDSON

OGDENSBURG, N. Y.

O. K.—*Editor Magazine of American History:* When and by whom were the letters O. K. first used as meaning all correct?

PRESIDIO

SAN FRANCISCO

WHIGUHAM—In the summer of 1780 a brigade of the British Guards were encamped on the heights of Fordham, New York. In the testimony of several of the officers before a Court Martial,

they refer to a meeting held in the *Whiguham* of Lieutenant Colonel Stewart. What was a *Whiguham*, a tent, or structure of boughs? MINTO

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM LIVINGSTON (b. 1723, d. 1790) Governor of New Jersey—Mr. Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., in his

Life of William Livingston (1833), p. 46, says: "The only full-sized portrait of Governor Livingston, taken after he had reached maturity, is in the interior of this State. For the purposes of this memoir it was considered inaccessible." At the present time where may this portrait be seen? C.

REPLIES

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS [xiii. 200, 298, 497, 495, 496]—Allow me to call attention to three or four inaccuracies in Mr. Norton's papers. 1st The alliteration, "59° 40' or fight" was in 1844, not 1824. The treaty, April 17th, 1825, between the United States and Russia, agreed to 59° 40' as the southern boundary of Russian America, now Alaska, the United States claiming to that point, England also claimed it, what is now known as British Columbia. In 1844, the bill establishing the territorial government of Oregon was passed, the dispute about the "North West Boundary" waxed warm, and during that excitement the alliteration "59° 40' or fight," became a popular rallying cry.

2nd Plumed Knight. "The white plumed leader, the gallant Harry of the West," I find in a speech made by S. S. Prentiss at the great Clay meeting in New Orleans, February, 1848, which I think is the first instance of applying the term "plumed" to a political leader.

3d John Randolph called "The Missouri Compromise" a dirty bargain, and christened the Northern men who had favored it "Doughfaces." This was in 1820. Thomas H. Benton, writing of that time, spells it "*Doughface*." Being an intimate (if such a man could have

one) friend of Randolph, he would doubtless use the correct word.

4th "The Whig party was not strong enough to achieve success until 1848, when it elected Zachary Taylor to the presidency." In 1840 William H. Harrison was elected by the Whigs, the first President elected by that party.

5th Query. "Young Hickory." Is not Mr. Norton mistaken in applying that title to Martin Van Buren? I can find no mention of it until 1844, when James K. Polk was the Democratic candidate for President. He was from the same State as Jackson, "Old Hickory."

D. KELLOGG LEITCH

SKANEATELES, April 29, 1885

Comments like the foregoing are most acceptable, and the writer has the author's thanks. The substitution of a 2 for a 4 in the first paragraph referred to was an easy typographical error, partly explained in fact by the occurrence of the date 1846 a few lines farther on. In regard to the election of Harrison in 1840, while it was nominally a Whig victory, it was effected so largely by reason of a temporary Democratic defection, due altogether to Harrison's personal popularity, that it was not regarded after the first enthusiasm was over, as a decisive Whig victory.

The next election, indeed, reversed the verdict and placed a Democratic president, Mr. Polk, in the White House. The author acknowledges with sorrow, however, that he should have been more explicit in regard to this passage. Martin Van Buren, as "Young Hickory," was suggested to the author as a personal reminiscence of by-gone days, by a veteran who could not give an actual date, but who was no doubt correct in the main. The fact that Polk bore the title is worth noting, but Van Buren can probably claim priority.

C. L. N.

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC [xiii. 281, 407, 503]—In a scrap-book compiled more than twenty years ago I find a copy of "a sermon preached on the eve of the battle of Brandywine, by the Rev. Joab Trout, Sept. 10, 1777." It differs from your reproduction only in punctuation and division, and book, chapter, and verse of text are given. It is accompanied by the following introductory note. "Not long since," writes Mr. Hamilton Scheffinger, "searching into the papers of my grandfather, Major John Jacob Schefunger, who was out in the days of the Revolution, I found the following discourse, delivered in the presence of a large portion of the American soldiery, General Washington, General Wayne, and other officers of the army, on the eve of the battle of Brandywine."

M. K. REYNOLDS

CLINTON, Mass., April 30, 1885

COMMODORE MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY [xiii. 417-435] An explanation—In depositing at the Military Academy at West Point sections of seven flagstaves taken by the gallant army of

the U. S. in the campaign commencing at Vera Cruz and terminated in the capital of Mexico," were three from Vera Cruz—one from the castle first entered and occupied by the Naval forces, the other two from the forts silenced by the Naval batteries. Commodore Perry, in a letter published in the *New York Courier and Inquirer*, October 20, 1848, called attention to the oversight of General Scott in writing the inscriptions, and requested that they be corrected to read "taken by the Army and Navy." Perry justly quotes the passage from Scott's general orders printed below.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIN

"EXTRACT from General Order, No. 80, of General Scott, dated headquarters of the Army, Vera Cruz, March 20, 1847.

"Thanks higher than those of the general-in-chief have been earned by the entire home squadron under the successive orders of Commodores Conner and Perry for prompt, cheerful and able assistance from the arrival of the army off this coast. Besides landing troops and supplies, and the strict blockade of this port, the smaller vessels detached by Com. Perry, under the immediate command of Captain Tatnall joined for a time in the attack on the city at the imminent risk of being sunk by the fire of the castle, and the land battery No. 5 (called the Naval) which followed Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 (served by the army) at the end of two days, was exclusively (after being prepared by the engineers and troops of the army) armed, manned and commanded out of the squadron. This battery in the successive tours of Captains Aulick and Mayo, proved itself highly effective."

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular meeting, May 7, Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell University, read an able and extended sketch of "Francis Hopkinson, Revolutionary Statesman and Satirist." Introducing his subject by citing the desire of John Adams "to penetrate a little deeper into the bosom of this little, curious, ingenious gentleman, with a head no larger than a big apple," Professor Tyler gave an admirable summary of the life and character of the famous author of "The Battle of the Kegs," and a scholarly analysis of his genius and style, while showing his important place in the councils of the nation, and the timely and salutary influence of his caustic pen in promoting the success of the American cause, and upon the political questions arising subsequent to the war.

Miss Elizabeth Clarkson Jay and Messrs. John Harper, Robert Harris, John L. Nisbet and Woolsey H. Hopkins were elected resident members.

At the meeting, May 5, the Librarian reported a large number of additions to the collections, among others, the portraits in oil of Robert and Henry Benson, brothers of Judge Egbert Benson, first President of the Society, painted respectively by Colonel John Trumbull in 1804, and John Vanderlyn in 1823, and bequeathed to the Society by the late Robert Benson, grandson of the aforementioned Robert; also the portrait in oil of Hon. Roger Strong, painted by Vanderlyn, and presented by Miss Frances G. Mankin, of Yonkers, New York, the granddaughter and only living descendant of the subject of the portrait. The

paper of the evening was furnished by the eminent American philologist, Dr. D. G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, in which the learned lecturer, in a highly interesting and valuable elucidation of the form, peculiarities and singular power of the American aboriginal languages, showed that they would bear favorable comparison with the present ones of civilization. He cogently urged that more attention should be given to their study, especially in our institutions of higher learning, in view of their great importance in solving the ethnological problem of the continent and in their bearing upon questions relating to the general science of language.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Professor E. B. Andrews, of Brown University, read a highly interesting historical paper, entitled, "The Founding of the English State," before this learned body on the evening of April 21. It was a masterly presentation of the subject. The lecturer said: "Of all European nations, the English have shown the greatest genius for healthy political organization, for government at once free and stable. No other people has so steadily or so successfully resisted tyranny. None has suffered less from revolutions. Equally noteworthy is the fact that these results have been reached by persistent use of the forms of law, wholly apart from mere experiment with theories of government. Political theories and theorists there have been in England, with influence nowise slight; but their guidance has been followed soberly, with due regard to the necessarily practical character of good constitution-building."

The many forces that have operated in the formation of the English system of government, both physically and mentally, were ably discussed. In conclusion Professor Andrews said: "We have thus seen the English nation rise, develop a firm realistic unity, become conscious of its rights as against its king, and create the means for declaiming and defending those rights."

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The most important gift of recent date to this Society is from Charles W. Coit, Esq., of Grand Rapids, Michigan. It consists of five magnificent pieces of very ancient "Gobelin tapestry," depicting scenes in Cervantes's stories of Don Quixote and Gil Blas. The art of dyeing worsted and silk in brilliant colors, that last for centuries undimmed by time, of which these tapestries are so wonderfully worked and woven, has been lost. Originally in 1603, in Flanders, the art of tapestry making was invented and practiced. In 1666, Henry IV. of France brought the art and the workmen into his kingdom. Here it was learned and practiced by the Gobelin families alone. Early in the following century it was brought into Spain—1727. These fine tapestries are from that country—obtained by the father of the donor during his long residence at or near Madrid. A Spanish nobleman in straitened circumstances became indebted to Mr. Coit and pledged to him the tapestries, and was unable to redeem them. Mr. Coit brought them to this country. For some years past they have hung on the walls of the rotunda of the State House, but so high up that they have not been generally no-

ticed. Three of these are fifteen by twenty feet, and two of about half that size. The colors now, after more than one hundred and fifty years, are bright and beautiful. The figures, the animals, the trees and foliage, the landscape and water scenes are all of wondrous beauty. The high rarity and worth of the tapestries are better known in Europe than here.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting April 1. In the absence of President Wilder, Rev. Edmund F. Slater presided. Colonel Albert H. Hoyt, Chairman of the Committee appointed at the previous meeting, submitted Resolutions on the death of Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, of the United States Navy, giving an outline of his distinguished career.

Rev. Augustine Caldwell, of Worcester and a native of Ipswich, then read a paper entitled "A Glimpse of William Hubbard and his Parish at Ipswich." Mr. Hubbard was an early historian whose name has for two centuries been familiar as the author of "The Indian Wars" and "History of New England." The paper of Mr. Caldwell was descriptive of the neighborhood in which Mr. Hubbard's boyhood and later years were passed; and developed the long continued kindness and care of his people toward him. Some characteristics of the early Ipswich parish were drawn from the town records. Mr. Hubbard came to New England in 1635, and died in November, 1703, having been in public life more than forty-five years. He was graduated from Harvard College in its very first class. Nine young men

were of this class, and seven went to England and participated in the civil war of that period.

The paper was replete with interest, and exhibited on the part of the writer a minute knowledge of the habits and customs of Ipswich two hundred years ago, and of the religious and personal history of the most noted of the early settlers of that venerable town.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its forty-sixth annual meeting on the 14th of February. The reports of officers and committees occupied the greater part of the time. An interesting incident of the meeting was the acceptance by the President of the tattered and battle-worn colors of the old First Regiment of Georgia Regulars, as a trust confided to the society by the late Colonel R. Alexander Wayne. The election of officers resulted as follows:—*President*, Hon. Henry R. Jackson; *First Vice-President*, General G. Moxley Sorrel; *Second Vice-President*, General Alexander R. Lawton; *Secretaries: Corresponding*, Captain Robert Falligant; *Recording*, W. Hampton Wade; *Treasurer*, William S. Bogart; *Librarian*, William Harden; *Curators*, Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, A. Schwaab, W. D. Harden, R. J. Larcombe, W. H. Baker, Colonel John Screven, W. N. Holt.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the executive committee was held May 2, at the rooms of the Society. A number of gifts were reported—books, autographs, memorials, relics, etc., among them, a framed heliotype of the Great Seal of the Lords

Proprietary of the Province of Carolina and fac-similes of their signatures, from the original in the Public Record Office, London, from Hon. William A. Courtney, of Charleston, South Carolina, and a letter of Bishop James Madison to his daughter, from Mrs. Dinwiddie B. Phillips, Madison-Run station, Orange County, Virginia.

The corresponding secretary reported that the current volume of the Society, Volume II., Spotswood Letters, with general index, completing the work, has been printed and is in the hands of the binder, and would speedily be ready for delivery to the members of the Society.

STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.—This society has recently been formed in Columbus, Ohio, with Hon. Allen G. Thurman, President, and A. A. Graham, Secretary. Its members embrace many representative men. The object of the association is the appropriate celebration of the centennial of the famous ordinance of 1787, the last act of the Continental Congress, which organized the territory of the Northwest, and provided for a settled Government. That ordinance was soon followed by the first permanent English settlement in Ohio, at Marietta, the Plymouth of the Northwest, on April 7, 1788. It is the belief of the Society that the centennials of these two important occurrences in the history of Ohio deserve as enthusiastic a commemoration by the people of Ohio, as the anniversary of July 4, 1776, deserves from the whole American people. This Ohio Society is one which seems destined to become a credit to the State.

BOOK NOTICES

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1587-1883. BY WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Iowa. In two volumes. Vol. I. The Planting and Growth of the American Church, 1587-1783. 4to, pp. 665. Vol. II. The Organization and Progress of the American Church, 1783-1883. 4to, pp. 696. James R. Osgood & Co. Boston, 1885.

This is the largest and most elaborate of the excellent church histories recently issued by the American press. It consists of two handsome square quarto volumes of nearly seven hundred pages each, admirably printed in fine clear type, with many valuable autographs and pertinent illustrations. It bears evidence of profound scholarship, untiring industry, and conscientious discretion in the choice and arrangement of material. The scheme of the work originated with Mr. Clarence F. Jewett; and many eminent writers have assisted Bishop Perry in the presentation of this record of church life and growth. The method adopted is similar to that of the Memorial History of Boston. The connection of the Church of England with American discovery and settlement is one of the interesting subjects with which the first volume opens. Critical notes on the sources of information form a feature of special value throughout. The beginnings of the church in New York and the middle colonies, the ninth chapter of the first volume, is illustrated with portraits of Sir Edmund Andros and Lord Bellomont. Andros figured also in the building of King's Chapel, Boston, bearing the larger portion of its cost. In 1636 the first English priest arrived in Boston, and "the next Sunday after he landed, he preached in the town-house, and read Common Prayer in his surplice, which was so great a novelty to the Bostonians, that he had a very large audience." Interesting glimpses of the progress of the church in Boston are given with a free hand. The new chapel was in process of completion in 1689, when the Government was overthrown. It was plain in its exterior, bare within, lacking pews, and devoid of any attempt at adornment, but had a "pulpit cushion, with fringe, tassel, and silk." Bishop Perry traces the beginnings of the Church of England in all the colonies; describes the early conventions, and the consecration of the first American Bishop. The three most instructive chapters in the second volume are "The Revival of Church Life and Feeling in Virginia and throughout the South"—"The Episcopate of John Henry Hobart, and its influence at the North"—and "Bishop Griswold and the New England

Churches." This last-named chapter begins with an account of John Viets of Simsbury, who, finding his son Roger was a boy of singular promise, sent him to Yale College in 1758. He subsequently ripened into an Episcopal clergyman, and was located at Simsbury, where to eke out the scanty stipend received from abroad, he worked on the farm and instructed his neighbors' boys. Among his pupils was his sister's son, Alexander Viets Griswold, the future Bishop, who owed his intellectual training and love of letters to this clerical uncle. Griswold received priest's orders in 1795. In 1810 he was elected Bishop, and his consecration occurred the next year, at the same time as that of Bishop Hobart.

The rapidly developing West receives marked attention from Bishop Perry in these pages. In Detroit the first Episcopal church built its first church edifice in 1827, "forty by sixty feet in extent," and Bishop Hobart journeyed all the way from New York to lay the corner stone. As late as 1836 there was no place of public worship for the church in Missouri; and in 1849 the services of the Episcopal Church were first celebrated in San Francisco. The "Ritualistic Controversy" forms the text of the twenty-second chapter. It is from the pen of Bishop Perry, but by no means an exhaustive treatise. There are nineteen monographs in the work of great value and varied interest. Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., contributes a condensed historical sketch of "Old Trinity, New York, and its Chapels;" Rev. D. V. Wittmeyer writes of the "Huguenots of America and their connection with the Church;" Rev. Samuel Hart, M.A., indulges the reader with a study of the Seaburys "missionary, bishop, priest, professor—four generations of faithful workers in a hundred and fifty years of the Church's history;" Mr. Thomas C. Amory contributes a short but very able summary of the "Church Charities of the Eighteenth Century;" and Moses Coit Tyler pleasantly describes "Dean Berkeley's Sojourn in America, 1729-1731." There is no more engaging chapter, however, in these noble volumes than Robert C. Winthrop's monograph on "The Relations of the Founders of the Massachusetts Colony to the Church of England." As will be observed the topics are widely diversified. The index contains some confusing errors, as, for instance, Rev. George Ross is described as of Pennsylvania, whereas he was known for nearly half a century as Rector of Immanuel's Church, Delaware; and Æneas Ross is recorded as a signer of the Declaration of Independence, which information is new to us. His brother, George Ross, signed that notable instrument. The illustrations of the work are numerous and for the most part well executed.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS RELATING TO GWYNEDD. A Township of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania; settled 1698, by Welsh immigrants. By HOWARD M. JENKINS. 8vo, pp. 394. Philadelphia, Pa.

Gwynedd is a township about eighteen miles north-west from Independence Hall, in Philadelphia. It contains nearly seventeen thousand square miles, and is occupied by some three thousand people. Its history has, in the volume before us, been carefully traced through its several periods of settlement, growth, revolution, development, etc., by Mr Howard M. Jenkins, with results eminently satisfactory. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to genealogy, concisely arranged, with many biographical sketches of prominent persons. Several of the family histories recorded here are of more than local interest, as for instance those of Evans, Roberts and Foulke, whose descendants are widely scattered through the country. Some thirty-five pages are devoted to "Sally Wister's Journal," a quaint and interesting record of observations and experiences during the period that Philadelphia was occupied by the British, 1777-1778. The Wisters were quartered in the old house at Penllyn—the Foulke mansion. Miss Wister's descriptions of persons and events and the view she gives of social conditions in the midst of some of the most important military operations of the war are unique and interesting. The work taken as a whole is one of the best local histories that has recently appeared.

CONGRESSIONAL GOVERNMENT. A STUDY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By WOODROW WILSON, Fellow in History, Johns Hopkins University. 12mo, pp. 333. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

This is an attempt to explain and describe the method, or rather the mechanism, by which the American Congress proceeds in governing the United States at the present time. Every American of ordinary intelligence knows that Congress and State Legislatures now act only by committees, in which practically all measures originate, and where they are discussed in private; and if approved, are reported "favorably" to the House or Senate. If not approved, they are either reported "adversely," or what is generally the case, "smothered in the committee," that is quietly killed by being pigeon-holed and left there undisturbed till the end of the session. In other words our present Congressional Government is simply committee government, not legislative government, and the author of this work fairly and sensibly calls attention to its evils and their remedies. He compares and contrasts the American system with that of the British Parliamentary, and

the French, and other continental systems, which are more or less based upon it. Though not inclined to agree with him in many of his views, he deserves the thanks of all thinking men for calling attention to a system which must be radically changed, and that shortly, or we will find ourselves hopelessly enslaved by a despotism more corrupt, grievous and galling than any king, emperor or sultan ever dreamed of.

LITERARY LANDMARKS OF LONDON.

By LAURENCE HUTTON. 12mo, pp. 361. 1885. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

London has no associations so interesting as those connected with its literary men. Hence Mr. Hutton's book, representing as it does the most earnest and painstaking research, is particularly acceptable to the reading public. It is not a text book, nor is it a biographical dictionary; it presents in a pleasing manner varied sketches of the daily life and salient characteristics of London authors; it includes much material never before published, and the statements and mistakes of preceding works are here verified and corrected. Among the principal celebrities whose homes and haunts are traced in these pages are Addison, Bacon, Boswell, Bulwer Lytton, Charlotte Brontë, John Bunyan, Edmund Burke, Lord Byron, Thomas Carlyle, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Dickens, Benjamin Disraeli, Dryden, Cowper, George Eliot, Henry Fielding, Dr. Franklin, Edward Gibbon, Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Gray, Leigh Hunt, Samuel Johnson, Charles Lamb, Ben Jonson, John Milton, Thomas Moore, Samuel Pepys, Alexander Pope, Sir Walter Raleigh, Shakspere, Steele, Swift, Thackeray, John Keats, and John Horne Tooke. Mr. Hutton says: "Pope lived in the famous villa at Twickenham for a quarter of a century, and died there in 1744. This villa was much smaller when Pope took it than when he left it. In 1717 it comprised only a central hall with two small parlors on each side, and corresponding rooms above. He left it a brick center of four floors with wings of three floors, each story with a single light towards the Thames." For the convenience of those interested in any particular writer the arrangement of the work is in the alphabetical sequence of authors' names, an excellent substitute for the ordinary chronological plan. It is a volume which libraries must possess, and an acquisition to every household.

TALES FROM MANY SOURCES. Volumes

I. and II. 16mo. Pp. 259 and 271. 1885. New York: Dodd, Meade & Co.

The stories collected in these attractive books are chiefly from English authors. The first volume contains "The Three Strangers," by

Thomas Hardy; "The Black Poodle," by F. Anstey; "Lord Richard and I," by Julian Sturgis; "The Pavilion on the Links," by R. L. Stevenson; "The Hermit of Saint Eugene," by W. E. Norris; and "Mattie," from *Blackwood's Magazine*. In the second volume are seven short stories, the most notable of which is the "Knightsbridge Mystery," by Charles Reade. "Archdeacon Holden's Tribulations," a selection from the *Cornhill Magazine*, is eminently readable; and the same may be said of "Beauchamp & Co.," by Mrs. Herbert Martin, although the title is mournfully misleading. "Moufflou," by Ouida, is hardly worthy a place in such a publication. Indeed American authors are as a rule greatly to be preferred where short stories are concerned. The talent of condensation has been encouraged and cultivated to a much higher degree in America than in England. This Series of Tales will embrace twelve volumes, of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred pages each, and are issued in convenient style, well-printed, and in a tasteful dress.

THE ADVENTURES OF TIMIAS TERRY-
STONE. A Novel. By OLIVER BELL BUNCE.
16mo, pp. 305. New York, 1885. D. Apple-
ton & Co.

Mr. Bunce has a natural gift for word-painting, and his characters are genuine men and women with all manner of human imperfections. The story of Timias Terrystone is bright and readable, with all the freshness and effect of a chapter from real life. In many respects it is a remarkable production. Timias, the hero, is an orphan who was adopted in his infancy by an old comedy actress. He knows nothing about his parents except that his father died before his mother, and that his mother was an actress. His career is one of curious vicissitudes. Like most foolish young men, he falls in love, or imagines he does, with a woman older than himself, and an actress, a proceeding that is greatly disapproved by the old lady with whom he lives, and by a painter and his wife who are his fast friends. He finally forgets her, studies art, and shares the studio of the painter; then makes the acquaintance of two sisters, one an invalid protected by the other, where he meets a young actor who is a poet, a young journalist who is a critic, and a bluff good-natured artist who paints bad portraits, and goes on the stage when he wants more money than they will bring. He travels with Timias, and their adventures are told by the author in the most entertaining manner, spiced with philosophy and pleasant comments on men and things and art. The original and the picturesque characterize every page. It is a delightful book for summer reading.

THE RUSSIANS AT THE GATES OF
HERAT. By CHARLES MARVIN. With Maps
and Portraits. 12mo, pp. 185. RUSSIA
UNDER THE TZARS. By STEPNIAK.
Rendered into English by William Westall.
12mo, pp. 381. 1885. New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Marvin is undoubtedly the best living authority on the question of the present quarrel between England and Russia, hence his "Russians at the Gates of Herat," recently issued by the enterprising house of Charles Scribner's Sons, is timely, and meets a great public want. It is admirably written in clear forcible language, pertinently illustrated with maps, and abounds with the precise information required as a key to the understanding of our daily dispatches. "In my writings on Russia I try to be impartial," writes the author in his preface, and his success in this direction is obvious. The work of Stepniak, rendered into English by William Westall, comes out also just at the right moment in a new American edition, with an American preface by the author, who writes, "I readily comply with the kind desire of Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, in declaring that I authorize this American reprint of my 'Russia under the Tzars.' I was extremely pleased and proud to learn that on the other side of the ocean, the people of the great nation to whom Europe owes so much for its present liberty, has shown also an interest in my modest efforts." Stepniak is a Russian patriot, who has been driven from his country because of his advocacy of liberal measures. He is a man of letters, full of enthusiasm, sympathy, and pity for his benighted countrymen, whom he believes fitted for advanced civilization. He says, "Russia has never known anything which remotely resembles the liberty of the Press or tolerance for political and religious ideas. Peter the Great, whose reign was the apogee of imperial liberalism, tortured and put to death the sectarian writers who wrote pamphlets against his reforms. But the Tzar was in favor of European culture, and everything savoring thereof passed the frontier without inspection. It is told that when the translator of Puffendorf's 'Universal History' proposed to omit some passages not too complimentary to Muscovy, Peter gave him a little paternal correction with his famous cane for showing so little respect to the great historian, and ordered the scribe to print the passage just as it was. 'The destruction of autocracy,' he says, 'has become a political as well as a social and intellectual necessity. It is required for the safety of the State as well as for the welfare of the nation. As things are now, if the Tzar resolved to change his politics, he would only have a sign to make: half of his court would become, in

no time, of the color required, from deep red to the most tender blue, provided by this they could secure for themselves the best places. All who are for progress, for peace, and humanity, may unite in a moral crusade against Russian despotism."

VIRGINIA VETUSTA, during the Reign of James I. Containing Letters and Documents never before printed. A Supplement to The History of the Virginia Company. By EDWARD O'NEILL. Square 12mo, pp. 216. Albany, 1885. Joel Munsell's Sons.

The author of this work, Rev. Edward O'Neill, of St. Paul, is one of the most untiring and scholarly of antiquarians. He has been for thirty or more years engaged in making important historical researches, hunting with unruffled patience in all manner of dark and neglected corners. During his residence in Dublin, as well as while private secretary to President Johnson, he took occasion to study the colonial history of Virginia, as a result of which we have his "History of the Virginia Company." He has produced many other valuable books and pamphlets, not least among them being this volume of hitherto unprinted letters and documents relating to the history of Virginia during the reign of James I., entitled "Virginia Vetusta."

The documents relate chiefly to the events in the colony during the first twenty years of the seventeenth century. Evidence is furnished to prove that "the life of Captain John Smith, as told by himself, is stranger than fiction." Mr. O'Neill says, "It is quite remarkable that for two centuries historical writers chiefly depended upon a book compiled by an adventurer for a knowledge of the early English colonization in North America." Aside from the main argument carried through the work, there is much information to be gleaned from it on many subjects and the names of a large number of individuals of the early period, with every scrap of information available concerning them, is carefully recorded and indexed at the end of the volume. The documents reproduced are given with the quaint original spelling and typography, and the book is beautifully printed by the Munsells of Albany, uniformly with their other historical works.

FINAL NOTES ON WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS. A SUMMARY VINDICATION of the Laws and Liberties concerning attainders with corruption of blood, escheats, forfeitures for crime, and pardon of offenders. In reply to the REASONS of Hon. Abner C. Goodell, Jr. By GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D. 8vo. pamphlet, pp. 120. 1885. New York. Printed for the Author.

The purpose of this elaborate and scholarly production of Dr. Moore is clearly defined in its title. The main question under discussion heretofore has been whether an act purporting to have been passed in 1711, a copy of which (printed in 1713) is in Mr. Goodell's possession, reversing the attainders of several of those condemned for witchcraft in 1692, actually became a law. But in his "Reasons," which was an able reply to Dr. Moore's "Supplementary Notes," of 1884, Mr. Goodell risked certain statements, both of law and fact, which were instantly challenged, and seem now to have been conclusively answered by his opponent. We are indebted to this high-toned controversy for much fresh information concerning the early statutes of New England. Dr. Moore, in speaking of the Act of 1711, says: "I do not look upon the 'little candle' which my good friend holds up so stoutly and makes to shine like 'a good deal in the naughty world' of witchcraft in Massachusetts, as furnishing anything like 'a great light to rule the day or the night, of her history.' To compare it, even if it became a law, with the Statute of 1641, which I have attempted to vindicate in these notes, would be like comparing the rushlight and pine knot or tallow-dip of that elder time with the electric flash that has been subdued to the steady and continuous service of modern illumination." Of this beneficent Statute of 1641, the learned author further comments upon its neglect by professed historians, "who have failed to discern in its masterly provisions, which have leavened the law of a whole continent, the results well and surely wrought out of that extraordinary feature in the great original grants under which English North America was first permanently colonized and settled—the *habendum et tenendum*, the having and the holding, under which the rights of constitutional freedom have been gradually asserted, securely established, and firmly maintained."

THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO SEPARATE THE WEST FROM THE UNION. A paper read before the Missouri Historical Society, Feb. 4, 1885. By Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson, D.D., LL.D. 12mo. pamphlet, pp. 60. 1885. St. Louis.

The war of the Revolution was hardly ended when an effort was made to separate the western portion of the Union from the States on the Atlantic seaboard. The movement in the first instance resulted from the magnitude of the territory beyond the Alleghany Mountains—which was chosen as the dividing line—and the exceeding great difficulty of communicating with the central government. At that period the facilities for traveling were confined to horseback riding or pedestrianism, newspapers were rare, and the mails were uncertain and very expensive. Bishop

Robertson traces with a master hand the various antagonisms which for twenty years or more conspired against the bonds of union; and he gives a brief but comprehensive and valuable picture of the political situation of the Mississippi valley during the time. He describes General James Wilkinson, and his scheme of colonization, the purchase of Louisiana, and the treasonable expedition planned by Aaron Burr. The whole paper from the first page to the last is an instructive study. All attempts to separate the western country from the American Union ceased with the Burr enterprise. "They had had their strength in the distance and isolation, and consequently the ignorance and prejudice of the sections." Bishop Robertson says in conclusion: "Our multiplying railroad cars and telegraph wires are now more than material lines of communication; created by the physical and commercial needs of a great people, they are the sensitive nerve connections of a complex social organism. Among them pulse the currents of intelligence and an identical interest, and they convey and perpetuate the throbbings of simultaneous impulses and common national aspirations. In these are furnished, under God, the sure hope and presage of the perpetuity of our American Union."

THE POLICY OF THE EARLY COLONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS towards Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders. Old South prize essays. I. By Henry L. Southwick. 12mo. pamphlet; pp. 21. 1885. Old South Meeting House, Boston.

The theology of the Quakers was what the Puritan clergy most violently opposed. We are reminded by Mr. Southwick that "in the matter of offensive epithets the two parties were pretty evenly matched." The age was not celebrated for urbanity or decorum in the language of controversy. The settlement of New England was largely the result of bitter religious antagonism between Protestant Dissenters and the Church of England. "The Colonists wished to have it distinctly understood that 'New England was a religious plantation, not a plantation for trade.' They never intended to permit freedom of conscience in their midst. They were not sufficiently advanced for it. To them it was the synonym for the deadliest of heresies. They had seen its tendency in England and they dreaded its results." At the time when Quakerism took its rise, public opinion was in a state of perpetual agitation. The Quakers had created a commotion in England by attempting to reform manners, rather than belief, and to establish freedom of opinion and expression. They were treated with atrocious cruelty there, and hearing that they were not wanted in New England they came briskly thither. The Puritans resolved to keep them out at all hazards. Both Puritans and

Quakers were consistent from their respective standpoints. The able author of this essay does not apologize for Puritan barbarities or Quaker aggressiveness. He rather seeks to present the situation in a truthful light. His language is clear, concise and forcible, and his essay may be studied with profit by historical students.

NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS. By Henry A. Beers, (*American Men of Letters*). 16mo. pp. 365. Boston, 1885. Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

The task of painting a faithful and comprehensive pen-picture of N. P. Willis is one of more than ordinary delicacy and difficulty. Thus the achievement of Mr. Beers, who has treated the subject with discriminating tact and sound judgment, is the more to be prized and commended. Very few of the present generation, either readers or writers, are able to define with precision the place Willis once held among men of letters, and the number is even smaller who can describe the style and character of his varied literary productions. The book of Mr. Beers fills a positive want. It was many years ago, at a time in the development of our literature, very different from the present, that the vivacity, quaint humor, and surprises of this dashing and popular writer delighted the community. His was the class of work, however, not destined to long survive its author—which answers the question, "why do we know so little of it?" His society verses, for instance, were nearly always too hurriedly done and fell short of that perfect workmanship and fineness of taste, which floats many a trifle of other literary characters. One little serious poem, "Unseen Spirits," has in it a touch of genius, a careless felicity, that will doubtless preserve it to posterity. It was a favorite with Edgar Poe, who used to recite it at reading clubs. The social triumphs of Willis came almost simultaneously with his first literary glory. Mr. Beers describes him at that period as "a tall handsome stripling, with an easy assurance of manner and a good deal of the dandy in his dress. He carried himself with airy, jaunty grace, and there was something particularly *à la* about the pose and movement of his head—a something which no portrait could reproduce. With naturally elegant tastes, an expansive temper, and an eagerness to see the more brilliant side of life, Willis could at all times make himself agreeable to those whom he cared to please. But he was quick to feel the chill of a hostile presence, and toward any one in special who seemed to disapprove of him he would be curt and defiant." Mr. Beers traces the career of Willis from the cradle to the grave. The book is a critical study of a man of many talents who had no positive standards either of life or literature, and is presented to the reader in excellent taste.

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